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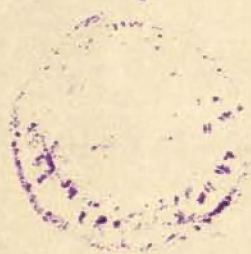
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## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

—:):—

- Page 2, line 17.—*Read* executor  
„ 5, line 21.—*Read* 606 A.C.  
„ 11, text, line 10.—*Read* °ddhūlana  
„ 14, foot-note 4, line 11.—*Read* comparison  
„ 15, foot-note 2, line 3.—*Read* a surname  
„ 16, text, lines 14-15.—*For* Maṅgalūra *read* Mallalūra  
„ 17, line 3.—*Read* Satyāśraya  
„ 17, line 4.—*Read* Pōrmukharāma  
„ 17, line 14.—*Read* interesting  
„ 17, line 21.—*Read* tanuja  
„ 18, line 19.—*Read* is Sanskrit  
„ 18, line 20.—*Read* inscription  
„ 18, line 36.—*For* 1939 *read* 1239  
„ 20, foot-note 6, line 1.—*Read* examined  
„ 21, foot-note 7, line 1.—*Read* Anaṅgabhīma  
„ 23, text, line 4.—*Read* śrīmad°  
„ 23, text, line 6.—*Read* utsav-ōpa°  
„ 24, line 32.—*Read* tṛitīyō-nāa  
„ 25, line 27.—*Read* (3) the  
„ 26, line 5.—*For* hold *read* held  
„ 30, foot-note 1, line 7.—*Read* Chyō (Chō) ḍagaṅga  
„ 33, foot-note 3, line 10.—*For* lkie *read* like  
„ 39, para. 4.—*Add note*—‘Lōkārṇavadēva, mentioned in the last stanza of the record, seems to have been a feudatory or viceroy of the Gaṅga king and the real donor of the grant. He probably belonged to the Tumburu dynasty apparently claiming descent from the Gandharva of that name.’  
„ 40, line 30.—*Read* 488).’’



- Page 40, line 31.—*Read* Pūrṇimānta
- „ 41, foot-note 6.—*Omit.*
- „ 41, foot-note 7.—*Read* puñja
- „ 42, foot-note 5, line 6 et passim.—*Read* D'māna
- „ 44, foot-note 2.—*Read* Vol. II
- „ 46, line 30.—*Read* Muñja, 974-96
- „ 46, foot-note 2, line 9.—*Read* 438)
- „ 51, line 8.—*Read* the Abhona plates<sup>3</sup> of Śaṅkaragaṇa
- „ 59, line 1 et passim.—*For* Abbottabad *read* Abottabad
- „ 60, para. 2.—*Add note.*—'Huvishka's coins actually represent two divinities on some and three on the others. It seems therefore that Skanda-kumāra was regarded as a single god.'
- „ 60, foot-note 2, line 11.—*Read* Kbarōshṭhī
- „ 66, foot-note 1, line 1.—*Read* Aśvamēdha to Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa ;
- „ 83, line 1.—*For* fouud *read* found
- „ 84, line 10.—*Add note.*—'For the antiquities on the Kuluhā or Kaulśvari hill, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 90 ff.'
- „ 92, foot-note 3.—*Read* *pramātaḥ* |
- „ 93, line 1.—*For* Godahari *read* Godavari
- „ 93, line 19.—*For* Ghōḍagaṅga *read* Chōḍagaṅga
- „ 93, line 21.—*For* inscriptions *read* inscription
- „ 93, line 31.—*For* vishya *read* vishaya
- „ 93, line 34.—*For* maṇḍla *read* maṇḍala
- „ 94, line 2.—*Read* Narayanapuram
- „ 113, foot-note 2, line 4.—*For* One *read* One set
- „ 117, foot-note 6, line 2.—*For* vikramānām=idam *read* vikramāpām=anyatama-yōgād=avāpya mahīm=anūsāsātām=pravṛttakam=idam
- „ 121, para. 2.—*Add note.*—'On the basis of a report from the Superintendent of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, the Chhoti Sadri inscription was noticed in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1929-30, p. 187.'
- „ 123, line 35.—*For* apperr *read* appear
- „ 124, foot-note 10.—*Read* mya ; cf.
- „ 126, line 3.—*For* vatsarāpām *read* vatsarāpām(nām)
- „ 130, line 16.—*For* fame *read* merit

Page 131, last para.—*Add note*—‘Varāhamihira, who is supposed to have died in 583 A. D., mentions an *Avantika-nripa* (king of the Avanti country, i.e. West Malwa) named *Mahārājādhirāja Dravyavardhana* (*Bṛhatsamhitā*, 86, 2; cf. V. V. Mirashi in *Nava Bhārata* [Marathi], August 1957, pp. 1 ff.). The *vardhana*-ending names of Dravyavardhana, Ādityavardhana (king of Daśapura according to the Mandasor inscription of about the close of the fifth century) and Vishṇuvardhana (i.e. Yaśōdharman of Daśapura, 532 A.D.) appear to suggest that they belonged to a later branch of the Aulikara family of Daśapura (Mandasor). It seems therefore that Aulikara rule was not extirpated from Daśapura by the Hūṇas, but that the Aulikaras transferred their allegiance for the time being from the Guptas to the Hūṇas. In such a case, Gauri of the Mānavāyani clan, ruling over the Chhoti Sadri area, would appear to have been a feudatory of Aulikara Ādityavardhana.

„ 152, text, line 6.—*Read* ||<sup>1</sup> [4\*]

„ 152, foot-note 1, lines 2-3.—*Read* mah-āmbu-vāham

„ 170, lines 6 ff.—*Add note*—‘Some of the *āchāras* are mentioned in the Anjaneri plates of Bhōgasakti and Tējōvarman. Cf. lines 32 ff.—*Samagiri-vāstavyānām vaṇijām chandr-ārka-kālikam śulkaṃ=ādī(dē)yaṃ samasta-rājyē n=āsti* [ ] *aparam cha aputradhanam nnā(n=ā)sti* [ ] *umbara-bhēda[h] rāja-purushāṇām=āvāsakō jēmakas=cha ētannāsti(n=ā)sti* [ ] *kumārī-sāhasē rūpakāṇām=asht-ōttara-śatam(tam) | samgrahanē dvātrīṃśati(śad)-rūpakāḥ karṇa-trōḍanikāyām shōḍaśa rūpakāḥ śira-sphōṭanē chatvāri rūpakāḥ bhārikāyām vaṇik-putrasy=asht-ōttara-śatam rūpakāṇām naṅgē grihitasya yach-ch=ashtau shōḍaśa vā nagara-mahallakā vichārya vadamitē tadētatēva-(tād=ēva) pramāṇam(ṇam | )* (above, Vol. XXV, p. 237). A record of Śaka 973 (1050 A. D.) from Sūḍi, Dharwar District, registers the *śāsana-maryyāde* granted to the eight Setṭhis (merchants) and eighty households of the village. According to it, the shops and households were granted immunity from all imposts, including fixed land-rent for two *śrāhes* (years); thereafter they were to be charged with usual dues (*sarv-āya*). The rules regarding the eight Setṭhis were not to apply to the country, nor those of the country to the eight Setṭhis. The guilt of a father should not affect the son, nor the guilt of a son his father. If a shop-keeper would strike a thief, robber, burglar, enemy or an evil-minded person in the verandah near the screen of the shop, there should be neither guilt nor fine; but, if he would strike them elsewhere, he would be fined 6 gold *gadyāṇas* (ibid., Vol. XV, pp. 77 ff.).’

„ 170, foot-note 2.—*Add note*—‘Prof. D. D. Kosambi suggests to me, “If the document is believed to define the merchants’ privileges and taxes, it is obvious that the *āchāras* fall into consecutive groups; e.g., Nos. 53-59 which refer to the customs duty on trade goods. In that case, *vakitra* in No. 53 need not be a boat, but any large carrier. Nos. 54-56 do not refer to boat loads of buffaloes, etc., but loads carried by these animals. In this connection, *Dhārmika* can only be a supertax charged by the king in the name of religion. It would follow that the *varsha-paryushitā vaṇijaḥ* exempted from the *prāvēśya* (immigration tax) would be those who had taken up residence in the area in question for the rainy season only and not for a whole year. The implication is that trade was stopped during the rains. In Nos. 6, 7, 9 and 31, *chhala* seems to mean, as in Marathi, harassment or persecution or, in the present context, also prosecution.’



Page 176, last line.—*Add note*—‘The word *vahitra* occurs in a similar passage in the Anjaneri plates of Bhōgaśakti. Cf. lines 35-36.—*sārttha-vahitrēṣu pravēṣe nirgamē cha pratyēkaṁ rūpakāḥ dēvasya yātr-ōtsavē dātavyam(vyāḥ)* (above, Vol. XXV, p. 232).’

- „ 185, line 23.—*For languag read language*
- „ 187, foot-note 14.—*For pādu read pāda*
- „ 190, line 5.—*For Khajī read Khaljī*
- „ 203. text, line 6.—*Read gh [rī] ta*
- „ 207, foot-note 5.—*For dui read dvi*
- „ 236, text, line 11.—*Read Śiunābha*
- „ 236, foot-note 18.—*Read Śivanābha*
- „ 249, foot-note 4.—*Add note*—‘See above, pp. 95 ff.’
- „ 299, text, line 18.—*Read vāśī |* <sup>1</sup>
- „ 300, text, line 50.—*Read siṁhā (siṁhā) sanam*
- „ 302, text, line 72.—*Read svairi (r=a) yam*
- „ 302, text, line 80.—*Read ārādhyā [m\*]*
- „ 302, text, line 82.—*Read s=ābhud=bharttur=romahī*
- „ 303, text, line 92.—*Read charitēn=ā°*



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## No. 1—DHULEV PLATE OF MAHARAJA BHETTI ; YEAR 73

(1 Plate)

V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR

This plate was in the possession of Mr. Kalulal Ardavi, a Brāhmaṇa of Dhulēv (also called Rishabhadēva) about 40 miles south of Udaipur in Rajputana. According to his account, it was found at Kalyāṇpur, about 4 miles south-east of Dhulēv. It has been briefly noticed by the late M. M. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha in the *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum for 1932-33*. Pandit A. K. Vyas, Superintendent, Archaeology and Museum, Udaipur, invited my attention to its date at the Jaipur Session of the Indian History Congress held in December 1951, and kindly supplied me with an excellent photograph of it for decipherment and study. I found the record of considerable importance in view of the recent controversy regarding the Harsha era. I therefore edit it here with the kind permission of Pandit Vyas.

This is a **single copper-plate**, measuring 12½" broad and 3½" high, and is inscribed on one side only. It weighs 26½ *tolas*. There was apparently no seal discovered with it; at least there is no indication of one having been soldered to it. The inscription consists of seven lines, inscribed breadthwise, of which the last appears to have been added subsequently. The record is in a good state of preservation. The average size of the letters is .2". The **characters** are of the North-Indian Alphabet and resemble in a general way those of the Udaipur inscription of Aparājita dated V. 718.<sup>1</sup> Worthy of note are the curves of some letters and signs which are ornamentally treated. As regards individual letters we may note the initial *ū* in *Ūbbaraka*, l. 3; *k* which appears looped in some cases (cf. *Dutakō*, l. 5) and unlooped in others (cf. *-kuṭumbi-*, l. 1); the lingual *ḍ* which occurs in *Bhaṭṭivaḍasya*, l. 6; *n* which is generally looped as in *Bhaṭṭināga*, l. 2, but, in some cases, unlooped as in *anumatih*, l. 3. *Y* is generally as in the Udaipur inscription, but the curve of its left member is turned inside, not outside as in that inscription; see *bōdhayaty-astu*, ll. 1-2. Superscript *r* generally appears above the line (cf. *varsha-*, l. 4), but in *-nimittyartha*, l. 2, it is formed on the line.

The **language** is Sanskrit, and except for one imprecatory and benedictive verse, the whole record is in prose. The wrong form *karshāpayataḥ* in place of *karshayataḥ* in l. 3 and the use of the instrumental case in stating the date deserve notice. The **orthography** shows the use of the medial *ri* for *ri* in *tri-saptatibhiḥ*, l. 5, the reduplication of the consonant preceding and following *r* (see *Chandrātrēya*, l. 2 and *sarvān*, l. 1) and of that following an *anusvāra* in *paripam̐thanā*, l. 3 and *saṁvatsarē*, l. 5.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of *Mahārāja Bhētti* of *Kishkindhā*. It purports to record the consent of *Mahārāja Bhētti* to the gift of the *agrahāra* village *Ūbbaraka* to the Brāhmaṇa *Bhaṭṭināga* of the *Chandrātrēya gōtra* and *Vājasanēya (śākhā)*<sup>2</sup> for the religious

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IV, pp. 29 ff. For similar characters, see also the Vasantgadhi inscription of Varmalāta; *ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 187 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The inscription mentions *Vāda(ja)śākhā* as a *gōtra*, but *gōtra* there is evidently a mistake for *śākhā*.



merit of *Mahārāja Bappadatti*, who may have been the king's father.<sup>1</sup> The order is communicated to the king's *Āyuktakas*, *Viniyuktakas*, *Chāṭas*, *Bhaṭas*, *Kuṭumbins*, *Mahattaras* and *Drāṅgikas*. The record is dated in the *Āsvayuja saṁvatsara* and in the 73rd year (expressed in words) since the foundation of the kingdom (*rājya-pratipatti*). The *Dūtaka* was *Yajñadēva* and the scribe, *Sāmbabhaṭa*. After the mention of these, the record contains the sign-manuals of *Mahārāja Bhētti* and *Bhaṭṭivaḍa*, without specification of the latter's rank. Ordinarily a record closes with the sign-manual of the reigning king, but here we have the additional statement that at the camp of *Tumbatālī*, the *Dūtaka Karkabhaṭa* was appointed by the *Sāmanta Bhartṭivaḍa*. Again, the last line which seems to have been added at a later date records the consent of the *Sāmanta Bhartṭipadra* and mentions another *Dūtaka*, viz., *Sāmanta Bhavvihita*.

The inscription thus records the consent of two princes *Mahārāja Bhētti* and *Sāmanta Bhartṭipadra* and mentions three *Dūtakas*, *Yajñadēva*, *Karkabhaṭa* and *Bhavvihita*. The first of these was appointed by *Mahārāja Bhētti*, the second by *Sāmanta Bhartṭivaḍa*, and the third by *Sāmanta Bhartṭipadra*. The need for appointing three *Dūtakas* is not clear. Perhaps *Bhaṭṭivaḍa*, *Bhartṭivaḍa* and *Bhartṭipadra* are identical, the first two being Prakritised forms of the third name which is in Sanskrit. If this conjecture is correct, it would seem that *Mahārāja Bhētti* first appointed his *Dūtaka Yajñadatta* as the Executor of the grant. As the donated village lay in the territory of his *Sāmanta*, the latter's sign-manual also was added at the end. The *Sāmanta* appointed his own *Dūtaka* while camping at *Tumbatālī*. The grant seems to have remained unexecuted for some time. Therefore, the consent of the *Sāmanta* was again recorded and the name of another *Dūtaka* was mentioned at the end. This seems to be the only plausible explanation of the intriguing mention of two *Sāmantas* and three *Dūtakas* in the present inscription.

Let us next turn to the date of the record. M. M. Ojha referred the date 73 of the present inscription to the Harsha era and took it as equivalent to 679 A. C.<sup>2</sup> Very few dates of the Harsha era contain such particulars as the month, fortnight, *tithi* and week-day or *nakshatra*. The present inscription also does not contain such details as would have enabled us to calculate its date. There is, however, one important datum which affords some basis for verification. The seventy-third year when the grant was made is named *Āsvayuja-saṁvatsara*. This is evidently a year of the twelve-year cycle of Jupiter. If the year 73 was of the Harsha era, it would correspond to 679-80 A. C. But the year of Jupiter's twelve-year cycle corresponding to 679-80 A. C. was *Jyēṣṭha*, not *Āsvayuja* as required. So the date does not appear to be of the Harsha era.

There is one other statement in the present grant which also indicates that the year was not of the Harsha era. The 73rd year when the grant was made is said to have been reckoned from 'the acquisition of the kingdom (*rājya-pratipatti*)'. This is not likely to be a regnal year of *Mahārāja Bhētti* himself; for a reign of such length is improbable, though not altogether impossible. The date is evidently of some era which marked the foundation of the kingdom by an ancestor of *Bhētti* whose name unfortunately has not been recorded. His descendants seem to have continued the reckoning started by him and dated their records according to it.

Judging by the palaeography of the present record, the era to which the year 73 refers must have originated some time in the seventh century A. C. The question, therefore, arises, 'Have we any evidence of such an era having been current in Rajputana in that age?' In this connection we may notice the following two inscriptions of the Bhātika era, to which Dr. R. C. Majumdar has recently drawn our attention:—

1 Jaisalmer Vishnu temple inscription<sup>3</sup>—Vikrama Saṁvat 1494 = Bhātika Saṁvat 812, Māgha śu. di. 6, Śukravāra, *Āśvinī nakshatra*.

<sup>1</sup> [See p. 7 below.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum for 1932-33*, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Bhandarkar's *List of Northern Inscriptions*, No. 775.



This date regularly corresponds to Friday, the 31st January 1438 A. C., when the *tithi* Māgha śu. di. 6 ended 15 h. 50 m. and the *nakṣatra* Āśvini, 7 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise. This date shows that the epoch of the Bhāṭika era is 624-25 A. C.

2 Jaisalmer Śiva temple inscription<sup>1</sup>—Vikrama Saṁvat 1673 =Śaka Saṁvat 1538 =Bhāṭika Saṁvat 993, with the Uttarāyaṇa occurring in Mārgaśīrṣa.

This date also is perfectly regular ; for in 1616 A.C., corresponding to V.S. 1673, the Uttarāyaṇa occurred on the *amāvāsya* of the *amānta* Mārgaśīrṣa, the corresponding Christian date being the 28th December 1616 A.C. This date shows that the epoch of the Bhāṭika era is 623-24 A.C.

There is thus the difference of one year between the two epochs. The discrepancy can be reconciled by supposing that the latter date is recorded in a current year, and the former, in an expired year.

These two dates show that the Bhāṭika era was started in 624-25 A.C., and that it continued in use in Rajputana till the 17th century A.C.

Let us next see whether the year 73 of the Dhulēv plate refers to this Bhāṭika era. If the year was of this era, the Āśvayuja saṁvatsara must have been current in the neighbourhood of (623+73=) 696 A.C. And it is noteworthy that the year Āśvayuja was actually current in 695 A.C. according to the mean-sign system. There is still a difference of one year to be accounted for ; but it may be due to some confusion regarding current and expired years such as is noticed occasionally in the dates of other eras also.<sup>2</sup>

It seems probable, therefore, that the Dhulēv copper-plate grant is dated in the Bhāṭika era. Its name *Bhāṭika* can also be easily accounted for. If it was started by an ancestor of Bhētti, as seems probable, he may have borne a similar name<sup>3</sup> which, in the course of seven or eight centuries, may have been changed to *Bhāṭika*. It is not surprising that the name was not mentioned in connection with its early dates, for the same is noticed in the case of several other eras also.<sup>4</sup>

The dates of some other inscriptions found in Rajputana and the adjoining country such as the Kot (former Bharatpur State) inscription (year 48), the Tasa-i (former Alwar State) inscription (year 182) and the Udaipur Museum inscription (year 207), which are usually referred to the Harsha era,<sup>5</sup> may also be of the Bhāṭika era. These inscriptions have been only briefly noticed, and their facsimiles have not been published. It is not, therefore, known whether any of them contain any data useful for verification. Besides, there is no definite evidence that the Harsha era spread to Rajputana.<sup>6</sup> An era generally spreads with the extension of political power, but we have no literary, epigraphic or other evidence indicating that Harsha's suzerainty or political influence extended to Rajputana and the neighbouring countries.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, we have the definite statements in the two inscriptions at Jaisalmer as well as some verifiable data in the present inscription which clearly show that the Bhāṭika era was started in Mēwād in the first quarter of the seventh century A.C. If the aforementioned records from the former Bharatpur

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., No. 962.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., similar dates of the Kalachuri and Śaka eras. *ABORI.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 35 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 265.

<sup>3</sup> If he was the grandfather of Bhētti he may have borne the same name as the latter. In India grandsons are often named after their grandfather.

<sup>4</sup> The name of the Kalachuri era is, for instance, noticed for the first time in a record of the 12th century A.C. The current names of the Vikrama and Śālivāhana eras are first noticed in the records of the 10th and the 13th century respectively.

<sup>5</sup> G. H. Ojha, *History of Rajputana* (Hindi), Vol. I, p. 161.

<sup>6</sup> The Hund inscription also seems to be dated in the Bhāṭika era. For the correct readings and verification of the two dates mentioned in it, see my article entitled 'The Harsha and Bhāṭika Eras' in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 191 ff.

<sup>7</sup> See R. S. Tripathi's *History of Kanauj*, pp. 118 ff.



and Alwar States are also dated in the Bhātika era as they seem to be, it would not be wrong to infer that there was a great empire flourishing in Rajputana and the neighbouring territory in the seventh century A.C.

As for the localities mentioned in the present inscription, no place-name like Kishkindhā is noticeable in the vicinity of Dhulēv. About four miles south-east of Dhulēv there are extensive ruins of an ancient town near the modern village of Kalyānpur where the present plate is said to have been found. These ruins may mark the site of ancient Kishkindhā. Ūbbaraka, the *agra-hāra* village, may be modern Umbari, about a mile to the north-west of Kalyānpur.<sup>1</sup> Tumbatāli cannot be traced in the neighbourhood.

#### TEXT<sup>2</sup>

- 1 ओ<sup>3</sup> नमः ॥ स्वस्ति किष्किन्दा<sup>4</sup> । महाराजभेतिः [कुशली] सर्वानिव  
[स्वानायुक्तक]विनियुक्तकच(चा)टभटकुटुम्बिमहत्तरद्राज्जिकां(कान्) बोधयत्य<sup>5</sup>
- 2 [स्तु] वो विदितं यथा मया महाराजबप्पदत्तिः तस्यैव पुण्याप्यायननिमित्त्यर्थ<sup>6</sup>  
भट्टिनागब्राह्मणाय चन्द्रात्त्रेयसगोत्रायः<sup>6</sup> वादसनेय-
- 3 सगोत्राय<sup>7</sup> [ऊ]ब्बरकग्रामाग्राहारे अनुमतिः दत्ता [1\*] अस्य कृषतः कर्षापयतो<sup>8</sup>  
वा परिपन्थना<sup>9</sup> न करणीया ग्रामे वासिभिश्च समुचि-
- 4 [त]भागहिरण्यदेयोपनयः कायः(र्यः) [1\*] भवति चात्र श्लोकः [1\*] षष्ठि<sup>10</sup>  
वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गो मोदति भूमिदः [1\*] अ(आ)च्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च
- 5 तान्येव नरके वसेत्<sup>11</sup> ॥ राज्यप्रतिमत्तावर्षैः तृप्ततिभिः<sup>11</sup> अश्वयुजसंवत्सरेः<sup>12</sup> [1\*]  
दु(द्व)तको यज्ञदेवः ॥ लिखितं च(च) साम्बभटेनः<sup>13</sup> [1\*]
- 6 महाराजभेतिस्वहस्तोः<sup>14</sup> । भट्टिवडस्य स्वहस्तः ॥ <sup>15</sup>तुम्बतालीनिवेशे सामन्तभट्ट(तुं)-  
वडसकाशात्<sup>14</sup> दु(द्व)तकः कर्कभटः ॥
- 7 श्रीसामन्तभट्टपदस्यानुमतिः [1\*] दूतकोत्तर सामन्तभट्टवहितः [1\*]

<sup>1</sup> For the identification of the places I am obliged to Pandit A. K. Vyas, Superintendent, Udaipur Museum.

<sup>2</sup> From a photograph of the plate, supplied by Pandit A. K. Vyas.

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>4</sup> Read किष्किन्दायाः. The following *danḍa* is superfluous.

<sup>5</sup> Read महाराजबप्पदत्तेः पुण्याप्यायननिमित्तम्. [See p. 7 below.—Ed.]

<sup>6</sup> This *visarga* is superfluous.

<sup>7</sup> Read वाजसनेयसब्राह्मचारिणे.

<sup>8</sup> Read कर्षयतो.

<sup>9</sup> Read परिपन्थना.

<sup>10</sup> Read षष्टिं.

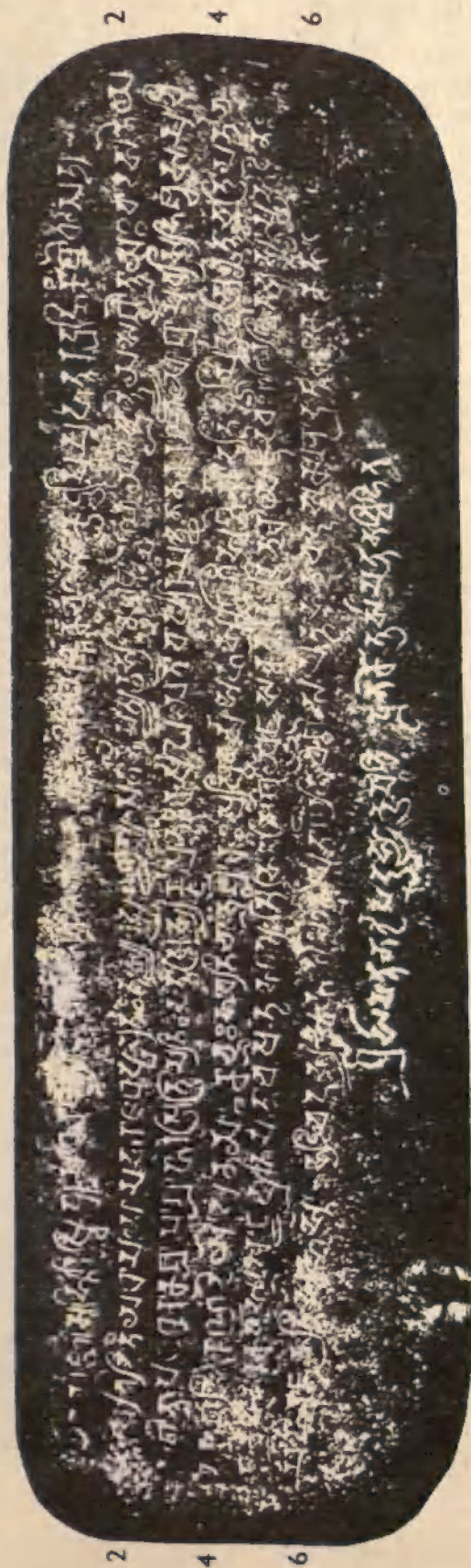
<sup>11</sup> Read राज्यप्रतिपत्तिवर्षे त्रिसप्ततितमे.

<sup>12</sup> Read अश्वयुजसंवत्सरे. TL more and that after साम्बभटेन may have been intended as a sign of punctuation.

<sup>13</sup> See n. 12, above.

<sup>14</sup> Read स्वहस्तः.

<sup>15</sup> This may be read as तुम्बताली also, but the medial vowel of the first *akṣara* may have been intended to be *u* as in *Jātaka* further in this line. [The *akṣaras* in question are *tra* and *dra*.—D.O.S.]



SCALE : SEVEN-EIGHTHS





## No. 2—NOTE ON THE DHULEV PLATE OF MAHARAJA BHETTI

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

Professor V. V. Mirashi has edited the above inscription in the foregoing pages. We find it difficult to agree with many of the Professor's suggestions based on the evidence of the record as interpreted by him. In the present note we are inclined to examine primarily a group of five suggestions offered by Prof. Mirashi in this connection.

The first of these suggestions is that the era to which the date of the Dhulēv plate, viz., year 73, has to be referred "marked the foundation of the kingdom by an ancestor of Bhētti" who issued the charter. According to the second suggestion, which is based on the first, the said ancestor of the issuer of the plate was the latter's grandfather who also bore the name *Bhētti*. The third suggestion, based on the second, is that *Bhāṭika*, the name of an era, the epoch of which falls in 623-24 or 624-25 A. C. and to which the Professor is inclined to refer the year 73 of the inscription under review, is a later modification of the name of Bhētti who was the grandfather of the issuer of the Dhulēv plate and founded the era in question. According to the fourth suggestion, which seeks to justify the foundation of an era as laid down in the third, the dynasty, to which the founder of the Bhāṭika era and his grandson who issued the Dhulēv plate belonged, ruled over "a great empire flourishing in Rajputana and the neighbouring territory in the seventh century A. C." The fifth suggestion, apparently meant to defend the fourth, is that Rājasthān was outside the sphere of influence of the great Harshavardhana (606-47 A.C.), and therefore the era used in the Dhulēv plate cannot be the Harsha era of 606 A.D.

In our opinion, the first of the above group of five suggestions, which is really the basis of the remaining four, rests on a misunderstanding of the evidence of the Dhulēv plate. Consequently the other suggestions, based as they are on a shaky foundation, are even more unjustified. The date portion of the Dhulēv plate in line 5 of the inscription reads: *rājya-pratimattā-vashaiḥ trisaptatibhiḥ Aśvayuja-samvatsarēḥ* which has been amended by Prof. Mirashi as *rājya-pratipattivarshē trisaptatitamē Aśvayuja-samvatsarē*. According to the Professor, "the 73rd year when the grant was made is said to have been reckoned from 'the acquisition of the kingdom' (*rājya-pratipatti*)". He thinks, as noted above, that the era, to which the year has to be referred, "marked the foundation of the kingdom by an ancestor of Bhētti". Thus the "acquisition of the kingdom" is referred to the founder of the royal family to which *Mahārāja* Bhētti, issuer of the charter, belonged. In our opinion, the passage speaks of *Mahārāja* Bhētti's accession to the throne and has nothing to do with any of his ancestors.

As to the foundation of an era in ancient India, we have elsewhere<sup>1</sup> shown how an early era appears to have been nothing more than the regnal reckoning of an independent king (who was not bound to use the regnal date of a suzerain) continued by his successors and how the years of an era were often referred to exactly as regnal years. The Gupta era was founded by an ancestor of Chandragupta II (376-414 A.C.). This is clear from the Mathura inscription<sup>2</sup> of that monarch, the date portion of which reads: *Śrī-Chandraguptasya vijaya-rājya-samvatsarē pañcamē 5 kālānuvartitamāna-samvatsarē śkashashīḥ* (*śshashītamē*) 61, "in the year five—5—of the victorious reign of the illustrious Chandragupta, in the year sixtyone—61—according to the era". Here both the regnal year of the king and the year of the Gupta era are used side by side. But generally the year of the regnal reckoning was omitted while the year of the era was used as if it were a regnal year. Thus the Gadhwa inscription<sup>3</sup> of the time of the same Gupta emperor has the date: *śrī-*

<sup>1</sup> *Vikrama Volume*, edited by R. K. Mookerjee, Gwalior, 1948, pp. 564-65.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 270; *IHQ*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 271-55.

<sup>3</sup> Bhandarkar's List, No. 1261. See also *śrī-Kumārāguptasya-abhivarddhāmāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsarē śhāśvatē* (*vatitamē*) (*ibid.*, No. 1263), *śrī-Kumārāgupta-rājya-samvatsarē* 93 (*ibid.*, No. 1264), etc., etc. Note further *śrī-Sāntikarādīva-rājya-samvat* 93 (*ibid.*, No. 2042), etc.



*Chandragupta-rājya-samvatsarē* 88, "in the year 88 of the reign of the illustrious Chandragupta". By this we have not to understand that the inscription in question was incised in the eighty-eighth regnal year of Chandragupta II but that it was engraved in the eighty-eighth year of the Gupta era which fell in the reign of the said Gupta monarch. Just as in this case the year 88 of the Gupta era is represented as the *rājya-samvatsara* (i.e., a year of the reign) of Chandragupta II, in the Dhulēv plate the year 73 of an era is stated to have been the *rājya-pratipatti-varsha* (i.e., the year of the acquisition of kingdom, the year of accession to the throne, the first regnal year) of *Mahārāja Bhētti*, issuer of the charter. Of course the Dhulēv plate does not clearly state: *śrī-Bhētti-rājya-pratipatti-varshē trisaptatitāmē*; but we have numerous instances of dates without specific reference to the king. Thus the Udayagiri inscription<sup>1</sup> of the time of Chandragupta II simply gives the date in the words: *Samvatsarē* 82, while the Sānchi inscription<sup>2</sup> of the same reign merely has: *Sam* 93. As indicated by the Gadhwā inscription referred to above, the contracted dates of these two records were expected to stand respectively for *śrī-Chandragupta-rājya-samvatsarē* 82 and *śrī-Chandragupta-rājya-samvatsarē* 93.

We believe that the Dhulēv plate is dated in the year 73 of some era, the year corresponding to the first regnal year of *Mahārāja Bhētti* who issued the charter. This fact, however, does not prove that the era in question was founded by one of Bhētti's ancestors. The records of certain kings of Kausāmbī (modern Kosam near Allahabad) "are characterised by the use of an era which seems to be no other than Kanishka's reckoning, i.e., the Śaka era of A.D. 78, introduced in the locality during the rule of Kanishka I".<sup>3</sup> But the language, in which the dates are quoted in the inscriptions, reminds us of the dates of the Gupta records referred to above, e.g., *śrī-Bhadrāmāghasya samvatsarē* 86,<sup>4</sup> *śrī-Bhīmavarmmaṇaḥ samvat* 139,<sup>5</sup> etc. The era of 248-49 A.C. is believed by scholars, including Prof. Mirashi, to have started from the accession of the Ābhīra king *Īśva-raśēna*.<sup>6</sup> But the year 245 of this era is quoted in an inscription of the Traikūṭakas as: *Trai-kūṭānāṁ pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsara-tata-dvayē pañchachaturīṁśaduttarē*,<sup>7</sup> although even Prof. Mirashi has not taken this passage to indicate that the era in question was founded by the Traikūṭakas. The years of the era of the Gaṅgas of Kalinga were originally introduced by the expression *pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsara*,<sup>8</sup> but later often by the expression *Gaṅgēya-varṣa-pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsara*.<sup>9</sup> In a record of the Kadamba feudatories of the Gaṅgas, however, the era is introduced by the passage *Gaṅga-Kadamba-varṣa-pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsara*.<sup>10</sup> This does not mean that the Kadambas had anything to do with the foundation of the Gaṅga era.

As we have shown, the Dhulēv plate was issued by *Mahārāja Bhētti* in the year of his accession, i.e., his first regnal year, corresponding to the year 73 of an era, and there is nothing to suggest that this era was founded by one of his ancestors. That the charter was issued soon after Bhētti's accession is also indicated by another passage of the Dhulēv plate, although it has been misunderstood by Prof. Mirashi. In line 2 of the record we have the passage: *mahārāja-bappa-dattīḥ targa-śiva puṇy-āpyāyana-nimittartham* which has been amended by the Professor as *Mahārāja-Bappodattīḥ puṇy-āpyāyana-nimittam*. He thinks that the grant was made by Bhētti "for the

<sup>1</sup> *Epik.*, No. 1960.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1202.

<sup>3</sup> *The Age of Imperial Unity (The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. II)*, p. 176; cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 385.

<sup>4</sup> *Select Inscriptions*, loc. cit.

<sup>5</sup> *Bhandarkar's List*, No. 1277.

<sup>6</sup> *Cl. ABORI*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 1 ff.; *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 222.

<sup>7</sup> *Bhandarkar's List*, No. 1202. See *JRAS*, 1905, pp. 566ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 1471 ff., 2045 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 1480, 1482, etc.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 2053.



religious merit of *Mahārāja* Bappadatti, who may have been the king's father". But in this interpretation the expression *tasy=aiva* is totally ignored. There can be little doubt that the intended reading of the passage is *mahārāja-bappa-dattau tasy=aiva puṇy-āpyāyana-nimittam* which has to be read with *Ubbarakagrām-āgrahārē* in the following line. Here *bappa* means 'father' and *datti*, 'a gift'. The expression *tasy=aiva* stands for *bappasy=aiva*. The village in question was apparently granted by *Mahārāja* Bhētti's father who was also a *Mahārāja*, although his personal name is not mentioned in the record. Bhētti had to ratify the grant made by his father for the religious merit of the latter obviously because the original donor had died before the execution of the deed. A similar case is offered by the Hirahadagalli plates of Pallava Śivaskandavarman, which record the ratification of a grant previously made by the king's *mahārāja-bappa-svāmin*.<sup>1</sup> Epigraphic passages like *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-bappa-pād-ānu-dhyāta*, *paramadaivata-bappabhaṭṭāraka-śrī-pād-ānudhyāta*, etc.,<sup>2</sup> show that the word *bappa* in these cases has to be taken in the sense of 'father' and not in that of a personal name<sup>3</sup>.

The above comments will show that Prof. Mirashi's first suggestion regarding the foundation of the era by an ancestor of *Mahārāja* Bhētti is, to say the least, inconclusive. The other suggestions, based on this one, do not therefore require elaborate refutation. The second suggestion that the founder of the era in question was another Bhētti who was the grandfather of the issuer of the Dhulēv plate may be passed over without comments. The third suggestion that *Bhāṭika* is a later modification of *Bhētti* can hardly be seriously considered as it is a philological speculation of little value. The contention that the year 73 of the Dhulēv plate is to be referred to the *Bhāṭika* era, known only from two Jaisalmer inscriptions of 1438 and 1616 A.C., is unsatisfactory not only because Dhulēv is far away from Jaisalmer but also because there is no evidence regarding the prevalence of the *Bhāṭika* era before the fifteenth century A.C. The *Bhāṭika* era may have been a solar modification of the Hijrī like the Faalī, Bengālī and other Sāls of a later date.<sup>4</sup>

The fourth suggestion of Prof. Mirashi that the dynasty represented by the issuer of the Dhulēv plate ruled over "a great empire" goes clearly against the known facts of Indian history and epigraphy. The very nature of the document under review as well as its issuer's humble title shows beyond doubt that *Mahārāja* Bhētti was not an imperial ruler. Hiuen-tsang's account and epigraphic records discovered in Rājasthān do not indicate the possibility of the existence in that area, about the seventh century A.C., of a great empire with which Bhētti can be reasonably associated. Whether Harshavardhana succeeded in extending his political influence over the whole of Rājasthān need not be discussed in this connection. Suffice it to say that his paternal kingdom comprised the Eastern Panjab together with the contiguous areas of Rājasthān, that he succeeded in making himself master of the erstwhile Maukhari dominions in the U. P. and Bihār and that he led an expedition against the Maitraka king of Valabhī ruling over Kathiawar and the adjoining regions, who was subdued and became one of Harsha's subordinate allies. Dhulēv lying about 45 miles to the south of Udaipur was apparently not far away from the dominions of the Maitraka king.<sup>5</sup> It is therefore more probable that the Dhulēv area was not outside the sphere of Harshavardhana's influence at least during the years when he was leading an expedition against Kathiawar. Prof. Mirashi's calculations do not appear to preclude the possibility of the Harsha era being used in the Dhulēv plate.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 438.

<sup>2</sup> *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 186, note.

<sup>3</sup> See *Successors of the Śālavāhanas*, pp. 183 ff.

<sup>4</sup> For the general belief about the origin of the *Bhāṭika* era, see G. H. Ojha, *Prāchīna-lipi-mālā*, p. 178. For the negligible difference between the commencement of the *Bhāṭika* era (623-24 A. C.) and that of the Hijra (622-23 A. C.) see the explanation of Prof. Mirashi himself; above, p. 3 and note 2. Cf. *JASL*, 1951, pp. 79 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Śīlāditya of the Samoli (old Udaipur State, Rājasthān) inscription (Bhandarkar's List, No. 12) may actually be Harshavardhana.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *IBQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 342 ff.



## No. 3—PALDI INSCRIPTION OF GUHILA ARISIMHA ; V. S. 1173

(1 Plate)

AKSHAYA KEERTY VYAS, UDAIPUR

The inscription was noticed by the late Pt. G. H. Ojhā in the *Annual Report, Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer*, for the year 1916. He attributes it to the reign of Guhila Vijayasimha, a copper-plate grant of whose reign he discovered in the possession of a resident of the village of Kadmal,<sup>1</sup> a few miles north-west of Udaipur. But he does not appear to have attempted to see whether the fragments of the inscribed lintels discovered by him would make a complete record. This is responsible for the grave error in its attribution, which has been accepted by almost all subsequent writers on the subject. It will be seen, as we proceed further, that the epigraph really pertains to the reign of **Arisimha** (son of Vijayasimha) who was the ruling prince in V. S. 1173 (1116 A.C.).

It is an every day experience of archaeologists to find ignorant folk indulging in treating important relics of the past without the slightest concern, whether they be epigraphs, sculptures or architectural remains, and our record presents a glaring illustration of this type of treatment. It was originally engraved on the inner faces of the three lintels spanning the open porch of a small shrine dedicated to Kārttikasvāmin (according to Ojhā), situated a bit obliquely in front of the Vāmēśvara Śiva temple near the village of **Paldī**, about five miles north of Udaipur. The two side lintels are still *in situ*; but the central one, evidently longer in size, was not found in its original place when I visited the site a few years ago. As a matter of fact, it had already been broken into two pieces long ago, and the fragments had been put to different uses by the ignorant people. The smaller or the right side piece was shaped like a crude bracket chiselling away a portion of the inscription, to support a beam of the Nandi pavilion opposite the main Śiva temple; and the bigger or the left side fragment was used for carving out *satī* figures in relief on its lower face, scratching away the lower part of the last line of the inscription. It was this latter piece containing the name of Vijayasimha, which was found out by Ojhā, while the former one which contained the name of his son Arisimha, he could not trace, though it also lay half-hidden in the structure of the pavilion near at hand. This is how the mistake crept in, which led to another mistake of assigning the Kadmal plates to the reign of Vijayasimha by shifting its genuine date to about two and a half decades later, in the light of the date of the present epigraph supposed to belong to his reign. Ojhā also thought that all these inscribed pieces of stone were possibly brought from Āhār and reset where they have been found; but, in view of their dimensions, they appear to have formed part of the original structure in which they were found, in spite of the fact that they record the construction of the bigger temple dedicated to Śiva.

It is a brief record which does not admit of any special remark as regards its **palaeography** and **orthography**. It is written in Nāgarī characters. *Śirō-mātrās* and *prishṭha-mātrās* are both used to denote medial *ai*, *ī* and *au*. *Y* and *p*, though generally different in shape, have at places become almost identical; cf. *maulōpachaya* (line 2), *yō vijaya-* (line 3). Nasal sounds are represented both by *anusvāra* and class consonants; e.g., [*Bha*]gavān=jagad-ēka-va(ba)mdhur- (line 8). *V* is used in lieu of *b* in a few cases. Consonants following *r* are generally reduplicated.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and the whole composition is in verse excepting the adoration to Śiva in a small sentence at the very outset, and the portion relating to the date, author, scribe, engraver and others, towards the end, which are in prose. There are in all twenty-four verses in different metres, none of which is numbered.

The inscription opens with a symbol followed by salutation to Śiva. The lustre of Śambhu, i.e., Śiva, is praised in verse 1. Verse 2 describes in a poetic way the well-known royal family of **Guhila**. The manner in which Guhila is mentioned here proves him to be the real progenitor of

<sup>1</sup> Ojhā, *Rājputānā kā Itihāsa*, Fasc. II, pp. 445-46.



the family as against Bāpā of later inscriptions, and this is supported by other older records like the Āṭapura inscription<sup>1</sup> of Śaktikumāra of V. S. 1034 (977 A. C.) and Kadmāl plates of Guhila Vijayasimha, which are being published in this journal. From verse 3 begins the **genealogical account** proper, which, though brief covering only three generations, is important inasmuch as it gives a correct succession of the three princes Vairisimha, Vijayasimha and Arisimha, amidst whom there now remains no room for any interpolation. We know from verse 147<sup>2</sup> of the third slab of the Kumbhalgarh inscription of V. S. 1517 (1460 A. C.) that Vijayasimha's son and successor was Vairasimha (i.e., Vairisimha), and it was after him that Arasimha (i.e., Arisimha) appeared. But the epigraph on hand, dealing as it does with only three generations, appears to represent the correct genealogy of the dynasty during that period. Moreover, the author of the Kumbhalgarh inscription, who did not even know the name of Vijayasimha whom he mentions only in vague terms as *narēndra*, is presumably liable to make a mistake regarding his successor. This is how the name Vairasimha, falling between Vijayasimha (the *narēndra*) and Arasimha in that record, now appears to be an unauthentic interpolation.

No information of any historical value is to be found in the description of the three successive rulers mentioned in this epigraph. **Vairisimha**, the first on the list here, is described in verses 3-4. Then comes **Vijayasimha**, his son, whose account also covers two stanzas (verses 5-6). Unfortunately, portions of the slab containing these two verses are damaged, so that satisfactory comprehension of their original import has now become impossible. Verse 6, however, aims at describing him at war with a multitude of other powerful princes, wherein he proved himself irresistible; but the manner of the description is more poetic than historical, and it is difficult to ascertain as to which historical event the author here intends to refer to. Similarly verses 7-8 make mention of **Arisimha**, son of Vijayasimha, whose martial and other qualities have likewise been described in a general way. Verse 9 proclaims him as the ruling prince of Mēdapāṭa, i.e., Mewār, at the time of the record.

Then, in verses 10-11, follows the description of Śiva incarnating himself on the earth at **Kāyāvarōhana** in Bhrigukachchha (Broach District of Gujarāt). This incarnation evidently refers to **Lakulīśa**, who was the founder of the Pāsupata doctrine of Śaivism, and temples dedicated to whom have been discovered in various places. His monastic order was upheld after him by his worthy disciples, **Kuśika** and others, who were initiated into the Pāsupata philosophy by Lakulīśa himself (verse 12). Thereafter the monastic succession passed to many a similar sage, who led a pious and austere life (verses 13-15). Verses 16-22 give a list of teachers succeeding one after the other. It contains six such names with **Khaṇḍśvara** at the top, who is said to have been the head preceptor (*guru*).<sup>3</sup> He was succeeded by **Janakarāśi**, **Trilōchanarāśi**, **Vasantarāśi**, **Valkala** and **Śivabhakti**. Śivabhakti was the senior disciple of Valkala. All these were saints of extra-ordinary philosophical and spiritual attainments. Verse 23 records the **object** of the inscription, which is the construction of a temple of Śiva jointly by Valkala and his seniormost pupil Śivabhakti. This structure seems to be the bigger Śiva temple on the site, now popularly known as the shrine of Vāmēśvara, situated opposite the smaller shrine dedicated to Kārttikasvāmin, to which the slabs containing the inscription now belong. In verse 24, long life for the Śiva temple has been prayed for.

The installation of the god Śiva and the consecration of the temple took place **on Sunday, the ninth day of the dark half of the month of Jyēshtha in the Vikrama year 1173**. This date corresponds to Sunday, the 7th May, 1116 A. C., taking the Indian month to be *pūrṇimānta*. *Navamī* commenced on that day at 12.

<sup>1</sup> *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 311 and 325.

<sup>3</sup> [The verse seems to say that the Śaiva teachers belonged to a sect called Guṇakhaṇḍśvara.—D. C. S.]



*Pañḍita Śūdraga* was the author of the inscription which was written on the stone slab by *Pañḍita Hariśchandra*, the scribe. The engraving was done by the mason *Kāśarin*. The installation and the sanctifying ceremony were conducted by the learned astrologer *Yasōdēva*. *Rājaputra Salakhaparā*, son of *Ūpalarā* of the *Sōlamki* race, was the officer in charge of all arrangements concerned.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

[Metres : verses 1, 5, 9, 11, 13-16, 18 and 21-24 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 2 *Sragdharā* ; verses 3, 6, and 8 *Śārdūlavikriḍita* ; verse 4, a variety of *Mātrāsamaka* ; verses 7 and 17 *Āryā* ; verse 10 *Vasantatilakā* ; verses 12 and 20 *Gītī* ; and verse 19 *Upēndravajrā*.]

## First Lintel

- 1 ॐ<sup>2</sup> ॥ ॐ नमः शिवाय ॥ वंदे तच्छांभवं ज्योतिर्जगज्या(ज्या)योद्धुत-  
प्रभ्रम(म्) । नमतां दुःखजातावि(नि) यास्मिन्निन्धनतां ययुः ॥ [१\*]  
वंशोस्त्यस्मिञ्जगति विदितो
- 2 हारिविस्तारिशाखः प्राज्यैः पत्रैर्गुहिलनृपतेरा[श्चि]तोत्तापहारी । गाढो मौलोपच-  
यततिभिश्चिद्रहीन[स्सु]वृत्तो रन्य(म्य)च्छायो द्विरसनकुलैर्मुक्तदूर-
- 3 प्रसङ्गः ॥ [२\*] एकस्मादजनि क्षितीश[ति]लको मूलं यशःशाखिनः स्थानं यो  
विजयश्चियां गुणनिधिः सद्रिक्रमस्याकरः । कंदः कीर्तिलताततेर्ण(नं)यपदं
- 4 [तप्तो(प्त)<sup>3</sup>]प्रतापैकभूः पात्रं पुण्यकद[म्ब]कस्य मतिमाञ्छीवैरिसिंहो नृपः ॥ [३\*]  
पशुपतिरिव कृतरिपुपुरदाहो दनुकुलरिपुरिव कृतसुरपक्षः । सुरप-
- 5 तिरिव कृतसदवनलो[भो] रतिपतिरिव च सुहचिरशरीरः ॥ [४\*]

Second Lintel<sup>4</sup>

- 6 तस्माद्विजयसि[हा]ख्यो भूपतिर्भूपतेः शुचिः । स्वकारणमु[णा] × × × × × ×  
(न्वि<sup>5</sup>)[तो]जनि ॥ [५\*] — — — — —  
[ष]टाटोपं वह्निर्गुहिलं(पैः\*) — — — — — [वि]राजिसंन्यनिव[हैः] — — —  
संवर्धभिः । मात्तेभैरिव केसरीसरभसैरेकोप्यने[कैस्त]था सोढो<sup>6</sup> — [झु]त-  
भूरिवि — — — — —<sup>7</sup> सिंहद्वितीयोरभिः ॥ [६\*] श्रीमानरिसि-

<sup>1</sup> From ink estampages.

<sup>2</sup> Indicated by a symbol.

<sup>3</sup> *Visarga* mistakenly engraved after this [°*pā*(*pta*)] has later on been cancelled. [The reading seems to be *śaśmī*.—D. C. S.]

<sup>4</sup> Some letters between the left and right portions of this lintel are completely lost in all the lines.

<sup>5</sup> Here as well as in some other cases in the following lines, round brackets and star indicate that the letters are damaged beyond recognition and have been restored conjecturally.

<sup>6</sup> [Possibly *śoḍha*=*śyadhuta*.—D. C. S.]

<sup>7</sup> [The missing syllables may be conjecturally restored as *krama-guṇaḥ*. —Ed.]



First Lintel

2  
4

Second Lintel: Left Portion

6  
8  
10

Second Lintel: Right Portion

6  
8  
10

Third Lintel

12  
14  
16





- 7 हो[स्मा]न्पतेज्जितो घनुर्दरो वीरः । क्षुरिकाबंधपटीयान्नगरचनापण्डितोवनी-  
पालः ॥ [७\*] — — — — [दृप्त]वैरितिमिराण्यस्य[त्य](धो निः\*)-  
[स्व]ने पृथ्वीं च(चा)त्र तनो[र](त पाल\*)यति च क्षोणीभूतो भानुवत् ।  
राज्याखण्डितमण्डलः प्रतिदिनं प्रकलान्तदोषाकरः सद्रक्ष्यो(क्षो)दयशैलशेखर-  
मणि[श्च]ण्ड-
- 8 प्रतापश्रिया ॥ [८\*] तस्मिन्नवति भूपाले मेदपाटमहीमिमां(माम्) । यं प्रा[प्य]  
प्राप या वृद्धि<sup>1</sup> प्रजा सौराज्यनंदिनी ॥ [९\*] संप्राप्ततीव्रकलिकालकुठा[र]-  
सार्वेर्द्धम्मंद्भुजं समा[भ](क्तपरित\*)<sup>2</sup>प्यमानं(नम्) । तद्रक्षणाय [भ]गवाञ्जगदेक-  
वं(वं)घुर्द्धो दिवोवतरति [स्म] शिवः स्वमूर्त्या ॥ [१०\*] अतस्तदा[दि]देवस्य  
प्रा[प्य]तं धाम
- 9 भूतले । काया[व]रोहणं नाम्ना भू[गु]कच्छविभूषणम् ॥ [११\*] जग्मुस्तीर्थकरत्वं  
कुशिकाद्याः केपि तत्र सू(भू)देवाः । सर्व्वज्ञत्वाद्युपतं योगं लब्ध्वा(ब्ध्वा)  
भर्वन्निदं सा[क्षा]त् ॥ [१२\*] ज्ञानां(ना)म्नो हु(तकल्माषा ब्र\*)ह्मभूतल्यतेजसाः ।]  
संसारसा[ग]रोत्तीर्णा मुनयो ये महोदयाः ॥ [१३\*] व(ब)भूवुर्वू(ब्बं)हवस्ते[भ्यो]  
वंद्याः स[द्गो]चरा[ः] अमी । भस्मो-
- 10 दलनधौताङ्गा(स्तरु\*)[मू]लनि[वा]सिनः ॥ [१४\*] उद्धृतोयं तपोभिर्ये[र्द्ध]ज्जन्व<sup>3</sup>णो  
भावा[ण]वे । वाराह(हे)न यथा [पृथ्वी] विषने(षाणे)न युगक्षये ॥ [१५\*]  
तेषु प्रशमगोत्रा ये [गुरु\*ख]ण्डेश्वराभिधाः । × × × × × × ×  
ते तपस्तेजोभिरावृताः ॥ [१६\*] भवति स्म ज[नक]राशिस्तन्मुनिवरल[ब्ध]योगदीक्षो  
यः । भवकम्मंकरटिसिंहो व्रतनख[र]ः

Third Lintel

- 11 [भ<sup>०</sup>]क्तिदं[ष्ट्रो] यः ॥ [१७\*] [श्रीत्रि]लो[चन]राशियो योगी योग[वि]चक्षणः ।  
शिवागमकृताभ्यासस्तस्मान्मुनिवरोभवत् ॥ [१८\*] व(ब)भूव तस्माद्भवभव्यभक्ति-  
वंसंतराशिः शुभपुण्यराशिः ॥(१) र(अ)वाप्य दीक्षां [वि]रतेंद्रियाथो

<sup>1</sup> Both the syllables constituting this word *viddhi* appear to be inaccurately engraved. [The reading seems to be *hriṣṭhi*.—D. C. S.]

<sup>2</sup> [Better *samanābhya* in *ta*.—D. C. S.]

<sup>3</sup> The lower parts of some of the letters between *majjan* and *viśāṇa* have been chiselled away for carving out *śaśi* figures in relief.

<sup>4</sup> The following two *daṇḍas* constituting a superfluous mark of punctuation seem to have been cancelled later on. [The reading appears to be *Guṇa*.—D. C. S.]

<sup>5</sup> There appears to be a superfluous sign for *jihvāmālīya* engraved above *kā*

<sup>6</sup> This letter is preceded by two symbols.



- 12 दक्षां महानंद[पद]प्रदो(दा)ने ॥ [१९\*] विदितो लोके तस्मादभव[द्यम]नियमनैष्ठिक-  
श्रेष्ठः । यो वल्कल इति नाम्ना कृतवल्कलकौपीनवननिवासात् ॥ [२०\*]  
शिवभक्तिः शुभाचारो जपध्यात(न)परः शमी । संसारपाश-
- 13 परशुलकुलीशेशतत्व(त्व)वित् ॥ [२१\*] यस्याभूज्येष्ठजः शिष्यो वरिष्ठो  
गुरुभक्तितु(तः)<sup>1</sup> । नैष्ठिकाचारतत्व(त्व)ज्ञो योगविद्योगिनां प्रियः ॥ [२२\*]  
विद्युल्लेखाचलं लोके जीवितं धनयौवनं(नम्) । अकारि मंदिरं ताभ्यां  
संविद्येदमुमापतेः ॥ [२३\*]
- 14 [अस्तु] देवो नवं शंभुः\* पूज्यधा(ध्या)तोत्र मंदिरे । यावत्सुरनदीं शब्दो  
विभक्तिं शिरसा विभुः ॥ [२४\*] संवत् ११७३ ज्येष्ठ वदि ९ रविदिने  
देवोयं प्रतिष्ठितः ॥ कृता प्रशस्तिरियं शू[द्र]गपंडितेन लिखिता पंडित-  
हरिश्चं-
- 15 द्रेण । आचार्यपदस्थज्योतिर्विद(द्)यशोदेवेन ज्ञातशास्त्रेणात्र प्रतिष्ठाविधिर्विहिता ।  
[उ]त्कीर्णा च केसरिसूत्रधारेणेति ॥ शिवमस्तु ॥ अत्र देवे गो[ष्ठ]कः\*]  
सौलंकिकवंशीयवा(रा)जपुत्रश्रीऊपलरासुतश्रीसल-
- 16 खणरा ॥

#### No. 4—TIPPALURU INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMADITYA II ; YEAR 1

(1 Plate)

H. K. NARASIMHASWAMI, OOTACAMUND

The subjoined inscription<sup>2</sup> was copied by me in the year 1937-38 at **Tippalūru** in the Kamalapuram *taluk* of the Cuddapah District. It is engraved on a red granite stone that was lying in a field on the road side about a mile to the west of the village. The stone has since been removed for safe custody to the village *chāvaḍi*. The inscription is edited below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

Tippalūru contains some early vestiges of archaeological interest besides the record under review. A pile of dressed granite stones along with some mutilated sculptures among them is all that is left of a temple of Śiva with the image of Nandi still lying in front of it under a banyan tree in the centre of the village. Among these broken sculptures is one of Śūrya, still intact with his seven steeds depicted at the base. Of greater interest than the image is a massive red stone pillar measuring almost ten feet in length, two feet square at the bottom tapering to about a foot square at the top and bearing an inscription, noteworthy for its palaeographic

<sup>1</sup> [The reading seems to be *bhaktishu*.—D. C. S.]

<sup>2</sup> This *ti* has been engraved below the letter *yyō*.

<sup>3</sup> *Annual Report on S.I.E.* for the year 1937-38, No. 284.

and linguistic features, on one of its faces.<sup>1</sup> Another inscription equally interesting, although belonging to a much later period, describes this village as an *agrahāra* granted to the eight renowned poets (*aṣṭa-diggaja-kaviśvarulu*) by king Kṛṣṇadēvarāya<sup>2</sup> of Vijayanagara.

The language of the inscription is Telugu written in the Telugu-Kannada script which is regular for the period to which it belongs, i.e., 8th century A.C. However, some noteworthy features in its palaeography serve as important clues to arrive at a more precise date for the record which does not otherwise furnish any details in this regard barring the regnal year of the king. A careful comparison of the forms of individual letters of this record with those of the Turimeḷḷa and the Dimmaguḍi epigraphs, both of Vikramāditya I<sup>3</sup>, reveals the following facts: (1) the Dravidian *r* in our record has taken its later form already observed in the Dimmaguḍi inscription whereas it still retains its earlier four-chambered form in the Turimeḷḷa record, (2) *m* shows a more developed stage in its formation in this record than in that of Dimmaguḍi; (3) *j* (lines 4, 5, 7, 10 and 23) occurs consistently throughout the record in its later form, a feature that is absent in the other two records. The engraver seems to have inadvertently fallen into the old style in carving this letter in line 5, but probably corrected his mistake by adding the loop at the top of the old *j* thereby leaving a permanent evidence marking the transitional period when the later form of this letter came to be used; but the older form had not yet been given up or forgotten and (4) the subscript *r* has no longer the vertical stroke or dent within it in its lower half but only a horizontal bar. On these counts therefore this record may reasonably be assigned to a date later than either the Turimeḷḷa or the Dimmaguḍi inscription which I have ascribed to Vikramāditya I. In other words, the Tippalūru record is to be assigned to Vikramāditya II and it belongs to the first year of his reign.

The inscription shows some peculiar orthographical and linguistic features. The use of the sonant *dh* in place of the surd *th* in *pridhivī* (line 7) and of the wrong class nasal *ṇ* in place of *ṁ* in *saṇva*<sup>4</sup> (line 8) may be noted. Attention may also be drawn to the words *ēḷu* (line 11), *pāḷa* (line 10) and *gaḷā nṛēni* (line 26) with the cerebral *ḷ*. In *vachchuvāṇru* (line 26) and *yuktunṛagu* (line 31), the use of *ṇ* in the ligatures *nṛa* and *nṛu* is of particular interest. It is a common feature in early Telugu records that this ligature occurs invariably with the dental *n* as in *Rēgonṛa*, *Koḷchukonṛa*,<sup>5</sup> *Tāṇrikonṛa*,<sup>6</sup> *Kanṛa*,<sup>7</sup> *ḷachchinavāṇru*,<sup>8</sup> *samyuktunṛugu*,<sup>9</sup> *vachchuvāṇru*,<sup>10</sup> *jampinavāṇru*,<sup>11</sup> *Satyādityunṛu*,<sup>12</sup> *Puṇyakumārūnṛu*,<sup>13</sup> etc. In the first four words denoting place names, the components *\*konṛa*, *Tāṇri* and *\*kanṛu* show the persistence of the earlier forms common to the Dravidian group of languages which are prevalent in Tamil even to day. The change of the superscript from *n* to *ṇ* round in the ligature under discussion perhaps marks a stage in its development from its early form *nṛ* to its later form *nḍ*. The suffixes *\*vāṇru* and *\*yuktunṛu* are obviously in singular in contrast with the plural suffix *\*vāru* in *jūchinavāru* in lines 24-25 which has for its subject several individuals whose names are enumerated in lines 22-24. The term *gulichina* in *gulichinavāru* (line 19) in the operative part of the record seems to stand for *kolichina* meaning 'measured', and *kulopiṇchina* (i.e., *koli-piṇchina*) is the causal form of *kolichina*.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., No. 283 page 79; above, Vol. XXVIII, plate opp. p. 229, inscription F and p. 233.

<sup>2</sup> Annual Report on S.F.E. for 1927-38, No. 282.

<sup>3</sup> See above, Vol. XXIX, p. 161 and plate.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 196, text, line 21.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 100, text, line 22.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., Vol. XVII, p. 328.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 260, text, line 13.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 230, text, lines 6 and 7.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 236, I. text lines 17-18 and 20.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., Vol. XI, p. 345, text, line 7.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 231, E. text, line 1.



The object of the record is to register a gift of (land as) *pannasa* at Manggalūru by Appārāpuli-Vāmbuḷu to Isvara, a Brāhmaṇa (*pāra*) of Vēṅgi (and a resident) of Tārumnūri, during the first regnal year of Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-Prithivīvallabha when Pōrmukharāma was governing the territory as far as the limits of the Penna on behalf of the Rāpa king.

The record is important on several counts. It is the earliest known among the lithic records of Vikramāditya II and perhaps the only one so far known of this king in the Telugu country.<sup>1</sup> The fact that it gives the regnal year of the king marks it out from his other lithic records which omit this detail. These apart, the mention of Pōrmukharāma raises some interesting issues. Who could this Pōrmukharāma be? The Rāmēśvaram pillar inscription<sup>2</sup> and the copper-plate grants<sup>3</sup> (the Mālōpāḍu plates and the Domnara-Nandyāla plates) of the Telugu-Chōḷa chief Puṇyakumāra attribute this epithet to him. The latter, viz., the copper-plate grants, in delineating the genealogy of this chief, mention his father Mahēndravarmān as the one who acquired the title Chōḷa-Mahārāja and describe him as the lord of the Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa and Kēraḷa (countries). Besides, he bore the epithets *Muditasilākshara* and *Navarāma*, the first in imitation of the Pallava *birudas* and the other similar to Pōrmukharāma which was one of the epithets borne by his son Puṇyakumāra. From the account given of them in the copper-plate grants and stone inscriptions, Puṇyakumāra's predecessors appear to have been powerful chiefs who wielded great authority. Perhaps as vassals of the Pallavas, they adopted names and epithets such as Sirhaviṣṇu, Mahēndravarmān, *Guṇamudita*, *Madamudita*, etc., similar to those of their overlords. Among them Erikal-Muturāju Puṇyakumāra, an early member of this family who was ruling over Rēnāḍu and who appears to have been a contemporary of Chāḷukya Vikramāditya I, in addition to adopting certain epithets in imitation of the Pallava titles, took fancy also to have his inscription engraved in the style of those of the Pallava sovereigns.<sup>4</sup> His later namesake Pōrmukharāma Puṇyakumāra bore the epithets *Mārdava-chitta* and *Madanavilāsa*, again in imitation of the Pallava titles. Thus from the time of

<sup>1</sup> The Annavaram-Agrahāram inscription in the Darsi Division of the Nellore District may also be ascribed to this king on account of its more developed script, but the inscription is not dated; see *An. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1933-34, part II, plate opp. page 29.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 234.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Vol. XI, p. 342; Vol. XXVII, p. 267.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 233, Inscription F in plate opp. p. 229. According to Mr. M. Venkataramayya, however, this Puṇyakumāra and his namesake of the copper-plate charters and lithic records are one and the same (ibid. pp. 220 f.). If palaeography permits the dating of a record to a period fairly within narrow limits of say, a quarter of a century, and historical considerations do not militate against such a dating, then it is difficult to assign to the Rāmēśvaram pillar inscription and the allied records (the copper-plate charters) the same date as that assigned to the Tippalūru pillar inscription. The palaeography of the latter is certainly far more archaic than that of the other records. Among the records of these chiefs published in this journal, the Kalamaḷla, Erraguḍipāḍu, Veldurti and the Tippalūru epigraphs (op. cit., Inscriptions A, B, E and F) have been assigned to different periods ranging from the last quarter of the 6th century to the first half of the 7th century A. C. mainly on palaeographical considerations. Allowing a fair margin for the slight variations in the style of the script due to the various factors involved in the process of engraving on stone, it may be observed by a careful comparison of their palaeography, especially of the test letters *j*, *d*, *b* and *r* that all these records may be assigned more or less to the same period within a range of about 25 years, the difference in palaeography between the earliest and the latest of them being just as much as that between the Turimēḷla and the Dimmaguḍi inscriptions of Vikramāditya I (see, above, Vol. XXIX, p. 163, plate). It appears to me that the Kalamaḷla inscription of Erikal-Muturāju Dhanañjaya may not be far removed in point of time from that of the Tippalūru pillar inscription of Erikal-Muturāju Puṇyakumāra. The provenance, the period and the title Erikal-Muturāju assumed by Dhanañjaya and Puṇyakumāra in these two records being identical, can it be that the two chiefs too were one and the same? Dhanañjaya was, according to the copper-plate grants, succeeded by his son Mahēndravarmān who acquired the title of Chōḷa-Mahārāja. The Urutūru and the Indukūru records (op. cit., pp. 228 ff., inscriptions C and D) may well have belonged to this chief. That neither the copper-plate charters nor any of the lithic records of this family attribute the surname Puṇyakumāra to Dhanañjaya is indeed inexplicable.



Erikal-Muturāju Puṇyakumāra of the Tippalūru pillar inscription down to that of Pōrmukharāma Puṇyakumāra of the Rāmēśvaram pillar inscription and the copper-plate grants, the Telugu-Chōlas seem to have been powerful chiefs under the influence of the Pallavas. In the Rāmēśvaram pillar inscription Puṇyakumāra assumes, in addition to the characteristic title 'Chōla-Mahārāja' of his family, the epithet *Prithvivallabha*, probably in imitation of the Western Chālukya kings who bore this as a distinct appellation. To revert to the point under discussion, it would be difficult, under the circumstances, to suggest the identity of Pōrmukharāma of our record with Pōrmukharāma Puṇyakumāra of the Telugu-Chōla family notwithstanding the similarities in the palaeographical features of these records and in the epithets *Pōrmukharāma* and *Navarāma* of the members of this family with the name Pōrmukharāma of the chief of our record. The identity is rendered all the more difficult as Pōrmukharāma of our record figures as ruling a territory on behalf of a Bāṇa king (*Bāṇarājula-pāla*).<sup>1</sup> For, the Bāṇas who were a comparatively less powerful family than the Telugu-Chōlas, were themselves subordinate to the Chālukyas not only at the period of the record under discussion but also during the reign of Vijayāditya, the predecessor of Vikramāditya II.<sup>2</sup> The Turamara-vishaya where they flourished bordered on Rēnāḍu over which the Telugu-Chōlas ruled. However, in the absence of further substantial evidence Pōrmukharāma of our record cannot be identified with the Telugu-Chōla Pōrmukharāma Puṇyakumāra.

As for the places mentioned in the inscription, Dārumunḡi or Tārumunḡi seems to be referred to, judging from the context, as the native village of Ísvara, the Brāhmaṇa of Vēṅgi. The mention of this very village in the Rāmēśvaram pillar inscription seems to point to its location in Rēnāḍu rather than in Vēṅgi. I am, however, unable to identify it. The name Maṇḡalūru, the village where the gift (lands) lay and the present Morrayapalle, an *ināda* village in the Proddatur taluk of the Cuddapah District, sound alike but their identity is doubtful as the latter lies far to the north of the Pennā, beyond the limits of the donor's territory. The name Muḍibiyam mentioned in the imprecatory portion of the inscription obviously stands for Muḍivēmu-Agrahāra which is referred to in copper-plate grants of the Eastern-Chālukyas as the birth-place of Viṣṇuvardhana, the son of Vijayāditya of Ayōdhyā, a legendary ancestor of the Chālukyas.<sup>3</sup> The mention of it along with Vāraṇāsi shows that it was held as sacred as the other. It has been identified with the modern village Pedda-Muḍiyam in the Jammalamadugu taluk of the Cuddapah District.

### TEXT

#### First Side

1 Svasti [||\*] Śrīma[t\*]

2 Vikramāditya-Satyā-

<sup>1</sup> In the term *Bāṇarājula-pāla*, the word *pāla* has been understood in the sense of 'on behalf of'. In an inscription of the Chālukya king Kīrttivarman II (No. 418 of 1940-41) which I am editing in this journal, the suffix *pāla* occurs in this very sense in the sentence which runs: 'Paramēśvara-Bhatārāja|vāri *pāla* Bāṇarāju... lgi patta-gān=ēja vāri *pāla*', etc.

<sup>2</sup> *SII*, Vol. X, No. 23; above, Vol. XXVII, p. 243. The subjugation of the Bāṇas by the Chālukyas even at an earlier period is hinted at on the supposition that the epithet *Ereyitiadiga* occurring in a Chālukya record at Peddavaḍugūru in the Gooty taluk of the Anantapur District (*SII*, Vol. IX, pt. I, p. 26 No. 46) stood for Ereya, asur name of Pulakēśin II, and by the mention in the record of an unnamed Bāṇa king. In this connection attention may be drawn to an inscription of a Perbāṇa chief in the Telugu-Chōla territory at Chīlamakūru, Kamalapuram taluk, Cuddapah District (No. 403 of 1904 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.: *SII*, Vol. X, App. II, pp. lvii-lviii, No. 617). It may, however, be noted that a distinction seems to have been indicated between Perbāṇa and Bāṇa in an inscription of Chālukya Kīrttivarman (II) at Korrapāḍu, Cuddapah District (No. 418 of the *Annual Report on S.I.E.* for 1940-41). In this record Perbāṇādhirāja figures as the subordinate of Bāṇarāja.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XI, page 340, f.n. 5; *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. X, . 41



- 3 śraya-śrī-Prithivīva-
- 4 llabha-Mahārājā-
- 5 dhirāja<sup>1</sup>-Paramē-
- 6 śvara-Bhaṭāraḷaku pri-
- 7 dhi(thi)virājya[m]bu pra[tha]-
- 8 ma saṇva(mva)tsara[m]bu prava-
- 9 rtilla śrī-Pō<sup>2</sup>[r\*]mukharāmu]-Vā-
- 10 ṇarājula pāḷu Penna-mari-
- 11 yāda ēluchu Aṇṇā[rā]-
- 12 puli-Vāmbuḷu Dārumunḡi

*Second Side*

- 13 Vēmgi-pāra I-
- 14 śvaru<sup>3</sup>nāku Maṇṇa-
- 15 lūra bannāsa pra-
- 16 sādā(da)ṇ-chēsi iḥchiri [i\*]
- 17 Amḷutalāḷu Che[m]gā<sup>4</sup>-
- 18 lu Ko[ru]kālu Pa[rkku]ḷugu Chō[ra]kālu<sup>5</sup>
- 19 gulichinavāru [i\*] Sapu-
- 20 rushuru[ṇṇē]
- 21 kulopiṇchinavāru [i\*]
- 22 Tiṇḡaveḷḷi-pāḡu Paḷu-
- 23 gu-bāḡu Vārāṇṭa-pā-
- 24 ḡu Jāya-pāḡu jūchi-
- 25 navāru [i\*] Dēniki vakra[m]bu]-
- 26 vachchuvāṇḡu gaḷāṇṇē-
- 27 nī Muḍibi[yaṇ]bu

*Third Side*

- 28 Vāraṇāsiyu ḷa-
- 29 [chi]navanṇ-agu pa-
- 30 ṇcha-maḷāpa(pā)taka-
- 31 saṇyu[ṇu\*]ktuṇṇ-agu [i\*]

<sup>1</sup> Jā was first written and then corrected into ja.

<sup>2</sup> Although this letter looks like ḥz, apparently it stands for pō.

<sup>3</sup> In addition to the medial u sign, the letter r has a sign of length attached to its top, probably by mistake. The letter occurs with the same signs in line 25.

<sup>4</sup> A small fissure in stone which runs across these two letters somewhat obliterates them and makes the reading doubtful.

<sup>5</sup> The letters Chōrlokālu are engraved in continuation of the line on the third face of the stone.

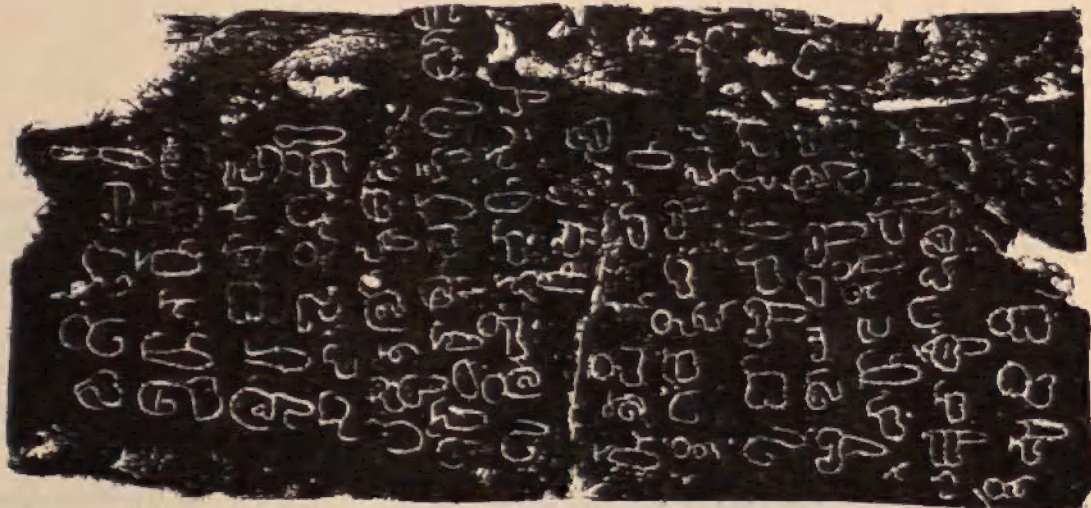
<sup>6</sup> The letter ṇu is redundant.

TIPPALURU INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMADITYA II; YEAR 1



28

30



14

16

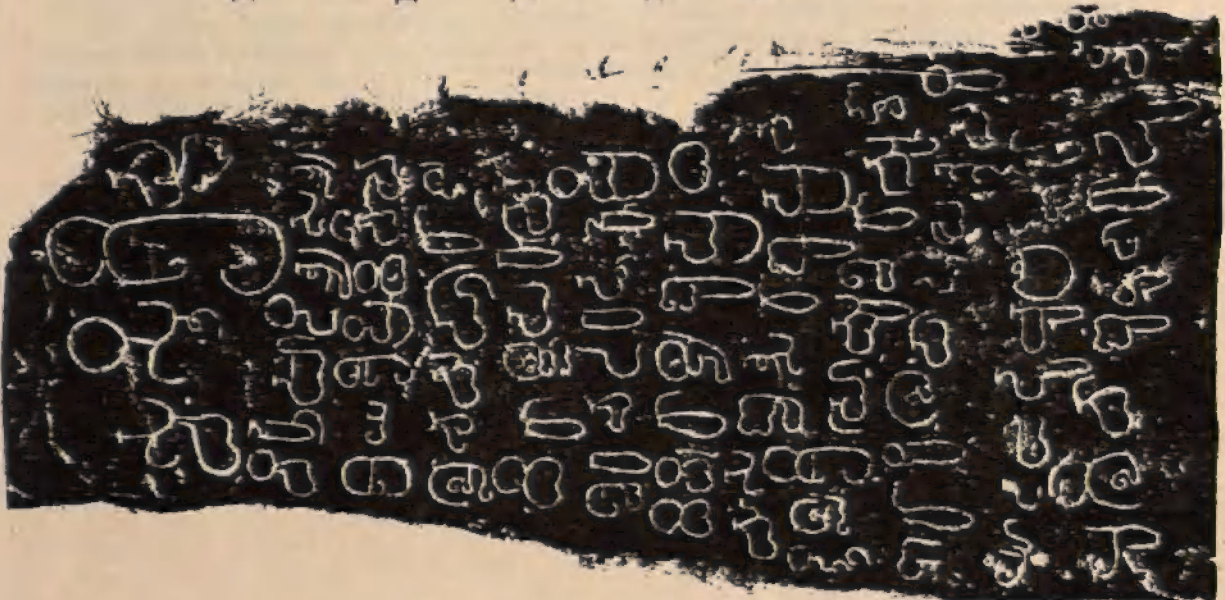
18

20

22

24

26



2

4

6

8

10

12





## TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-16) Hail! During the first year of the reign of the illustrious **Vikramāditya-Satyā-śraya-Śrī-Prithivīvallabha-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Bhaṭāra**, when **Pōrmu-kharāma** was ruling over the territory upto the limits of the Pennā on behalf of the **Bāṇarāja**, **Anṇārāpuli-Vāmbuḷu** granted a *pannasa* at **Maṅṅalūru** to **Īśvara**, the **Vēṅgi Brāhmaṇa** of **Tārumunṅi**.

(Lines 17-25) **Amḷutalāḷu**, **Cheṁgālu**, **Ko[ru]kālu** and **Pārkkalugu-Chōṛlakālu** were the persons who measured (the gift land). **Sapurushuru[nṅu](?)** caused the measurement (of the gift land). **Tiṁgavelli-pāru**, **Paḷugu-bāru**, **Vārāṇṭa-pāru** and **Jāya-pāru** were the witnesses.<sup>1</sup>

(Lines 25-31) Imprecatory.

## No. 5—BHUBANESWAR INSCRIPTION OF ANANGABHIMA III; ANKA YEAR 34

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

In an interesting article entitled "Chronology of the Eastern Gaṅga Kings of Orissa",<sup>2</sup> published half a century ago, the late Mr. M. M. Chakravarti noticed some inscriptions on the walls of the **Liṅgarāja** temple at Bhubaneswar (Puri District, Orissa), which were ascribed by him to the Gaṅga monarchs **Anaṅgabhīma II** (c. 1190-98 A.C.) or **Anaṅgabhīma III** (c. 1211-38 A.C.). About fifteen years ago, I had an opportunity to examine the impressions of three of these records which were edited by me elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> One of these three inscriptions is incised "on the south jamb of the porch" of the temple. Chakravarti assigned it to **Anaṅgabhīma III** as he read the following passage in lines 1-4: *Rājārāja-tanuja-Anaṅga-Bhīma-vīra...rājasya sāmrajy-ābhishēka-chaturtha-samvatsarē*. It was, however, shown by me that the record actually belongs either to the Gaṅga ruler **Narasimha I** or more probably to the **Sōmavamśī** king **Viravarakēśarin** and that the passage in question really reads: *Rājārāja-tanuj-ātmajasya...Viravara-Kēśari-dharādhipasya*<sup>4</sup>.... *sāmrajy-ābhishēka-chaturtha-samvatsarē*. The second inscription, engraved on the same jamb, was ascribed by Chakravarti to the fourth regnal year of **Anaṅgabhīma II** and the following passage

<sup>1</sup> The rendering of these lines into English is tentative, the uncommon names and the archaic nature of the language making it difficult to construe the precise meaning of this passage. The suffixes *°kālu* in **Cheṁgālu**, **Korukālu** and **Chōṛlakālu**, suggested to be the Telugu rendering of the Sanskrit *pāda* (above, Vol. XXVII, p. 224) indicate these words as proper names of persons.

<sup>2</sup> *JASB*, Vol. LXXII, 1903, 97-147.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. III, pp. 122-25; Vol. VI, pp. 71-73, 73-76. See Chakravarti, *op. cit.*, p. 118, No. 1; p. 116, No. 2; p. 118, No. 3. The first of the three inscriptions was edited by me jointly with the late Mr. J. C. Ghosh.

<sup>4</sup> This is the clear reading suggested by the facsimile of the inscription published in *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. III. Another impression of the record has recently appeared in *Or. Hist. Res. Journ.*, Vol. I, No. 4, Plate 53, and the name of the king has been read on its basis as **Viranarakēśarin**, taken to be identical with **Gaṅga Narasimha I** (*op. cit.*, pp. 301 ff.). In this facsimile the lower end of the left curve of the disputed letter does not touch the bottom of the right vertical and suggests the reading of the letter to be *na*. A few impressions of the epigraph, preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, appear to support this new reading. It appears therefore that the impression of the inscription published by me in *Ind. Cult.* was defective. On a re-examination of the record with the help of these impressions I now find that neither of the two published transcripts of the inscription is fully free from errors. It may be pointed out in this connection that the name of the *vishaya* mentioned here is neither **Chakralamvota** nor **Chakralamvora**. It is **Kalamvora** as known now from several other inscriptions.



was read by him in lines 1-4 : *śrīmad-Aniyaṅka-Bhīmadēvasya pravardhamāna Puruṣhōttama sām-bhāṅkē(1) chatustimattamē aṅkē*. But I pointed out that the record actually reads *chatustim(striṁ)-ma(śa)ttamē aṅkē* undoubtedly referring to the 34th Aṅka year or 28th regnal year of Anaṅgabhīma III and *Puruṣhōttama-sāmbhrā(mrā)jyē* pointing to the fact that the said Gaṅga monarch considered himself a servant of the god Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha of Puri, who was regarded by him as the real lord of the Gaṅga dominions. According to the usually accepted beginning of the reign of Anaṅgabhīma III, suggested by Chakravarti himself, the date of the epigraph falls in 1238-39 A.C. The third inscription is a damaged record engraved "on the north jamb of the porch" Chakravarti assigned the epigraph to Anaṅgabhīma III and read in lines 2-5 : *jāyati sakala-varṇa-jan-ālamkṛita-rāja-śrī-Bhīmadēv-ābda... tritīyāyē Guru-vārē Magha-nakṣatrē*. But I suggested the reading of the passage in question as *sa(su)kama(rma)-baddha-jan-ālamkṛita-rāja(jya)-śrī-Bhīmadēvābdē [trayō]...[prati]padī Guru-vārē Magha-nakṣatrē*.<sup>1</sup> Thus the date seems to be either the Aṅka year *trayōdaśa*, i.e., 13, or *trayōviṃśa*, i.e., 23.

Recently I had the opportunity of examining the impressions of another Liṅgarāja temple inscription noticed by Chakravarti.<sup>2</sup> I edit the record in the following pages with the help of these impressions which are preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. This inscription is incised "on the south jamb of the porch". It covers a space of about 17 inches in length and 16½ inches in height. There are altogether 13 lines of writing. The characters employed are Gaudīya and the language of the record in Sanskrit. Some influence of the local language is traceable in the language and orthography of the inscription.

Chakravarti read the following passage in lines 2-4 : *śrīmad-Aniṅka-Bhīmadēvasya pravardhamāna-sāmrājyē chatuṣitāttamē aṅkē Makara-svėkādaśi(śi)-Śukra-vārē*. As in the case of *chatustimattamē* (sic. *chatustimattamē* for *chatustrimśattamē*) occurring in another record of the same place, the expression *chatuṣitāttamē* has been interpreted by Chakravarti as the fourth Aṅka year and the record has been assigned to Anaṅgabhīma II. He calculated the date to correspond to the 15th January 1193 A.C. But I find that there are several inaccuracies in Chakravarti's reading of the passage quoted above. The inscription actually reads : *chatuṣinsattamē* the reading intended being undoubtedly *chatustrimśattamē*. Thus the thirty-fourth Aṅka year, i.e., the 28th actual regnal year, of a Gaṅga king named Anaṅgabhīma is referred to. The length of the reign makes it certain that the king is no other than **Anaṅgabhīma III**. As indicated above, the date of this record, like another at the same place reviewed by me above, would fall in 1238-39 A.C. according to Chakravarti's suggestion regarding the beginning of this king's reign. Another important point is that what has been read by Chakravarti as *Makara-svėkādaśi(śi)-Śukra-vārē* is clearly *Makara-śuk[ī]a-pañchamī(mī)-Guruvārē*. The date of the inscription in question is thus Thursday, the fifth *tithi* of the bright half of the month of Makara in 1238-39 A.C. The date intended may be **Thursday, the 13th January, 1239 A.C.**, although *śukla-pañchamī* actually ended on the previous day.

The epigraph records the grant of five *vāṭikās* of land situated in the villages of **Tarallakṣmī** and **Sāgarapaṭimā** by Gōvinda-sēnāpati,<sup>3</sup> son of Garṇā-sēnādhyakṣa. Gōvinda-sēnāpati, apparently an officer (*sēnāpati* or general) of the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III, is stated to have conducted *jīrṇōddhāra* (repairs) of the *maṇḍapa* of the god Bhagavat Kīrtivāsa (Kṛittivāsa or Śiva), i.e., the deity worshipped in the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar. The deity is described as *jagadīśvara*, "the lord of the world". Gōvinda-sēnāpati thus appears to have been a devotee

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VI, p. 76. This inscription is being re-edited in the pages of this journal from better impressions preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 115, No. 1.

<sup>3</sup> A Brāhmaṇa of the Vatsa *gōtra*, named Gōvinda, was an officer of Anaṅgabhīma II according to verse 8 of the Chāṭēśvara temple inscription (above, Vol. XXIX, p. 126). He seems to be a different person.



of the god Śiva. The land was granted for making provision for sweeping the *maṇḍapa* thrice a day, white-washing its walls once a year and repairing the roof once in every twelve years. Of the five *vāṭikās* of land, two were allotted to the *kumbhakāra* (potter) for repairing the roof, two to the *chūrṇakāra* (lime-washer) for white-washing and one to the sweeper. The names of the recipients of the grants are not mentioned. It is stated that the *maṇḍapa* was used for performing *parv-otsava* (festivals on auspicious days), *mah-otsava* (the great festival, probably meaning the Śivarātri) and ceremonies such as marriage.

The most interesting feature of the inscription is that it describes the Gaṅga monarch Anaṅgabhīma III as *Bhagavat* (line 2). The king was a staunch devotee of the god Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha (Viṣṇu) of Purī. Thus the epithet *Bhagavat* applied to him by one of his Śaiva officers appears to be significant. This shows that the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III was regarded by his subjects as a saint. As we have pointed out elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> this king, according to a tradition recorded in the *Mādalā Pāñji*,<sup>2</sup> became a ruler of the *Rāuta* (feudatory, from Sanskrit *Rājaputra*) class after dedicating all his possessions (including the kingdom) in the god's favour (*e nagara-Kaṭake thāi śrī-Puruṣhottama-śrī-Jagannātha-devaṅku samasta samarpi Rāuta-paṇe thāānti*). The same work also says how from that time the Gaṅga kings did not enjoy formal coronation at the time of accession as the god was considered the ruler of the country (*rājā 2 nka abhisheka na hele; Oḍishā-rājya-rajā śrī-Jagannātha-mahāprabhu emanta kaḥi abhisheka nohile*). It has also been shown by me<sup>3</sup> that Anaṅgabhīma III and his successors called themselves *Rāuta*, that Anaṅgabhīma's kingdom is referred to in one of his Bhubaneswar inscriptions as *Puruṣhōttama-sāmrājya* (i.e., the empire belonging to Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha) and that in some records of Bhānu II (c. 1305-27 A.C.), great-great-grandson of Anaṅgabhīma III, the god Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha is mentioned as his overlord. The fact that the present Mahārājās of Purī, who are modern representatives of the medieval imperial rulers of Orissa, consider themselves servants of the god Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha of Purī no doubt shows the continuity of the custom first introduced by Anaṅgabhīma III by dedicating his kingdom to the god.

It is necessary in this connection to consider certain suggestions first offered by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya<sup>4</sup> and recently reiterated by Dr. T. V. Mahalingam.<sup>5</sup> Our attention is drawn to the Śrīraṅgam inscription<sup>6</sup> of the ninth regnal year of Māgavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya (who ascended the throne in 1216 A.C.), according to which the temple managers colluded with the *Oḍḍar* to the detriment of the income of the temple, as well as to the two inscriptions<sup>7</sup> incised, one in continuation of the other, on the west wall of the rock near the Aruḷāḷa-Perumāḷ temple at Kāñchīpuram. The first of these two inscriptions is dated in the year 19<sup>8</sup> of the reign of Anantavarman-Rāhuta-dēva, Wednesday, Mīna-sudi Pañchamī, Rēvatī, and records the grant of the village of Uḍaiyakāman in Antarudra-vishaya by Sōmaladēvi-mehādēvi for daily worship and offerings to the god. It also describes king Anantavarman-Rāhuttarāya (probably the Mahādēvi's husband) as belonging

<sup>1</sup> *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 48-49.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. A. B. Mahanti, Cuttack, 1940, pp. 26-27.

<sup>3</sup> *JKHRS*, Vol. I, pp. 251-53.

<sup>4</sup> *Bhūratī*, Vol. XXII, 1945, February (pp. 161 ff.), June (pp. 541 ff.) and July (pp. 57 ff.). Mr. M. Venkataramayya kindly explained the article (in Telugu) to me.

<sup>5</sup> *List of Papers and Summaries* (Indian History Congress), Gwalior, 1952, pp. 30-31.

<sup>6</sup> *SI*, Vol. IV, No. 500.

<sup>7</sup> *ARSIE*, 1919-20, p. 22 (Nos. 444-45 of 1919). The two records were engraved at the same time by the same person sometime after the grants (recorded in them) had been made. Cf. my paper on the Bhubaneswar inscriptions of Rāghava to be published in this journal.

<sup>8</sup> The notice in *ARSIE*, loc. cit., gives the impression that the regnal year is given in the record without mentioning the name of the king to whom it belongs. But an examination of the impressions of the epigraph in question shows that Sōmaladēvi made the said grant in the 10th year of the reign of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman-Rāhuttarāya (Anaṅgabhīma III).



to the Gaṅga family and gives him a number of *birudas*. The donatrix<sup>1</sup> is said to have been staying at Abhinava-Vārāṇavāsi or Abhinava-Vārāṇasī. The second inscription, written in continuation of the previous one, is dated in the twentieth regnal year of the Chōla king Rājārāja III (1216-46 A.C.), Monday, Ādi 12, Saptamī, Aśvati,<sup>2</sup> and records the gift of 128 cows and 4 bulls by Kaliṅgēśvara Aniyaṅkabhīmadēva Rāhutta (i.e., Anaṅgabhīma III Rāuta) for four perpetual lamps in the temple. It is suggested that the Śrīraṅgam inscription points to the conquest of the Tamil country as far south as the Tanjore-Tiruchirappalli region by the Oṭṭas, who are taken to be the same as the Oḍḍiyas or Oriyas, about 1224 A.C. and to the consequent "dislocation in temple worship at Śrīraṅgam". The above contention is sought to be supported by the Kāñchīpuram inscriptions which are believed to prove the presence of the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III Rāhuttarāya *alias* Anantavarman<sup>3</sup>, together with his queen Sōmaladēvī, at Abhinava-Vārāṇasī taken to be the same as Kāñchīpuram.

Now the above interpretation of the Śrīraṅgam and Kāñchīpuram inscriptions is open to several objections. In the first place, if the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III Anantavarman's conquests really extended as far as Tanjore and Tiruchirappalli in the south and if he was present in that connection at Kāñchīpuram, the Kāñchīpuram inscription (No. 445 of 1919 referred to above) must have been dated in his own reckoning and certainly not in that of the Chōla king Rājārāja III. The dating of this inscription shows beyond doubt that the acknowledged king of the area including Kāñchīpuram was the Chōla monarch and not the Gaṅga emperor.<sup>4</sup> Secondly, as indicated above, Gaṅga Anaṅgabhīma III was a saintly Vaishṇava, so much so that even one of his Śaiva officers mentioned him as *Bhagavat*. It is therefore impossible to believe that, when he was himself present in the Tamil country, there could have been dislocation in the worship at the Śrīraṅgam temple which is one of the greatest Vaishṇava shrines renowned throughout India. Thirdly, Mr. Venkatasubba Ayyar seems to be right in taking the word *Oṭṭar* occurring in the Śrīraṅgam inscription to mean "those who have undertaken to do a thing or given an agreement (to the temple)" and in suggesting that it does not stand for the Oḍḍas (Oriyas).<sup>5</sup> There seems therefore to be no reference to a confusion caused by a foreign invasion in the Śrīraṅgam inscription.<sup>6</sup> Fourthly, if it is believed that the Gaṅga king conquered the Tamil country before 1225 A.C. and was holding

<sup>1</sup> Careful examination of the impressions of the inscription shows that it was Sōmaladēvī who was staying at Abhinava-Vārāṇavāsi (Abhinava-Vārāṇasī) while making the grant in question (*Abhinava-Vārāṇavāsiyil irundu*).

<sup>2</sup> Ādi 12, Saptamī, Aśvati (Aśvinī) in the twentieth regnal year of Rājārāja III would correspond to the 8th July 1235 A.C. But the week-day was Sunday and not Monday as given in the record.

<sup>3</sup> Inscriptions show that most of the successors of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, if not all of them, assumed *Anantavarman* as a secondary name. See *SII*, Vol. V, Nos. 1321-22, 1325-27, 1333-34 for Kāmārṇava; Nos. 1330-31, 1336, 1340-41 for Rāghava; Nos. 1270, 1320 for Rājārāja II; Nos. 1273, 1317 for Rājārāja III; Nos. 1283, 1290 for Anaṅgabhīma III; Nos. 1272, 1291 for Narasimha I; No. 1151, and *ibid.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 923, 941, 957, 982, 1118, 1140 for Narasimha II; Vol. VI, Nos. 1000, 1002 for Bhānu II.

<sup>4</sup> Both Dr. Venkataramanayya and Dr. Mahalingam appear to be conscious of this difficulty; but their attempts to explain it away are quite unconvincing. Dr. Venkataramanayya speaks in this connection only about No. 444 of 1919, in which the name of the Chōla king finds no mention, and totally ignores No. 445 of 1919 which is dated in the 20th regnal year of Chōla Rājārāja III. Dr. Mahalingam, on the other hand says, "Probably this visit of the Gaṅga king with his wife to Kāñchī had no political significance. Obviously they undertook only a pilgrimage tour to the city". It is no doubt impossible to reconcile this view with the theory regarding "a Gaṅga invasion of the Tamil country as far as Śrīraṅgam near modern Trichinopoly by Anaṅgabhīma in the early years of the reign of the Chōla king Rājārāja III".

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 193, note 4.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, who has carefully examined the Śrīraṅgam inscription, is also convinced that it contains no reference to the Oriyas. But even if the word *Oṭṭar* is taken in the sense of the Oriyas, their presence at Śrīraṅgam should better be explained in a different way especially in view of the fact that the date of the Śrīraṅgam inscription is considerably earlier than those of the Kāñchīpuram inscriptions. It is difficult to believe that the Oriyas were ousted from Śrīraṅgam by 1225 A.C. but were holding Kāñchīpuram as late as 1230 A.C.



the Kāñchīpuram region about 1230 A.C. in spite of his loss of the Śrīraṅgam area five years earlier, he must have occupied parts of that country for a considerable period of time. Under the circumstances, the silence of his court poet who composed the stanzas dealing with his achievements in regard to this spectacular success becomes inexplicable. The verses in question are quoted in Anaṅgabhīma's own Nagari plates<sup>1</sup> of 1230-31 A.C. as well as in the charters<sup>2</sup> of his successors. Fifthly, the evidence of the Nagari plates clearly shows that the year 1230 A.C. was passed by Anaṅgabhīma III in his capital and its vicinity.<sup>3</sup> It is impossible to believe that he could have led an expedition against the Tamil land, about one thousand miles away, in the neighbourhood of that year.

But the most serious error in the consideration of the Kāñchīpuram inscriptions seems to be the identification of Abhinava-Vārāṇasī, where the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma (actually, the donatrix Sōmaladēvī) is said to have been stationed, with Kāñchīpuram. It is well known from the Nagari plates<sup>4</sup> of Anaṅgabhīma III that he had his capital at Vārāṇasī, Abhinava-Vārāṇasī or Abhinava-Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka, which is the same as modern Cuttack on the Mahānadi in Orissa. It should be pointed out that there are numerous Vārāṇasīs in different parts of India ; but Cuttack seems to be the only Vārāṇasī with the word *abhinava* prefixed to it. We know that the Gaṅgas originally had their capital at Kaliṅganagara (modern Mukhaliṅgam near Śrīkākuḷam) ; but, sometime after the overthrow of the Sōmavamśīs of Orissa by Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga about the beginning of the twelfth century A.C., they transferred their headquarters to Cuttack. Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka or Cuttack is mentioned as the Gaṅga capital not only in the above grant of Anaṅgabhīma III but also in the records of his successors.<sup>5</sup> The Muslim historians who have described Sultān Firūz Shūh's expedition against the kingdom of Jājnagar (i.e., the Gaṅga kingdom of Orissa) in *circa* 1360 A.C. during the reign of Gaṅga Bhānu III (*circa* 1352-78 A.C.) mention the same city on the river Mahānadi as Banārasī (i.e., Vārāṇasī).<sup>6</sup> It is not known as to who amongst Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga's descendants transferred the capital from Kaliṅganagara to Cuttack. But the *Mādalā Pāñjī*<sup>7</sup> states that Anaṅgabhīma, who dedicated his kingdom to Purushōttama-Jagannātha, lived at Chaudvāra-kaṭaka on the Mahānadi, while his younger brother and successor, also called Anaṅgabhīma, transferred his residence from Chaudvāra-kaṭaka to Vāṇarāśī (Vārāṇasī)-kaṭaka, a city built by him at the site of a village called Vāravāṭī (in Kōḍiṇḍā Daṇḍapāṭa) on the other (i.e., southern) bank of the Mahānadi. The evidence of the Nagari plates, coupled with that of the confused tradition of the *Mādalā Pāñjī*, however, suggests that it was Anaṅgabhīma III who was the builder of the new capital city called Abhinava-Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka. The correct interpretation of the Kāñchīpuram inscriptions seems to be that the Gaṅga queen Sōmaladēvī made a grant in favour of a Vaiṣṇava shrine at Kāñchīpuram while she was staying at Abhinava-Vārāṇasī (i.e., the present Cuttack) which was her husband's capital. Making grants *in absentia* in favour of

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235 ff. (verses 72-80).

<sup>2</sup> *JASB*, Vol. LXV, Part I, pp. 248-9 (verses 72-80), etc.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 244-46.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 256, text-lines 123 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1122, 1125, *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 1069, etc. The city is mentioned in numerous other records. See *SII*, loc. cit., Nos. 708, 711, 722, 756, 792, 801, 808, 851, 886, 918, 958-60, 1003, 1022, 1041, 1045, 1051, 1079, 1083, 1089, 1096, 1104, 1105, 1107, 1119-20, 1135, etc.

<sup>6</sup> See Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 491. For the celebrity enjoyed by Cuttack Banaras during the Mughal period, see Jarrett and Sarkar, *Ain-i-Akbari* (translation), Vol. II, p. 316, note 2.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 27 : e-uttāre Ana gabhīmādevaṅka sāna-bhāi Bhīma-parirāṅku Bhīmanagara-daṇḍapāṭam āṇi rajā kale. e duff Anaṅgabhīmādeva hoile. e-rajā nagara-Chaudvāre Kaṭake vije kari thānti. emanāre eka-dīnare rajāe vije kari dāsi Mahānadi pāra hoi e-nadīru dakṣhiṇa-tīre dekhile Kōḍiṇḍā-daṇḍapāṭara Vāravāṭī-grāmāre Vi-śveśvaradevanāra sanidhe śāmala-pakeṣhiki vāga māri vasi achhi. Ehā dekhī rajāe vāḍa āścharya pāi śubha-yoga. dīnare e-Vāravāṭī-grāmāre śubha dei nāra tolāi Kaṭaka kari e-Kaṭaka nāma Vāṇarāśī-Kaṭaka volī nāma dei nagara-Chaudvāra-Kaṭaka chhāḍī āsi Kaṭaka kari rahile.



religious establishments is not unknown in Indian epigraphy. Thus an inscription<sup>1</sup> in the Sindhāchalam temple in the Visakhapatnam District records a grant made in its favour by Tallamādēvi, queen of Gaṅga Bhānu IV, when she was herself staying at Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka (*Vārāṇasī-katakānuṇḍi*) which is the same as Abhinava-Vārāṇasī of Sōmaladēvi's record. The village of Uḍaiyakāma or Udayakāma was no doubt situated in her own *jāgīr* in her husband's dominions.<sup>2</sup> The mention of the Gaṅga king's regnal reckoning in dating Sōmaladēvi's record appears to be due to the fact that it was drafted at the Gaṅga capital.<sup>3</sup> The grant of Anaṅgabhīma III in favour of the Kāñchipuram temple was apparently made similarly *in absentia*. But the partiality shown by the Gaṅga queen and her husband to a Vaiṣṇava shrine in the Tamil country may suggest that she was related to the Chōla royal house.<sup>4</sup> It will thus be seen from the above discussion that there is hardly any proof in favour of the suggestions that the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III was for a time stationed at Kāñchi together with his queen Sōmaladēvi and that he conquered the Tamil country as far as the Tanjore-Tiruchirappalli region in the south.<sup>5</sup>

The inscription under discussion mentions two villages, viz., *Tarallakshmi* and *Sāgarapaṭimā* which were the subject of the grant made by Gōvinda, a general of the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III. The exact situation of the villages is not mentioned in the record and it is difficult to locate them.

#### TEXT\*

1 Siddham' Svasti    [!]\*    Prōddhata-hētivāhi-dhvānta-dhansi\*-dyutiḥyamāna-dainya-jala-dhī(dhī)-

2 nimagna-di(dī)n-ānātha-śaraṇ-aika-taraṇēr-bhagavataḥ śrīmad-Ani[ya\*]ṅkabhīma-

<sup>1</sup> *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 1067.

<sup>2</sup> There are other instances of similar grants. Mr. P. B. Desai draws my attention to No. 154 of *SII*, Vol. XI (Part II, pp. 192ff.) which registers the gift of the village of Kanakapura in Kundūr 500 (Dharwar District) for burning incense in the temple of Sōmanāthadēva of the Saurāṣṭra *vishaya* (Kathiawar) by *Mahāmaṇḍalīvara* Jayakēśidēva, at the time of his marriage, under the direction of his father-in-law and overlord Chālukya Vikramāditya VI (1076-1126 A.C.). As pointed out to me by Mr. P. Acharya, the *Antarudra vishaya*, in which the village granted by Sōmaladēvi was situated, is mentioned in the Chaurasi plate of the Bhauma-Kara king Śivakara II and has been identified with the modern Antarodha Pargana in the Sadar Subdivision of the Puri District of Orissa (*Misra, Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 8).

<sup>3</sup> There are many inscriptions in temples like those at Sindhāchalam and Śrīkūrmam, which are big *prastūti*. These were apparently not composed on the spot but were carried by the donors with the intention of engraving them in the temples after having made the donations desired.

<sup>4</sup> It may be conjectured that Sōmaladēvi was a sister or daughter of the Chōla king Rājārāja III. But her name (exhibiting some Kannaḍa influence) in that case may suggest that she was born of a Kannaḍa princess.

<sup>5</sup> Even if it may be believed that Anaṅgabhīma III was actually present at Kāñchipuram on the occasion of his own grant (No. 445 of 1910), it should better be explained in a different way. He might have visited the temple as a pilgrim. Such instances are not unknown in the inscriptions of South India. Mr. M. Venkataramayya draws my attention to *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 428, and No. 29 of 1908. The first of these two records registers a gift of land made in favour of the god at Jambukēśvaram (Tiruchirappalli District) by Jākhadēvi, queen of *Rāhuta* Jājāladēva, son of Bhīmadēva of the Saubhāpa (Chauhān) *kula*. The other inscription is a Gāhaḍavāla record of 1110-11 A.C., which was found in the temple at Gaṅgaikondachōlapuram in the same district (*ARSIE*, 1908, Part II, p. 65). In the present state of our knowledge, it is impossible to believe that the Chauhāns or the Gāhaḍavālas invaded the Tamil country. The grants in question must have been made either *in absentia* or in the course of tours of pilgrimage.

\* From impressions preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund.

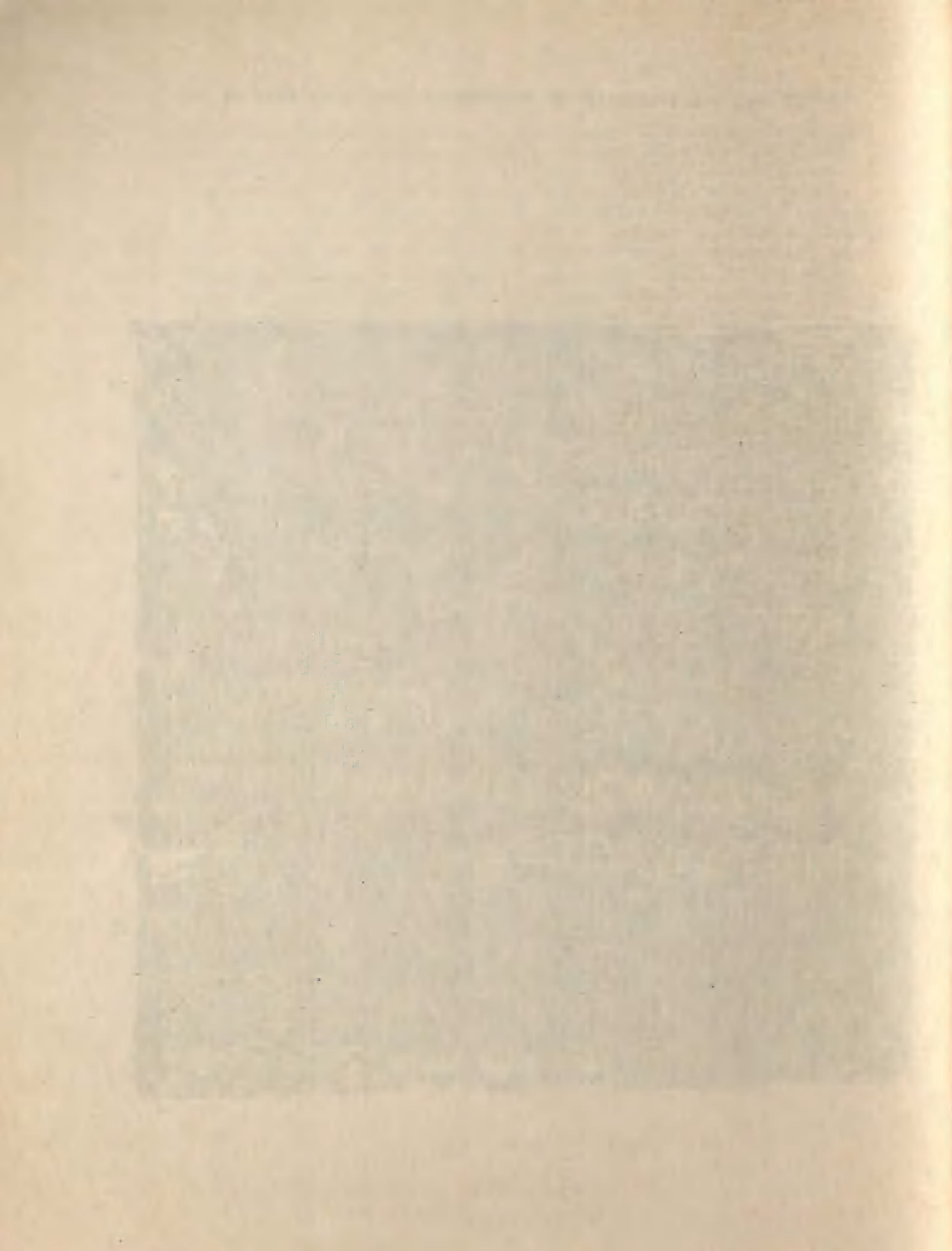
' Expressed by symbol.

\* Read *dhvāntsi*.



१ श्रीगुरुभ्यां नमः ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 २ निमग्नचित्तो भगवत्पदौ लब्ध्वा ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ४ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ६ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ८ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 १० ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 १२ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥





- 3 dēvasya prava[r\*]ddhamāna-sāmrājyē chatusinsattamē<sup>1</sup> Añkē Makara-  
 4 śuk[la]-pañchami(mi)-Guru-vārē Śrīmad-akalañka-s[u]dhā-dhava-kalāni-  
 5 dhi-kalā-kā(ka)lita-maulēr-bhabha(ga)vatō jagad-īśva(śva)rasya Kīrttivā-  
 6 sasō<sup>2</sup> dēvasya parvvōtsarvva(va)-mahōtsava-vivāh-ādy-utsv-ōpaja(yu)-  
 7 kta-pratinīyata-maṇḍapasya prati-dvādaś-āvdī(bdī)y-āchchhādan-ā(r)tham  
 8 kumbhakārāya dvē vāṭikē praty-avdī(bdī)ya-chūrṇ-āvalēpan-ā[r\*]tham  
 9 ch[ū]rṇakārāya dvē anudinaṁ vāra-traya-sammājam(rja)n-ā[r\*]tham<sup>3</sup> mē-  
 10 kē Tarallakshmi-Sāgarapaṭīmā-grāmītham(ya)-pañcha-vātyah  
 11 Garēā-sēnā<sup>4</sup>-adhyakshas[ya] p[u]tr[ē\*]ṇa jīrṇ-ōddhāra-ka[r]trā Gō.<sup>5</sup>  
 12 vinda-s[ē\*]nāpatinā pradatā(ttā) ata āsām-apaharaṇam yah karō-  
 13 ti bha[rū]g<sup>6</sup>-ādihik[ā]rī na(nū)nam sa bhavat[ā]ta<sup>7</sup> dāta(tā) sukhī bhavatu ||o|

## No. 6—MUSUNIKA GRANT OF DEVENDRAVARMAN III; GANGA YEAR 306

(I Plate)

V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR

The copper-plates containing this grant are said to have been found by a cultivator while ploughing a field at Shalantri,<sup>8</sup> a village fifteen miles west of Chicacole in the Srikakulam (Chicacole) District of the Andhra State. They have been published with facsimiles by Mr. Manda Narasimham in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. XVIII (Silver Jubilee Volume), pp. 115 ff. As the published facsimile is not quite clear and Mr. Narasimham's transcript of the text also is not quite satisfactory, I re-edit the record here from excellent ink impressions, kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The copper-plates are three in number, each measuring 7·3" broad and 3·2" high. The first and the third plate are inscribed on the inner side only, and the second on both the sides. When discovered, the plates were held together by a ring which carried the usual Gaṅga seal, containing the emblem of a couchant bull. The plates together with the ring weigh 119 tolas, and the ring only, 35 tolas. The writing on the first plate and on the first side of the second has suffered a little from verdigris, but the damaged letters can be read without much difficulty. The remaining two inscribed sides are in a good state of preservation.

The record consists of 30 lines, the first and the third plate having 8 lines each, and the second 7 lines on either side. The characters are of the later Kālīṅga alphabet, noticed in the records

<sup>1</sup> Read *chatusśrīmśattamē*.<sup>2</sup> Better read *Kīrttivāsadēvasya*.<sup>3</sup> Read *rtham-ēkā*.<sup>4</sup> Read *sēn-ādhyakshasya*. The rule of *Sandhi* has been neglected here.<sup>5</sup> There appear to be traces of a superfluous *vi* after this *akshara*.<sup>6</sup> The word *bhaṅga* may mean here 'ruin, downfall, destruction, defeat, discomfiture, humiliation, paralysis', etc.<sup>7</sup> Read *bhavatāt* |<sup>8</sup> *JAHRS*, Vol. XVIII, p. 115. I have not, however, been able to trace this village on the Degree Map 65 N.



of the Gaṅga kings from the Gaṅga year 195 onwards.<sup>1</sup> The earlier grants of these kings are written in the beautiful box-headed characters of the Central Indian alphabet, well-known from the inscriptions of the Vākātakas, the Kings of Śarabhapura, the Early Śōmavarmās, and others. The alphabet seems to have been changed towards the end of the reign of the Gaṅga king Dēvēndravarmān I. The earlier records of his reign such as the Chicacole plates of the Gaṅga year 183, the Parlakimedi plates of the Gaṅga year 184 and the Tekkali plates of the Gaṅga year 192 are written in the box-headed characters. In the Siddhantam plates of the Gaṅga year 195, we find the new script for the first time. The box-heads of letters yield place to straight horizontal strokes. There is a greater mixture of northern and southern forms and the letters become more cursive. This later Kālīṅga alphabet has been used in the present grant.<sup>2</sup> In the present grant as in other inscriptions written in this later Kālīṅga script, we find the same letters expressed by varying signs. Attention may, for instance, be drawn to the following :— Initial *u* appears with a horizontal stroke at the top in *udaka*-, l. 18 and without it in *utkirṇya*-, l. 30 ; superscript *ā* has different forms used side by side in the words *-kālāṅkē* and *Gāṅg-āmalā*-, in l. 6 ; *ch* has a rectangle on the left in *Mahēndr-āchala*-, l. 2, while it closely resembles *v* in other places as in *cha*-, l. 19 ; *j* appears with a curve turned to the left at the top in *Bhāradvāja*-, l. 17, and without it in *jaya*-, l. 7 ; the superscript *ā* resembles *ṛ* as in *māṇjari*-, l. 8 ; *ṣ* has a notch at the top in *-kuṭumvina*-, l. 14, but not in *-bhāṭṭa*-, l. 18 ; *t* has generally no loop, but the looped form also occurs sporadically as in *-ātmanah*-, l. 16 and *Aditya*-, l. 18 ; *dh* has a notch in the curve on the left in some cases (cf. *dhvasta*-, l. 9), but not in others (cf. *dhārō*-, l. 6); the two curves of *dh* generally appear separated as in *Bhāradvāja*-, l. 17, but they are joined in some places as in *puny-ābhivridhayē*-, l. 16 ; *y* has a notch at the bottom of the left limb as in *Gāṅgēya*-, ll. 28-29, but is without it in some other cases as in *vijaya*-, ll. 1-2 ; in its subscript form the letter generally appears without the notch as in *pratiśṭhitasya*-, l. 3, but see its shape in *punyābhivridhayē*-, ll. 16-17 ; similarly *v* also has a notch in *-bhuvana*-, l. 3, but is without it in *viditam*- and *vō*-, both in l. 14 ; the superscript *ś* is cursive in *śri*-, l. 11 ; and the final *t* is shown with a curve at the bottom in *yāvat*-, l. 20. The language is Sanskrit, and the entire record is in prose with the exception of two benedictive and imprecatory verses in ll. 26-28. The grant is somewhat carelessly written. The grammatical mistakes are corrected in the subjoined transcript and in the notes appended to it. As regards orthographical peculiarities, we may note that a consonant is sometimes reduplicated after *r* as in *Gōkarṇṇa*-, ll. 4-5 ; *v* is throughout used for *b* ; the guttural nasal takes the place of *anuvāda* before *ś* in *-nistriṇśa*-, l. 6, *vāṇśa*-, l. 22 and in *tritiy-ōṇśa*-, l. 26 ; the palatal *ś* is used for the lingual *sh* in *śaḍ-ōchkrīṭiḥ* and the dental *s* for the palatal *ś* in *sata*-, both in l. 29 ; finally, *chha* takes the place of the ligature *tsa* in *-samyachhara* in l. 29.

The plates refer themselves to the reign of the Gaṅga king, *Mahārāja Dēvēndravarmān*, the son of *Mahārājādhirāja Rājēndravarmān*. They were issued from *Kālīṅganagara* and record his grant of the village *Musunika*<sup>3</sup> situated near *Sidhathā*<sup>4</sup> in the territorial division of *Varāhavartanī*, on the occasion of a solar eclipse. The grant is dated at the end in the year 306 (expressed in words) of the *Gāṅgēya* kingdom, i.e., of the Gaṅga era. While stating the boundaries of the donated village the following neighbouring villages are mentioned, viz., *Mukurumbaka*, *Aralaka*, *Yavayaṭika* and *Yāmivāṭaka*. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa

<sup>1</sup> Bühler says that the change in the characters occurred about the Gn. year 183 (*Indian Palaeography*, English tr., p. 69), but in the Parlakimedi and Tekkali plates issued later in the Gn. years 184 and 192 the box-headed characters have been used.

<sup>2</sup> The Tekkali plates of Dēvēndravarmān III are not written in the Nāgarī characters as stated by Mr. Narasimham. Their characters are of the same type as those of the present grant.

<sup>3</sup> The village-name occurs as *Musunikā* in l. 13, but as *Musunika* elsewhere.

<sup>4</sup> The text is uncertain in this part. I suggest the emendation *Sidhathā-sambandhini* on the analogy of *Lohadhāngara-sambandhini* in ll. 14-15 of the Indian Museum plates, dated Gn. 308.



Ādityavishṇuśarman, the son of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, who belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, and, at the time of the grant, was residing at Nagara. A third part of the village was given to his brother Bhānuśarman. The grant was written by the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* Sarvachandra and was engraved on the plates by the *Akshaśālin* Khaṇḍimalla.

The date of the grant does not admit of calculation in the absence of such details as the month, fortnight, week-day or *nakshatra*; but the mention of the solar eclipse in line 17 gives some basis for verification. The grant does not, of course, state in which lunar month the eclipse occurred, nor does it explicitly connect the Gaṅga year 306 with it. Supposing that it occurred in that year, we get some data which we can verify. I have shown elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> from an examination of all available Gaṅga dates which contain any verifiable details, that the Gaṅga era commenced on Chaitra śu. di. 1 in the Śaka year 420 (the 14th March 498 A.C.). According to this epoch, the current Gaṅga year 306 corresponds to the Śaka year 725. In this year there was a solar eclipse in the month of *amānta* Vaiśākha, on the 25th April 803 A.C. There was no eclipse in the Śaka year 726 corresponding to the expired Gaṅga year 306. This is, therefore, one of the few dates of the Gaṅga era which cite a current year.

The introductory part of the present grant contains merely conventional praise. In fact the *prāśasti* of the Gaṅga rulers had become stereotyped long before and was being repeated in connection with the name of each successive Gaṅga king, sometimes with the addition or omission of a laudatory expression here and there which contained no historical information. It is not, therefore, possible to identify any early Gaṅga king on the basis of the introductory *prāśasti* in his grant. The year 306 of the Gaṅga era in which the present grant was recorded shows, however, that Dēvēndravarman who made it was the third king of that name, who was the son of Rājēndravarman I.

Besides the present grant we have the following four records of the reign of Dēvēndravarman III:—(1) the undated Bangalore plates<sup>2</sup> recording the grant of the village Sidhatā in the *viśhaya* (territorial division) of Varāhavartanī on the occasion of an *ayana-saṅkrānti*; (2) the undated Chicacole plates<sup>3</sup> registering the gift of the village Viriṇṭika in the Pushkariṇī-*viśhaya*; (3) The Indian Museum plates<sup>4</sup> dated Gn. 308, mentioning the gift of the village Purujvana in the territorial division of Bakudravakōṇa on the occasion of a solar eclipse in Māgha; and (4) the Tekkali plates<sup>5</sup> dated Gn. 310, recording the grant of the village Niyinō in the territorial division of [Rū]-pavartanī. All these grants were issued from Kaliṅganagara. The introductory parts of all of them are identical except for the addition or deletion of an expression containing conventional praise.<sup>6</sup>

In the present grant Rājēndravarman I receives the imperial title *Mahārājādhirāja* while his son, the reigning king Dēvēndravarman III, is mentioned with the lower one of *Mahārāja*. This does not, however, indicate that the Gaṅga kingdom became smaller in the reign of the latter or that he owed allegiance to some other power. The drafters of the grants of this king do not appear to have been very careful in the use of these titles; for we find that in the Chicacole plates Rājēndravarman is called *Mahārāja*, and Dēvēndravarman, *Mahārājādhirāja*. Again, in the Tekkali

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 326 ff.; Vol. XXVII, p. 192; Vol. XXVIII, pp. 171 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, Bn. 140.

<sup>3</sup> *JAHRS*, Vol. VIII, pp. 185 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 73 ff. For the reading of the date, see *ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 329.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 311 ff.

<sup>6</sup> In the present grant the expression *sita-kumuda-kund-ēndu-avadāta-dig-dēśa-vinirgata-yaśāḥ* which occurs in the Tekkali plates (above, Vol. XVIII, p. 312) has been omitted. Similarly the expression *dhvast-ārāti-kul-āchalō* which occurs in the present as well as the Tekkali grant finds no place in the Indian Museum plates. Again, the epithet *parama-māhēśvara* is not mentioned in the present grant in the description of Dēvēndravarman as it is in the Indian Museum plates.



plates both of them receive the same title *Mahārāja*, while in the Indian Museum plates, Rājendra-varman alone has the title of *Mahārāja*, Dēvēndravarman's name being mentioned with the simple honorific prefix *śrī*.

The scribe Sarvachandra and the engraver Khaṇḍimalla are both known from several other grants of Dēvēndravarman III. At the time of the present grant Sarvachandra held the high office of *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* or the Chief Minister for peace and war. In the Chicacole plates he is called merely *Sāmanta*, while in the later Tekkali and Indian Museum plates he is called *Rahasya* or Private Secretary. *Akshasālin* Khaṇḍimalla, who is mentioned as the engraver, is sometimes called *Sāmanta*.

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant, **Kaliṅganagara** from where the plates were issued has already been identified with Mukhalingam in the Srikakulam District.<sup>1</sup> **Nagara** where the donee was residing is probably the same as Kaliṅganagara. As Mr. G. V. Ramamurti has shown, the Gaṅga capital Kaliṅganagara is mentioned in the Telugu inscriptions at Mukhalingam as *Nagara*. There is still a place called Nagarakatakam, about two miles to the south of Mukhalingam, which probably marks the site of the ancient capital. The territorial division of **Varāhavartanī** in which the donated village was situated is known from as many as five other grants, viz., the Achyutapuram plates<sup>2</sup> of Gn. 87, the Chicacole plates<sup>3</sup> of Gn. 128, the Siddhāntam plates<sup>4</sup> of Gn. 195, the Chicacole plates<sup>5</sup> of Gn. [2]51 and the Bangalore plates.<sup>6</sup> In three of these, viz., the two sets of Chicacole plates dated Gn. 128 and [2]51 and the Bangalore plates, it is called a *vishaya*, which shows that it was roughly of the same size as a modern district. It has not yet been definitely identified; but most of the grants mentioning this division were found either at Chicacole or not very far from it. Again, Siddhārthaka, which is mentioned in the Achyutapuram and Siddhāntam plates as situated in Varāhavartanī,<sup>7</sup> is probably identical with modern Siddhāntam, which lies about three miles south of Nagarakatakam near the right bank of the Vamśadharā. The *vishaya* of Varāhavartanī seems, therefore, to have comprised the territory round modern Chicacole. Northward it extended beyond Siddhāntam and probably contained the royal capital Kaliṅganagara also. **Musunika**, the village donated by the present charter, has been identified with Musunūru.<sup>8</sup> **Sidhathā**, which was in its vicinity, is probably identical with the village Sidhatā mentioned in the Bangalore plates. The close similarity in their names together with the description that both of them were situated in the same territorial division of Varāhavartanī leaves no doubt about their identification. Perhaps they are not different from Siddhārthaka, which also was situated in the same *vishaya*. In that case they may be identified with modern Siddhāntam, which, as stated above, lies only about three miles south of Nagarakatakam. I am unable to identify the other villages mentioned in the present grant.

#### TEXT\*

##### First Plate

1 सिद्धम्<sup>10</sup> [1\*] स्वस्ति [1\*] अमरपुरानुकारिणः स]वंतुसुखरमणीयाद्वि-

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IV, pp. 187 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 128 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 121.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XIII, p. 214.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 275.

<sup>6</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, Bn. 140.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. III, p. 128; Vol. XIII, p. 214.

<sup>8</sup> Mr. Narasimham has not given details about its location and I have not been able to trace it on the Degree Map 65 N.

\*From ink impressions supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

<sup>10</sup> Expressed by a symbol.





i.

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8

2 2  
4 4  
6 6  
8 8

ii, a.

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11  
12  
13  
14

10 10  
12 12  
14 14

ii, b.

16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22

16 16  
18 18  
20 20  
22 22

iii.

24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
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24 24  
26 26  
28 28  
30 30

- 2 जयवतः श्रि(श्री)मत्कलिङ्गनगरवासकान्महेन्द्राचलामल-
- 3 शिखरप्रतिष्ठितस्य सचराचरगुरोः सकलभुवननि-
- 4 मणिकसु(सू)[त्र]धारस्य शशा[ङ्क]चूडामणेः भगवतो गो-
- 5 कर्णस्व[र]मि[न]श्चरणकमलयुगल[प्र]णामाद्विगत-
- 6 कलिकलङ्को गङ्गामल[कु]लतिलको निजनिस्त्रिदश<sup>1</sup>धारोपाजित-
- 7 सकलकलिङ्गाधिराज्यः अने[का]हवसंक्षोभजनितजयशब्द(ब्दः) प्रत[र]-
- 8 पावनतसमस्तसामन्तचक्रवृ<sup>2</sup>त्ता(डा)मणिप्रभामञ्जरी-

*Second Plate; First Side*

- 9 पुञ्जरञ्जितवर[च]रणयुगल(लो) ध्वस्तारातिकुलाचलो न-
- 10 यविनयदयादानदाक्षिन्य(ण्य)शौर्यैदार्यसत्यत्यागादिगु-
- 11 णसम्पदाधार[भू]तो महाराजाधिराजश्रि(श्री)राजेन्द्रवर्म-
- 12 सु(सू)नुम[हा]राज[श्री]देवेन्द्रवर्म(र्मा) सकल<sup>2</sup>वराहव-
- 13 तंन्या(न्यां) सिधथासमन्धिन<sup>3</sup> हिकृत्य<sup>4</sup> मुसुनिका(क)ग्राम(मे) सर्व्वस-
- 14 मवेता कुटुम्बिन<sup>5</sup> समाज्ञापयति [र\*] विदितमस्तु वो यथा-
- 15 यं ग्रामोस्माभिः[\*] सर्व्वकरभरैः[\*] परिहृत्याचन्द्रार्कप्र-

*Second Plate; Second Side*

- 16 तिष्ठमग्रहारं कृत्वा मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुन्या(ण्या)भिवृध(द्ध)-
- 17 ये सूर्यग्रहोपरागे नगरवास्तव्यभारद्वाजगोत्राय ना-
- 18 रायणभट्टसुनुअदित्य<sup>6</sup>विष्णुशर्मणे उदकपूर्वक(कं) कृत्वा

<sup>1</sup> Read -निस्त्रिदश-.

<sup>2</sup> This adjective appears superfluous. It is not prefixed to वराहवर्तनी in any other grant.

<sup>3</sup> Read सिधथासम्वन्धनि

<sup>4</sup> These three aksharas are superfluous.

<sup>5</sup> Read सर्व्वसमवेतान् कुटुम्बिनः.

<sup>6</sup> Read -सून्वादित्य-.



- 19 सम्प्रदत्तेति<sup>1</sup>। अत्र च सि(सी)मालिङ्गानि लिख्यन्ते [1\*] पूर्व[स्यां दिशि]  
 20 धन्यातटार्क(क)स्यालि(लि) यावत् । अग्नेयां<sup>2</sup> दिशि मुसुनिकस्य  
 21 मुकुरुम्ब(म्ब)कस्य अरलकस्य त्रके<sup>3</sup> गर्ता । दक्षिणस्य(स्यां) दिशि प(पा)[व्वं]-  
 22 तिकौ द्वौ शिखरौ [1\*] पश्चिमस्या(स्यां) दिशि वाङ्गशगर्ता<sup>4</sup> यावद्वायव्यगो-

## Third Plate

- 23 चर(रः।) उत्तरस्या(स्यां) दिशि पुरुदुवापीकमेण पर्वतशिखर(रं) मुसुनिकस्य  
 24 इशान्यगोचर<sup>5</sup>[1\*] यवयटिकस्य यामिवाटकस्य मुसुनिकस्य  
 25 त्रके<sup>6</sup> न्यग्रोध आलिजलप्रवाहः इशान्यगोचरः<sup>7</sup>[1\*] भ्राता भानुशर्मस्य<sup>8</sup> तृती-  
 26 योङ्गश(योःशः) प्रदतः(तः)[1\*] व(व)हुभिर्व्वसुधा दता(ता) राजभिः[\*]  
 सगरादिभिः[1\*] यस्य य-  
 27 स्य यदा भु(भू)मित(स्त)स्य तस्य तदा फं(फ)लं(लम्)<sup>9</sup>[11१11\*]  
 स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ताम्बा(तां वा) यो  
 28 हरेति(त) वसुंधरा[म्।\*] स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भु(भू)त्वा पच्यते पितृभिः  
 सह ।[1२11\*] गाङ्गे-  
 29 यराज्यसम्बद्धर सततृणि शङोछ्रितिः<sup>10</sup> । लिखि(खि)तमिद(दं) शासनं माहा-  
 30 सांन्धिविग्रहिकसर्व्वचन्द्रेने इति<sup>11</sup>[1\*] उत्कीर्णं चाक्षशालिखण्डिमल्लेनेति<sup>12</sup> ।

<sup>1</sup> Read सम्प्रदत्त इति ।

<sup>2</sup> Read अग्नेय्यां.

<sup>3</sup> Read त्रिकस्य. The pit (गर्ता) seems to have marked the boundaries of the three adjoining villages.

<sup>4</sup> Read वांशगर्ता.

<sup>5</sup> Read ऐशानीगोचरः.

<sup>6</sup> Read त्रिकस्य. See note 3 above.

<sup>7</sup> Read ऐशानीगोचरः.

<sup>8</sup> Read भ्रातुर्भानुशर्मणः.

<sup>9</sup> Metre of this and the next verse : Anushtubh.

<sup>10</sup> Read -राज्यसंवत्सरशतत्रये षडुत्तरे ।

<sup>11</sup> Read महासांन्धिविग्रहिकसर्व्वचन्द्रेणेति.

<sup>12</sup> Read उत्कीर्णं चाक्षशालिखण्डिमल्लेनेति ।

## No. 7—BHUBANESWAR INSCRIPTIONS OF ANANTAVARMAN CHODAGANGA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

The mighty Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A. C.) of Kaliṅganagara near modern Śrīkākuḷam (Chicacole) was successively followed on the Gaṅga throne by no less than four of his sons, viz., (1) Kāmārṇava (*circa* 1147-56 A. C.), (2) Rāghava (*circa* 1156-70 A. C.), Rājarāja II (*circa* 1170-90 A. C.) and Anaṅgabhīma II (*circa* 1190-96 A. C.). Although Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga is stated to have conquered Utkala, founded the great temple of the god Purushōtrama-Jagannātha at Puri and levied tribute from the whole east coast land up to the Bhāgīrathī (Ganges),<sup>1</sup> no record of himself or his immediate successors was formerly known to have come from any place in Orissa. For a long time therefore three Bhubaneswar (Puri District, Orissa) inscriptions of the time of Anaṅgabhīma II were regarded as the earliest Gaṅga inscriptions in Orissa, although they would necessarily belong to an age nearly a century after the conquest of coastal Orissa by Chōḍagaṅga about the beginning of the twelfth century. One of the three records is the Ananta-Vāsudēva temple (Bhubaneswar) inscription<sup>2</sup> of Svapnēśvara, husband of a sister of Anaṅgabhīma II, while the remaining two<sup>3</sup> were stated to be incised on the south jamb of the great Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar. But, as we have shown elsewhere<sup>4</sup>, the said two Liṅgarāja temple inscriptions belong not to the reign of Anaṅgabhīma II but to that of his grandson Anaṅgabhīma III whose accession is usually assigned to 1211 A. C.

As, in the Vizagapatam plates, Chōḍagaṅga is stated to have "placed the fallen lord of Utkala in his kingdom in the eastern region", R. D. Banerji observes, "It is interesting to note that no inscriptions of this king have yet been discovered in the Puri, Cuttack and Balasore Districts of Northern Orissa. This perhaps proves that some local king was still ruling over Northern Orissa, who had been reinstated by Anantavarman, as stated in his inscriptions."<sup>5</sup> But he ignores the fact that, according to the Kendupatna plates, Gaṅgēśvara (Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga) by "defeating the king of Utkala.....obtained a Lakshmi-like kingdom" and that this undoubtedly points to the subsequent annexation of Utkala by the Gaṅga king.<sup>6</sup> Recently we had reports of the existence of a few inscriptions of Chōḍagaṅga's reign in the Puri-Cuttack region. One of these was traced at Alagum near Puri and has already been published in the pages of this journal.<sup>7</sup>

It is a matter of regret that the numerous inscriptions in the great Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar have not been properly studied so far. Recently, I had an opportunity of examining the impressions of a large number of the Liṅgarāja temple inscriptions, which are lying in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund. Among them I was very glad to find several records belonging to the reign of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga together with a few bearing

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 241 f.<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. VI, pp. 198 ff.<sup>3</sup> *JASB*, 1903, p. 115.<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 18.<sup>5</sup> *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 250.<sup>6</sup> Cf. Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 469.<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 44 ff.



dates falling in the reigns of his sons. Unfortunately most of these epigraphs are badly damaged. Two of the inscriptions of Chōḍagaṅga's reign are edited in the following pages.<sup>1</sup>

Of the two epigraphs under study, No. 1 is engraved on the east wall inside the third entrance of the Liṅgarāja temple and No. 2 on the south wall inside the same entrance. Inscription No. 1 is written in eight lines; but a number of letters at the end of all the lines are completely peeled off. It is difficult to determine the actual number of letters thus lost. This fragmentary epigraph covers a space measuring 27 inches by 13 inches. The space covered by Inscription No. 2, consisting of nine lines of writing, measures about 23 inches by 19 inches. This record is fortunately not fragmentary; but the state of the preservation of the letters is not quite satisfactory.

The characters of both the inscriptions are Gaudīya. Inscription No. 2 offers an instance, rather rare in medieval Orissan epigraphy, of the carefulness of the engraver of a document. In line 9, the engraver had at first incised *mahiyata*<sup>o</sup> and, after having noticed the mistake, engraved *hi* below *hi* to indicate that the intended reading of the expression is *mahiyata*<sup>o</sup>. Nothing in the palaeography of the inscriptions deserves special mention with the exception of a single point. This is raised by the peculiar form of the numeral 3 occurring in line 1 of Inscription No. 1. This form of 3 is not usually found in medieval Orissan records, although it may be an earlier variety of the later Bengali form of the numeral. The language of the two inscriptions is Sanskrit. Little calls for special mention in regard to their orthography. But it may be pointed out that Inscription No. 1 is couched in a poetic style of prose composition and that it actually begins with some passages in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre.

Both the records under review are dated. Inscription No. 1 bears the date both in the Śaka era as well as in the regnal reckoning of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. The Śaka year is given in words as *ṛitu-rāma-kh-ēndu*, i.e., the seasons (6), the Rāmas (3), the sky (o) and the moon (1), which would make, according to the principle *aṅkānām vāmatō gatiḥ*, the Śaka year 1036 (1114-15 A.C.). The regnal year of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga is written in the inscription in two figures of which the second is clearly 7 while the first one has a peculiar shape. As, however, the said Gaṅga king was crowned in Śaka 999,<sup>2</sup> the Śaka year 1036 corresponds to his 37th regnal year. This shows that the first of the two figures, with which the regnal year is written in the record under discussion, is 3. The astronomical details of the date, even if they were quoted in the inscription, cannot be traced in its extant portion. Inscription No. 2 bears the date: Wednesday, Vishuvasaṅkrānti, Vaiśākha-badi 1, in the 62nd regnal year of Anantavarman (Chōḍagaṅga). The said year of Chōḍagaṅga's reign seems to have corresponded to Śaka 1060; but the details of the date point to the 24th March, 1137 A.C., falling in Śaka 1059 (i.e., Śaka 1060 current).

The fragmentary nature of Inscription No. 1 stands in the way of fully understanding its import. It seems to record the grant of a perpetual lamp, containing one hundred wicks and fed by 24 *karaṅkas* of oil, in favour of the god Kīrttivāsa (Kṛittivāsa or Śiva worshipped

<sup>1</sup> After the preparation of this paper, I received a copy of the *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. I, No. 2 (July 1952), in which (pp. 1 ff.) the first of the two inscriptions edited here by me has been published with an inaccurate transcript. There are impressions of another interesting Bhubaneswar inscription of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. The record was found incised "in a room to the left of the third entrance (inside)" of the Liṅgarāja temple. It is fragmentary and contains only five lines written in a cursive form of the Gaudīya script. The first two and half lines read as follows:

1 Svasti śrī Chyō(Chō)dagaṅgadēvasya pravarddha-

2 māna-vijaya-rājyē Samva 67 Śrīhi

<sup>3</sup> Milvārdhigrāma.....

<sup>4</sup> Bhandarkar's List, No. 1099.



in the Liṅgarāja temple). *Karaṅka* means a small pot usually made of the cocoanut-shell and is often used in measuring liquids. It appears that the said perpetual lamp was placed in a structure constructed in the Liṅgarāja temple compound by the Gaṅga monarch Chōḍagaṅga (Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga). Line 7 contains the name of a *Dēvakarmin* (possibly meaning 'a priest') beginning with *Śrī-Rāma*; but whether this person was the donor of the grant referred to above cannot be determined with certainty, although this may not be impossible. The name Gautama occurs in a damaged passage in line 8. Whether, however, this is the name of a person or that of the donee's *gōtra* is uncertain. An interesting epithet of the Gaṅga king Chōḍagaṅga occurring in line 4 calls him *Śiva-pūjā-vidhān-aika-hṛidaya*. We have seen elsewhere<sup>1</sup> how Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga was, like his ancestors, a staunch Śaiva in the early years of his reign, how after his conquest of Utkala about the beginning of the twelfth century he called himself both a Śaiva and a Vaiṣṇava for sometime, and how in the later years of his reign he dropped the claim to have been a Śaiva and called himself only a Vaiṣṇava. The Gaṅga king is known to have been gradually inclining towards the worship of Viṣṇu (in the form of the god Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha of Purī) before Śaka 1036 (1114-15 A.C.), the date of the record under review. One of the two sets of his Korni plates,<sup>2</sup> dated Śaka 1034 (1112 A. C.), refers to his conquest of Utkala and mentions him as both *parama-Māhēśvara* and *parama-Vaiṣṇava*.

Inscription No. 2 records the grant of a perpetual lamp in favour of the god Kīrttivāsas (Kṛittivāsas) by a person named Virāṇḍi who was the son of Māṅgāṇḍi, resident of Ālataḍāgrāma in the Kaliṅga *vishaya* (district). For making provision for the said perpetual lamp, the donor, who seems to have been a resident of the Brāhmaṇa *khaṇḍa* (habitation) in a locality called Tōrannirākura within the Kalamvōra *vishaya*, granted five *māḍhas* of gold with the cognizance of the following persons: (1) Sāmu Kavirāja (probably 'a physician'), (2) Kākva, (3) Maṇḍalika, (4) Dēvadhara, (5) Kēśava, (6) Piṇvāmī, (7) Āditya and (8) Sulabhakara.

Inscription No. 1, which is fragmentary, does not contain any geographical name in its extant portion. But line 6 of the record begins with the letters *sa-pālakē*, although the beginning of the name of this locality is lost at the end of the previous line of the inscription. Inscription No. 2 mentions the following geographical names: (1) Kaliṅga *vishaya*, (2) Ālataḍāgrāma in Kaliṅga *vishaya*, (3) Kalamvōra *vishaya*, and (4) Tōrannirākura in the Kalamvōra *vishaya*. Of this, the district called Kaliṅga *vishaya* seems to have been the region round the city of Kaliṅganagara (modern Mukhalingam near Śrīkākuḷam) which was the capital of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. Kalamvōra *vishaya* is mentioned in another Bhubaneswar (Liṅgarāja temple) inscription of the time of Chōḍagaṅga's son Rāghava.<sup>3</sup>

#### TEXT<sup>4</sup>

##### *Inscription No. 1; Śaka 1036, Regnal Year 37*

1 Siddham<sup>5</sup> Samvat<sup>6</sup> 37 Śākāvdē(bdē) pītu-rāma-kh-ēndu-gaṇi[tē].....

2 śrīnāgāra-śaurya-śālinā saṁpūrṇa-śara-śasadhara<sup>7</sup>-kara-nikara-vika[sa]....

3 prava(ba)la-mahīpāla-pa[ksha]-dvaya-gīyamāna-vṛi(bṛi)[ha]...

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 139-40.

<sup>2</sup> JAHRS, Vol. I, p. 106.

<sup>3</sup> See our paper entitled "Bhubaneswar Inscriptions of Rāghava; Śaka 1070" to be published in this journal.

<sup>4</sup> From impressions.

<sup>5</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>6</sup> Read *Samvat*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *śarach-chhaśadhara*.



- 4 ja<sup>1</sup>-śrī-Chōḍagaṅgakēna Śiva-pūjā-vidhān-aikahṛida[yēna]....  
 5 gavataḥ(tē)<sup>2</sup> śrī-Kīrttivāsa<sup>3</sup>-bhaṭṭārakāya vīna(ni)[r]mmita-sa[rva]....  
 6 sa-pāṭakē<sup>4</sup> taila-chatuvvinsati-<sup>5</sup>karaṅk-ākshayaī]tām na paripālya. ....  
 7 bhagavatē śrī-Kīrttivāsāya<sup>6</sup> sahaaja-sukṛiti-va(ba)ddha-dēvaka[r\*]mmita-śrī-Rāma....  
 8 tām śata-va[r\*]tti-śam(sam)khyātām=akarōd=ā-chandr-ārka-tārāya Gauda[ma].....

*Inscription No. 2; Regnal Year 62.*

- 1 Siddham' svasti [I\*] śrīmad-Anantavarmadēvasya pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājyē  
 2 dvāsa(sha)shṭi-samva(samva)tsarē Vaiśākha-kṛishṇa-pratipadi Vu(Bu)dha-vārē  
 3 Viśu(shu)vati Kaliṅga-vi[sa(sha)]ya Ālataḍā-grāmē sthita-Māṅgā-  
 4 ṇḍi-putra-Vīrāṇḍi-nāmnā śrī-Kīrttivāsasē<sup>3</sup> dēvāya ā-cha-  
 5 ndr-ārka-ssthāpit-ākhaṇḍa-dīp-ārthē Kalamvōra-vishayē  
 6 Tōrannirākūrē Vīrā(Brā)hmaṇa-khaṇḍē Sāmu-kavirāja ēvaṁ  
 7 Kāk[v]a ēvaṁ Maṇḍalika ēvaṁ Dēvadhara-Kēśava-Piṇvāmy-Ā-  
 8 ditya-Sulabhakara(rā) ētēśhām gōcharē suvarṇa-māḍhā(ḍha)-paṁchakam  
 9 da[tta]m(ttam) dīpa-dātā sa[r]va-lōkē mahiyata<sup>9</sup> iti [I\*]

**No. 8—PUSHPAGIRI INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF YADAVA SINGHANA**

(1 Plate)

M. VENKATARAMAYYA, AGRA

The inscription<sup>10</sup> edited below is engraved on a slab now lying near the Trikūṭśvara shrine in the compound of the Vaidyanāthasvāmin temple situated on the southern bank of the river Pennār at Pushpagiri, a hamlet of Kōṭlūru, Cuddapah taluk, Andhra State. The lower part of the inscribed stone is broken and lost. The concluding part of the inscription is, therefore, not available, only seventeen lines of writing from the beginning being preserved. Nonetheless, the extant portion of the inscription is interesting and deserves publication. I edit the record with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

<sup>1</sup> This is apparently the last letter of the expression *Mahārāja*, or less probably *Mahārājādhirāja*, the beginning of which is lost at the end of the previous line.

<sup>2</sup> The letter *sha* at the beginning of this expression is lost at the end of the previous line.

<sup>3</sup> Better read *Kṛitti*°.

<sup>4</sup> This is apparently the name of the locality where probably the donee lived or the gift land was situated. Or may it be *Kṛittivāsa-pāṭaka* referring to Bhubaneswar?

<sup>5</sup> Read *chaturvinsati*.

<sup>6</sup> Better read *Kṛitti*°.

<sup>7</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>8</sup> Better read *Kṛitti*°. Note that the name is spelt both as *Kṛittivāsa* (cf. Inscription No. 1, line 7) and as *Kṛittivāsa* (cf. this instance).

<sup>9</sup> As indicated above, originally *hi* had been engraved and later *hi* was incised below it to suggest the intended reading.

<sup>10</sup> This is registered as No. 410 of the *ARSIE* for the year 1938-9.

२  
 ४  
 ६  
 ८







The script of the inscription is Kannaḍa and its language, except the opening lines which contain a verse in Sanskrit, is also Kannaḍa. The record is not dated but from the internal evidence afforded by it, the approximate date when it could have been set up is indicated in the sequel. The following orthographical peculiarities in the epigraph are noteworthy. The ligature *rpa* in the word *Purpagiri* (line 9) is an ancient Kannaḍa or Hale-Kannaḍa usage, instances of which are quoted by Kittel.<sup>1</sup> In another inscription<sup>2</sup> at the same place belonging to the reign of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III(?) the place is also spelt as *Purpagiri*. The Dravidian *ḷ* is used for the Sanskrit *l* in *niḷaya* (line 13). This shows that the engraver was influenced by the local pronunciation of Sanskrit words.

The inscription commences with the well-known Sanskrit verse, *Namas=tunga-śiraś-chumbi*, etc., embodying obeisance to god Śaṁbhu. Thereafter, without referring itself to the reign of any ruler, it introduces Lakshmidēva-Daṇḍanāyaka with a number of *birudas* like *Mahāpradhāna*, *Samastasēnādhipati*, *Bāhattaraniyōgādhipati*, *Anēkadēśādhipati*, *Paśchimarāya-Bhōjadēva-diśā-paṭṭa* and *Nāyakanārāyaṇa*<sup>3</sup> and describes him as the 'right arm' of Pratāpachakravartī Siṅgaṇadēva (Śrīmatu-Pratāpachakravartī-Siṅgaṇadēva-dakṣiṇabhujādāṇḍa). The generalissimo is stated to have made some provision for the worship and offerings to god Vaidyanāthadēva of Pushpagiri. The nature of the provision or the object granted is not clear as the portion indicating it is illegible. As the engraver seems to have written on an erasure the letters are very indistinct.

Pushpagiri is stated in the record as being situated at the southern entrance (*dakṣiṇa-dvāra-pradēśadalli*) of Śrīparvata, i.e., Śrīśailam, the holy abode of god Śiva on the crest of the Nallamalais in the Kurnool District. Lakshmidēva-Daṇḍanāyaka is further stated to have raised a *maṭha* called Lakshminilaya after his own name and to have made provision for perpetual free-feeding (*avāri-satrava naḍasuv-ant-āgi*).

The record is important as it enables us to determine the extent and nature of the Yādava penetration into the south in the time of Siṅghana whose general Lakshmidēva-Daṇḍanāyaka figures as the donor in the record. It also throws some light on the career of this general. This military commander who is described in the epigraph as the right arm of the Yādava ruler seems to have had a long and distinguished career as the generalissimo of the Yādava forces. If he is identical with *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Lakshmidēva who figures in two inscriptions of the reign of Jaitugi II of dates A.C. 1196<sup>4</sup> and 1197<sup>5</sup>, it would appear that he also served this Yādava ruler who was the

<sup>1</sup> See Kittel's Kannaḍa-English Dictionary, p. 998. It may be suggested that the *r* in *purpa* is the *upadhānā* sign for the *visarga* before *p* since the word *pushpa* (Skt.) might have been pronounced as *puḥpa* by the Kannaḍa speaking people under the influence of the Prakrit form *puppha*.

<sup>2</sup> *SII*, Vol. IX, pt. i, No. 69.

<sup>3</sup> In the *ARSIE* for 1938-9, Part II, para 37, p. 84, where this inscription is discussed, that portion of the *praśasti* where the epithet *Nāyakanārāyaṇa* occurs has been split up as *Śrīmatu-Pratāpachakravartī-Siṅgaṇadēva-dakṣiṇabhujādāṇḍanāyaka*, *Nārāyaṇa-Lakshmidēva-Daṇḍanāyaka* and the general is given the double name of *Nārāyaṇa-Lakshmidēva*. Dr. Fleet also refers to him as *Nārāyaṇa-Lakshmidēva-daṇḍanāyaka* (*Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, *Bom. Gov.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 523) but does not indicate any particular record as the source of his information. Such a splitting of the words of the *praśasti* is not correct. The compound should be separated as *Siṅgaṇadēva-dakṣiṇabhujādāṇḍa*, *Nāyakanārāyaṇa* and *Lakshmidēva-Daṇḍanāyaka* since the epithet *dakṣiṇabhujādāṇḍa* and *Nāyakanārāyaṇa* occur separately in the *praśasti* of some other generals also. For example, the epithet *Nāyakanārāyaṇa* is borne by Gaṅgaya-Sāhaṇi (*SII*, Vol. X, Nos. 332 and 346), Jannigadēva (*ibid.*, No. 402) and Perumāṇḍi-Nāyaka (*ibid.*, No. 400). This title may be compared with similar ones like *Rājanārāyaṇa*, and *Javanikanārāyaṇa* (*ibid.*, No. 479). The appellation *dakṣiṇabhujādāṇḍa* was borne by Jannigadēva and forms part of the compound *Gaṇapati-dēva-dakṣiṇa-bhujādāṇḍa*, his other title *Nāyakanārāyaṇa*, occurring further on in the same *praśasti* some other epithets intervening (*SII*, Vol. X, No. 402). Aḍidammulu, another Kākatīya general is called *Rudradēva-dakṣiṇabhujādāṇḍa* in one inscription which also styles him as *Javanikanārāyaṇa* (*SII*, Vol. X, No. 479).

<sup>4</sup> Bombay-Karnatak inscriptions, No. 157 of 1933-34.

<sup>5</sup> Bombay-Karnatak inscriptions, No. 47 of 1937-38.



father and predecessor of Siṅghapa.<sup>1</sup> Our record, as noted already, gives him such distinguishing epithets as 'lord of many countries', and 'he who put to rout Bhōjadēva, the lord of the west' besides describing him by his official designations like *Mahāpradhāna*, *Samastasēnādhipati* and *Bāhattaraniyōgādhipati*. Fleet refers to an epigraph issued sometime in October, A.C. 1210 in which this general is called the *daṇḍanāyaka* of the *dakṣiṇamahī*, i.e., the southern part of the kingdom.<sup>2</sup> That Siṅghapa had overrun and reduced a number of territories on or before December 19, 1210 A.C., is attested by a record<sup>3</sup> bearing this date found at Dēvarabētṭa in the Bellary District, which states that on the date specified 'he was ruling the country having subjugated the whole country and having obtained the kingdom' (*Siṅghapadēvan-ananta-bhūmiyaṁ sādhisī rājjamaṁ paḍedu pāḷisalu*). Some more inscriptions of his reign, dated a few years later, in April 1215 A.C., January, 1216 A.C. and 1227 A.C. have been found at Nilūru,<sup>4</sup> Anantapur District, Gōraṅṭla<sup>5</sup> in the Kurnool District, and Kōḍumūrti<sup>6</sup> in the Tadpatri taluk, Anantapur District. These prove that the Yādava ruler was in possession of this southern region continuously from 1210 to at least 1227 A.C. The Gōraṅṭla record of 1216 A.C. actually refers to Lakṣmīdēva Daṇḍanāyaka with the same string of *birudas* as is attached to his name in our Pushpagiri inscription, mentions also his victory over Bhōjadēva of the west, and in addition, specifies that he was administering the country after 'having conquered a number of territories by the might of his arm'. The victory over Bhōja of the west, credit for which is claimed by Lakṣmīdēva-Daṇḍanāyaka both in the Gōraṅṭla inscription and in the Pushpagiri record, seems to have been an achievement of rather special importance, for, even the general's overlord, Siṅghapa is himself praised for this exploit. In an epigraph from Tiliwalli,<sup>7</sup> Dharwar District, Siṅghapa is described as 'a very king of the birds (Garuḍa) in putting to flight the serpent, the mighty Bhōja whose habitation was Pannāḷa'. Evidently both the ruler and his commander-in-chief were jointly

<sup>1</sup> The Tiliwalli inscription of Siṅghapa dated Saka 1160 (current), Hēmalambin (1237 A.C.) mentions Lakṣmīdēva, a *hastisādhānika*, as serving under Siṅghapa on this date. (*Kannāḍa Sāhitya Parishat Patrike*, Vol. 28, p. 2, text-line 23.) No other details about him are given. A certain *Mahāpradhāna* Lakṣmīdēva figures in a damaged inscription of Siṅghapa at Kolhapur of date 1237 A.C. (No. 353 of *ARIE* for 1945-6). It is quite likely that this official and *hastisādhānika* Lakṣmīdēva may be one and the same as they are found serving Siṅghapa in the same year. If our Lakṣmīdēva-Daṇḍanāyaka be identical with either of these it would appear that he had a long career from about 1196 to 1237 A.C. But the epithet *hastisādhānika* with which Lakṣmīdēva of the Tiliwalli record is introduced and which is conspicuously absent among the titles of Lakṣmīdēva-Daṇḍanāyaka would render the identification of these two rather doubtful. On the other hand it seems more likely that *hastisādhānika* Lakṣmīdēva was a different person and perhaps identical with still another person of the same name who was the father of Jalhapa of the Vatsa *gōtra* who wrote the *Sūktimuktāvalī* at the court of Yādava Kṛishṇa in Saka 1179, i.e., 1257-8 A.C., since most of the ancestors of Jalhapa are described as holding the office of *karivāhinīśa* or *karibrindanātha* under the Yādava kings successively from the time of Maillugi to that of Kṛishṇa. Jalhapa gives his pedigree as follows: in the lineage of Vatsa-muni was born Dādā who was a *karivindanātha*. He had four sons Mahādhara, Jalha, Sāmha and Gaṅgādhara who, by their joint skill, uplifted the kingdom of Maillugi. Gaṅgādhara's son was Janārdana, a *karivāhinīśa* who instructed Siṅghapa in *gojāśikṣā*. Janārdana's son was Lakṣmadēva who helped his overlord Kṛishṇa in firmly establishing his kingdom. Jalhapa was the son of Lakṣmadēva. Although the title *karivāhinīśa*, is not applied to Lakṣmadēva in this account given by Jalhapa, it is not unlikely that he also held that office. If so, it is equally likely that he is identical with *hastisādhānika* Lakṣmīdēva of the Tiliwalli record. If this identification is substantiated by future discoveries, *hastisādhānika* Lakṣmīdēva must have served Siṅghapa in or about 1237 A.C. according to the Tiliwalli record and also Kṛishṇa later on as Jalhapa states.

<sup>2</sup> *Rom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 523.

<sup>3</sup> *SHI*, Vol. IX, pt. i, No. 364.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 365.

<sup>5</sup> No. 315 of the *ARSIE* for the year 1937-38.

<sup>6</sup> Recently copied by me in November, 1953.

<sup>7</sup> *Rom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 524 and n.1: *Kannāḍa Sāhitya Parishat Patrike*, Vol. 28, p. 1, text-line 10.



engaged in subduing Bhōja.<sup>1</sup> That this Paśchimarāya Bhōja was the Śilāhāra prince Bhōja II is well established.<sup>2</sup> The date when Bhōja II was defeated and the Śilāhāra kingdom subjugated was approximately fixed by Fleet as lying some time before 1217-18 A.C. on the evidence of a record of Singhana found at Kolhapur dated in this year.<sup>3</sup> He notices another inscription of Singhana of date 1213 A.C. at Khedrapur in Kolhapur territory.<sup>4</sup> Although it lies in the territory of the Śilāhāra chief, Fleet was apparently not prepared to presume that Bhōja was defeated before this date since the record does not mention the event. However, the date of the event can now be pushed back by at least two years from 1217-18 A.C. as the recently found Gōraṅṭla epigraph of January 25, 1216 A.C., noticed above, refers to the victory over Paśchimarāya-Bhōjadēva, i.e., Bhōja II, as the achievement of Lakshmidēva-Daṇḍanāyaka, Singhana's general.

Singhana's occupation of the region south of the Tuṅgabhadra, particularly the area now comprising the districts of Anantapur, Bellary, Kurnool and Cuddapah, to which our Pushpagiri record and other inscriptions cited above bear testimony, does not seem to have been firmly established nor did it last long. It is well known that the Hoysalas continued to be masters of their own dominions south of the Tuṅgabhadra and often beat back the Yādava invaders. Besides the Hoysalas, there was another powerful opponent of the Yādavas, viz., the Telugu-Chōḍa prince, Tikka I of Nellore, who is known from inscriptional and literary records to have defeated the Yādavas. Of Tikka's reign a large number of inscriptions have been found. They show that he ruled approximately from 1208 to 1239 A.C. Two of them at Kāñchī, dated Śaka 1153 (1231 A.D.)<sup>5</sup> and Śaka 1156 (1234 A.C.)<sup>6</sup> state that he was the cataclysmic fire to the ocean, viz., Kalyāṇapuri, that he destroyed the pride of the Sēvūpas and inflicted ignominious punishments on them. The same exploit against the Sēvūpas seems to be alluded to in the Telugu *Daśakumāra-charitramu*, a poetical work of the same period written by a pupil of Tikkana-Sōmayājin, named

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note that there is still another who assumed the same *biruda* referring to the victory over Bhōja. He is Śārṅgapāpīdēva who describes himself as the son of Yādava Singhana and assumes all the imperial titles of the Yādava kings in an inscription of his at Pānuṅgal in the Hyderabad State (*Hyd. Arch. Series*, No. 13, ins. no. 34). The record is dated Śaka 1189, Prabhava, i.e., 1267 A.C. In this epigraph he is credited with nearly all the victories which are found attributed to Singhana in the Purushōttamapuri plates of Rāmachandra (above, Vol. XXV, pp. 202 and 209: v. 4) and in the Tiliwalli stone inscription of Singhana (No. 257 of the *An. Rep. on I.E.*, for the year 1945-6: *Kannaḍa Sāhitya Parishat Patrike*, Vol. 28, pp. 1-26). In fact the Pānuṅgal record gives to Śārṅgapāpīdēva the same string of *birudas* including the imperial titles of Singhana as found in the Tiliwalli inscription. Possibly he just inherited the titles having had no part in the conquests of Singhana. The record further describes him as administering the *sthala* of Pānuṅgallu in the reign of king Manuma-Rudradēva of the Kākātīya dynasty. That a person of so high an extraction should be holding such a small status is significant. A similarly worded *prastāva* occurs in a fragmentary stone inscription at Uddari in the Sorab *taluk* of the Shimoga District, Mysore, which opens with the date Śaka 1198 but the name of the chief to whom the epithets apply is lost in the missing piece of the inscribed slab. The date quoted in it would fall in the reign of Yādava Rāmachandra but the eulogy is that of Singhana (*Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1929, pp. 142 ff. and plate XVII; above, Vol. XXV, p. 202 and f.n. 1.).

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXV, p. 203. It is known that Bhōja II was styled *Paśchimachakravartin* by his protégé Sōmadēva who wrote the work *Śabdāraṇachandrikā* in the colophon of which Bhōja is given this and many other paramount titles (*Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 549.) A chief called Paśchimarāya-Dāmōdara was an adversary of Gaṅgaya-Sāhaṇi, a subordinate of Kākātīya Gaṇapati mentioned in inscriptions of date 1250 A.C. and later (No. 283 of 1905 of the *Mad. Epi. Coll.*; *SII*, Vol. X, No. 332). His identity, however, has not been established.

<sup>3</sup> *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, pp. 524 and 549.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 524.

<sup>5</sup> No. 446 of 1919 of the *Mad. Epi. Coll.*

<sup>6</sup> No. 34 of 1893 of the *Mad. Epi. Coll.*, published in *SII*, Vol. IV, as No. 847. The relevant passage as published reads:

Urāṅsi varṇāvali-chitritāni kar-āmbujāni truṭit-āṅgullīni |

yaśmin parikrudhyati Sēvaṇānām trāpaṁ kṣamāraṁ (m=aiḥ) na tu hēṭaya[ḥ\*] svāḥ [||v. 13\*].



Kētana who says that Tikka 'destroyed the pride of the *Sēvūṇa-kaṭaka-sāmanta*'.<sup>1</sup> These historical allusions leave no doubt that the *Sēvūṇa* generals were defeated by Tikka I. The reference to Kalyāṇapuri, i.e., Kalyāṇa, the famous Chālukya capital which at this period was under the sway of Yādava Siṅghaṇa, as having been destroyed by Tikka I is rather puzzling as we have at present hardly any evidence to show that Tikka I went so far north. On the other hand, a campaign of his in the western direction is specifically alluded to. One of his inscriptions at Gaṅgāpērūru near Siddhavattam, states that after having successfully carried out the conquest of the west (*paśchimadigvijayam-panṇi*) he made donations to the god at Siddhavattam.<sup>2</sup> It is not certain if this western campaign was directed against the *Sēvūṇas* or against some other power. Since, as stated already, there seems to be hardly any likelihood of Siṅghaṇa having held this part of the country after 1227 A.C. and as the earliest of Tikka's inscriptions crediting him with victory over the *Sēvūṇas* is dated Śaka 1153, i.e., 1231 A.C., the defeat of the *Sēvūṇas* might have occurred any time between these two dates. Similarly the date when the Pushpagiri record of the *Sēvūṇa* general was set up cannot be stated with any precision. Either it was written sometime between 1210 and 1227 A.C. when records of Siṅghaṇa are found in the neighbourhood, or it was set up between 1227 and 1231 A.C. during which Tikka I might have come into conflict with the *Sēvūṇas*.

Of the places and localities mentioned, Purpagiri, i.e., Pushpagiri, retains its name to the present day.<sup>3</sup> The inscription describes it as a hill lying at the foot of Śrīgiri and as situated in the vicinity of the southern gateway of Śrīparvata. Śrīgiri and Śrīparvata are evidently identical or, as the context suggests, the composer meant by Śrīgiri the entire range of the present Nallamalai hills at the apex of which stands the holy *kṣhētra* now called Śrīśailam which the writer perhaps specifies in a slightly different way as Śrīparvata. Siddhavattam which lies about 15 miles south-east of Pushpagiri, is usually referred to as the southern gateway of Śrīśailam. Some inscriptions<sup>4</sup> also state so. Our record says that Pushpagiri lay in the vicinity of the southern gateway while another inscription of the time of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa (III?) at Pushpagiri<sup>5</sup> refers to the village itself as the southern gateway (*Śrīparvata-dakṣiṇadvāra-śrī-Purpagiri*). Evidently one main hill pathway leading to the Śrīśailam summit started from Siddhavattam and was joined at some distance further north by another proceeding from Pushpagiri or its vicinity. Perhaps on this

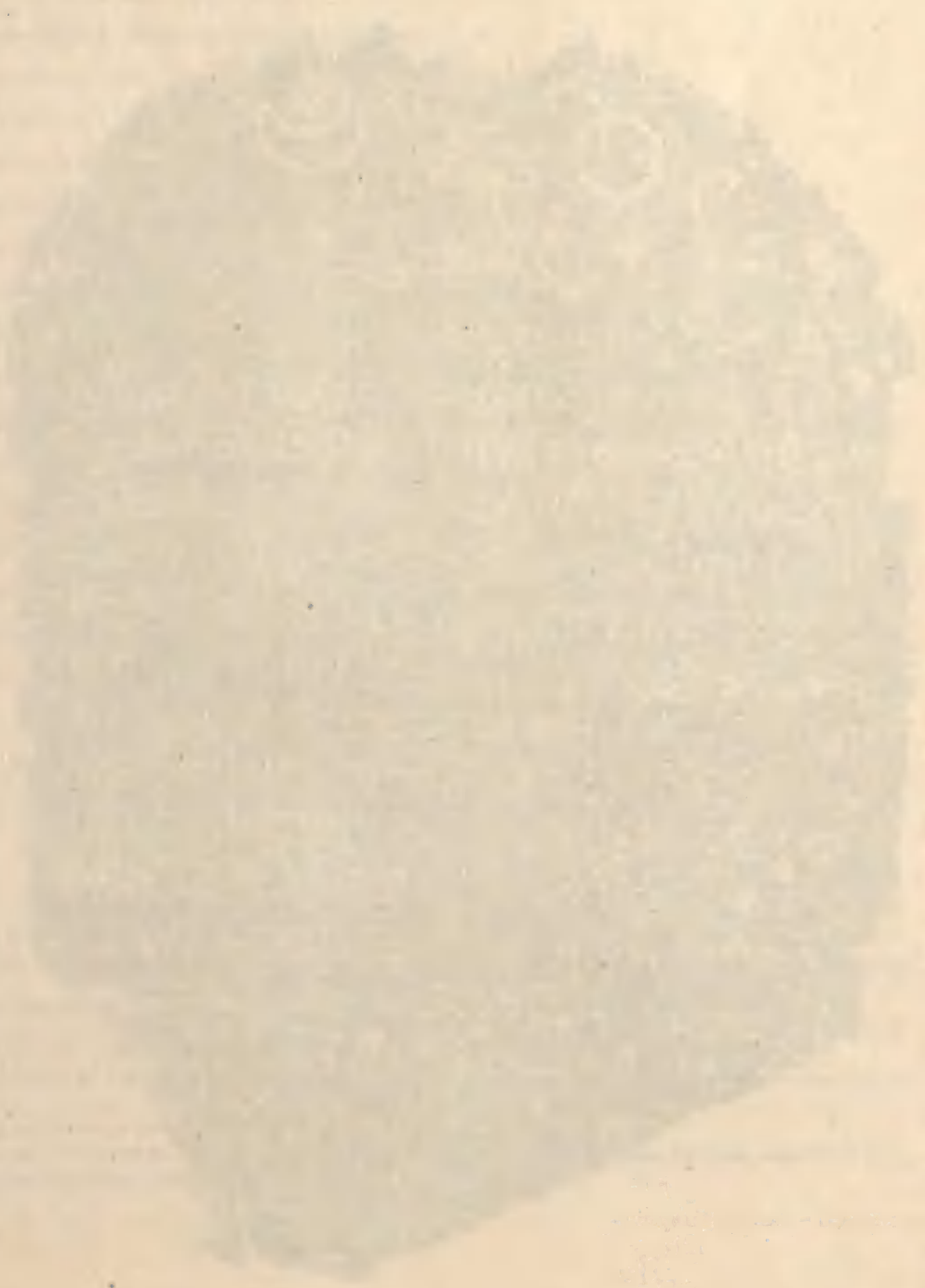
<sup>1</sup> *Daśakumāracharītram*, Canto i, v. 16. In the *Nirvachanōttarārāmāyaṇam* of Tikkana-Sōmayājin who wrote the work at the court of Manumasiddhi II, the father of Tikka I, there are several verses describing Tikka's achievements. One of them (Canto I, v. 33) states that when Lakumaya marched against Gurumulūru, he (Tikka) captured his horses in battle. Sri. M. Somasekhara Sarma Garu identifies Lakumaya with Lakshmidēva-Daṇḍa-nāyaka of the inscription edited here. (*Kāṣamarājukatha*, Mad. Govt. Oriental Series, No. XCI, Introd. p. III.)

<sup>2</sup> *ARSIE*, No. 16 of 1939-40.

<sup>3</sup> An account of Pushpagiri and its temples is given in *PRASI*, S.C., 1912-13, p. 62; see also Pushpagiri *kaifiyat* in *Local Records* (No. 343, p. 163) preserved in the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library. I am obliged to Mr. Subrahmanyam, Pandit, Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Madras, for having supplied me with the text of the Pushpagiri *kaifiyat* copied by him at the Mss. library.

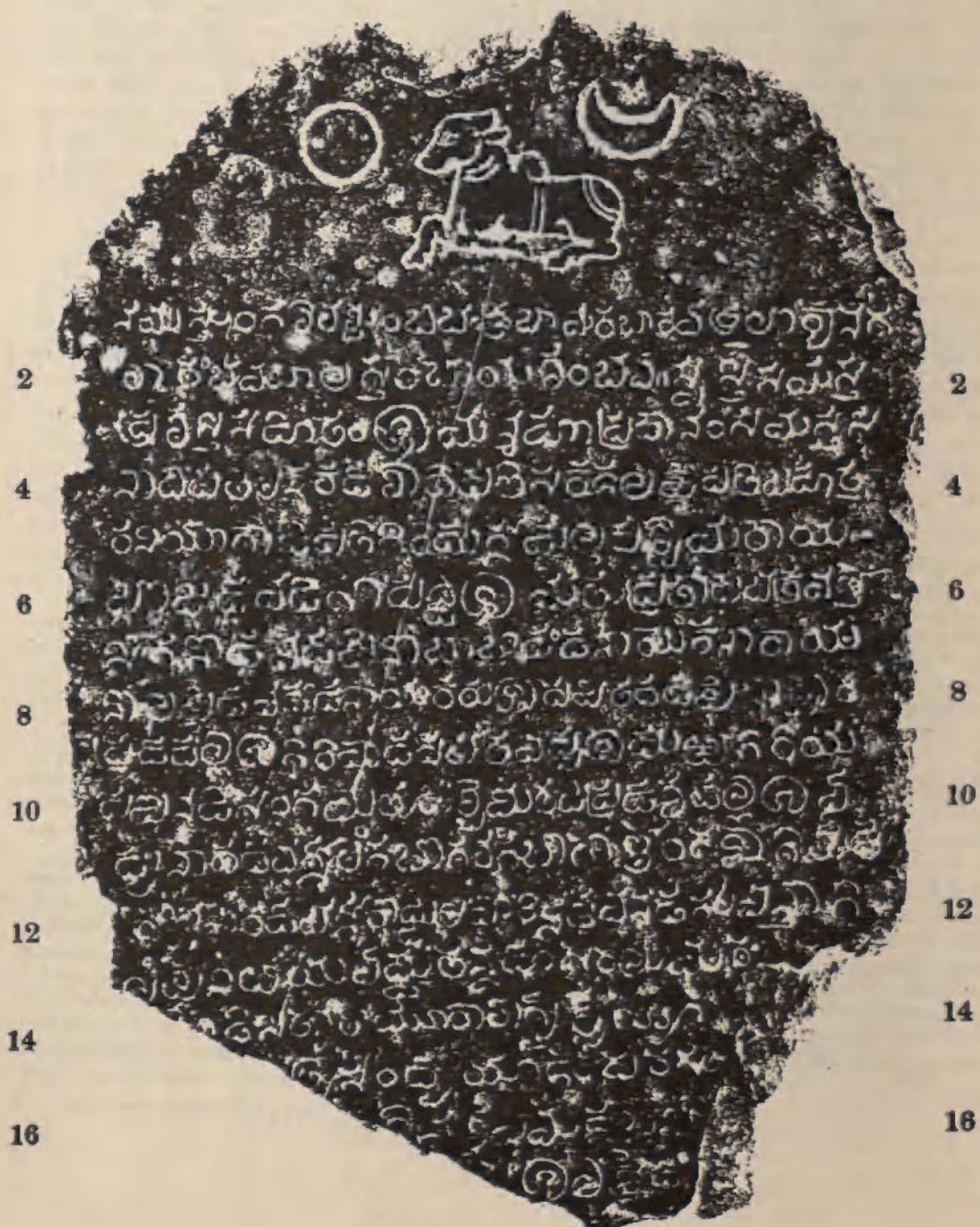
<sup>4</sup> No. 353 of the *ARSIE* for 1939-39; No. 12 of the *ARSIE* for 1939-40 from Doṅgalasāni in the Cuddapah District specifies Tripurāntaka, Siddhavaṭa, Anampura and Māhēśvara as the four gateways of Śrīparvata. They are clearly the modern Tripurāntakam (Kurnool Dist.), Siddhavattam (Cuddapah Dist.), Alampuram (Hyderabad State) and Umā-Mahēśvaram (Mahbubnagar Dt., Hyderabad State) situated on the east, south, west and north of Śrīparvata. In my article on the Māchupalle inscription of the time of Sōmidēva-Mahārāja (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 119 and n. 2) I adverted to these gateways but stated wrongly that the northern gateway was Kālēśvaram (Hyderabad State) instead of Umā-Mahēśvaram (Mahbubnagar Dt., Hyderabad State). My attention was drawn to this error by Sri. M. Somasekhara Sarma Garu to whom I am thankful for the correction. But, in the spurious Kollipara plates of Arikēsarin (*Bhārati*, Vol. VII, part II, p. 315, text line 88) Elēśvaram is mentioned as situated at the northern gateway of Śrīparvata.

<sup>5</sup> *SII*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 69.





PUSHPAGIRI INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF YADAVA SINGHANA



account both Siddhavatṭam and Pushpagiri were called southern gateways of Śrīsaila and considered holy. Our inscription states that the temple of Vaidyarātha at Pushpagiri was situated on the west bank of the confluence of five rivers. But today at this spot there flows only one river, viz., the Pennār.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Namas=tuṅga-śiraś-chumbi-chaṁdra-chāmara-chāravē [I\*] trailōkya-naga-
- 2 r-āraṁbha-mūlastaṁbhāya Śaṁbhavē || Svasti samasta-
- 3 prasasti-sahitaṁ śrīman-mahāpradhānaṁ samastasā-
- 4 nādhīpati anēkadēsādhipati sakalalakshmīpati ba(bā)hatta-
- 5 raniyōgādhipati giridurggamalla paśchimarāya-
- 6 Bhōjadēvadisā(sū)paṭṭa śrīmatu-Pratāpachakravartti-
- 7 Siṁgaṇadēva-dakṣiṇabhujādāṇḍa nāyakanārāya-
- 8 ṇa Lakshmīdēva-Daṇḍanāyakaru Śrīparvatada dakṣiṇa-dvāra-
- 9 pradē[śa\*]dalli Śrīgiri-pāda-parvatav=appa śrī-Purpagiriya
- 10 pañcha-nadī-saṁgama[da]<sup>2</sup> paśchima-taṭa-pradēsadalli śrī-Vai-
- 11 dyanāthadēvargge aṅga-bhōga-raṅga-bhōgārthamaṅga-āgi
- 12 ...[lū]raṁ<sup>3</sup> dēvargge koṭṭu avāri-satrava<sup>4</sup> naḍasuv-aut-ūgi
- 13 Lakshmī-nīlayaveṇḍdu tanna hesaralu maṭham....
- 14 ....[mā]ḍisi tanna āyur-ārōgya-aiśvaryā....
- 15 ....tri-saṁdhyeyo[um] parasu....
- 16 ....va [śai]va-mahā[bhō]....
- 17 ....śrī-Lakshmīdē[va]....

(The rest of the inscription is mutilated and lost).

## No. 9—ANDHAVARAM PLATES OF INDRAVARMAN

(I Plate)

R. SUBRAHMANYAM, VISAKHAPATNAM

This is the second of the four sets of copper plates discovered at the village of Andhavaram, Srikakulam District, Andhra State.<sup>5</sup> The first of these charters belonging to the Mādhara king

<sup>1</sup> From impressions. The figures of the sun, seated bull and the crescent moon are engraved at the top.

<sup>2</sup> The engraver seems to have at first written here by mistake the letters *taṭa* which he erased and wrote the letters *da* and *pa* over the erasure.

<sup>3</sup> Some letters at the end of line 11 and at the beginning of line 12 appear to have been written even an erasure.

<sup>4</sup> Originally *ne* seems to have been written and later corrected into *sa*.

<sup>5</sup> I am grateful to Śrī M. Somasekhara Sarma and Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra for their valuable suggestions given to me while editing these plates.



Anantaśaktivarman has already been published in this journal.<sup>1</sup> The present set consists of three plates, each measuring about 7·3" by 2·4". The edges of the plates, though not raised into rims, have been fashioned thicker and flattened, so that the inscription is fairly well preserved. The plates are strung together by means of a ring, .25" thick and 3·8" in diameter, the two ends of which are secured in an elliptical seal measuring 1·2" by 1", on the counter-sunk surface of which is cut in relief a seated bull, which is corroded. There is no legend or any other symbol on the seal. The ring was cut by me for taking impressions. The first side of the first plate and the second side of the third plate have been left blank. Each inscribed side contains six lines of writing. The engraving is bold and elegant.

The **alphabet** belongs to the Southern script of about the 6th-7th centuries A. C. and bears close resemblance to that of the Chicacole<sup>2</sup> plates of Mahārāja Indravarman : Year 128, the Parlakimiḍi<sup>3</sup> plates of Rājasiṃha Indravarman : Year 91, and the Urajām plates of Indravarman : Year 97<sup>4</sup>. The **language** is Sanskrit and, except the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses (lines 15-19 and 21-23) and the verse (lines 23-24) in which the names of the *ājñapti* and the scribe are mentioned, the inscription is in prose. The **date** portion of the grant contains numerical symbols for 100, 30 and 3.

The inscription opens with the usual *prāśasti* of the early Gaṅgas and registers the command of Mahārāja Indravarman to the residents of the village **Tōṭavāṭaka**, situated in the Krōṣṭukavartanī *vishaya*, that the said village, which was constituted into an *agrahāra* and exempted from all taxes, was given to the Brāhmaṇa residents of **Andōrakāgrahāra**, belonging to various *gōtras*, who were students of the *R̥igvēda* (*Bahvricha charaṇa*), on the new moon day of Śrāvaṇa when there was a solar eclipse, so that merit, longevity and fame may accrue to his father and mother as also to himself.

The record is dated in the **augmenting years of the Tumburuvārha**, and, curiously, the date mentioned in symbols does not agree with that given in words. While expressing the date in words as *śatē trīṃśaty-adhikē* the engraver has given the numerical symbols for 100, 30 and 3.

The record is said to have been written by Prabhākara at the command of Lōkāṇavadēva who is described as "one who vanquished many foes" (*vijit-ānēka-vidvishaḥ*).

So far nearly thirty five inscriptions of the early Gaṅgas ranging in date between 39 G. E. and 528 G. E. have come to light. Of them, those belonging to Indravarman and issued from Kalinga-nagara are dated 87<sup>5</sup>, 91<sup>6</sup>, 128<sup>7</sup>, 138<sup>8</sup> and 154<sup>9</sup> while a grant dated 137<sup>10</sup> was issued from Dantapura and mentions the name of the father of the donor to be Dānārjaya. The donor of the grant under review, Mahārāja Indravarman, should therefore be identical with one of the Indravarman of the records cited above. The *prāśasti* of this inscription is identical with the *prāśasti* of the records of Indravarman dated 87 and 91 G. E., but differs from the *prāśasti* of the Chicacole plates of Indravarman dated 128 G. E. Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma, after a critical study<sup>11</sup> of all the

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 175 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, plates facing pp. 120-1.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 131. [The lithograph of this charter has not been published. But Fleet says that its characters are of almost precisely the same type as those of the Chicacole plates.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> These plates of Indravarman dated 97 G. E. have been obtained from the Collector of Srikakulam and are being studied by me.

<sup>5</sup> *JAHRS*, Vol. IV, pp. 23 ff. and plate.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 134 (no lithograph).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 120 ff. and plate.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 123 ff. and plate.

<sup>9</sup> Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 308 ff. and plate.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 381 ff and plate. While Sri Ramadas reads the date as 149, Prof. Hultzsch (above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 308) reads it as 137.

<sup>11</sup> *JAHRS*, Vol. XIII, Part ii, pp. 93 ff.



early Gaṅga charters, has observed that the preamble recorded in the later charters of early Gaṅga kings grew lengthier than that in the early ones. Subsequent to 91 G. E. new phrases and clauses denoting their regal glory were added to the preamble and this process of development of phraseology, he surmised, grew round three fundamental factors, namely, (1) the capital city of the early Gaṅgas, (2) their tutelary deity Gōkarṇasvāmin and (3) their own valour and glory. The principal seat of the Gaṅgas attained the dignity of a *vāsaka*, (cf. *Kaliṅganagara-vāsakāt*, *Dantapura-vāsakāt*, etc.) and the patron deity of the Gaṅgas, Lord Gōkarṇasvāmin, is described as the sole architect of the whole world, the lord of the movable and immovable creation, who has been firmly established on the holy summit of the Mahēndra mountain.

Of the records so far published, the Chicacole plates of Indravarman dated 128 G. E. are perhaps the earliest to mention Kaliṅganagara as a *vāsaka*. Basing on this Mr. Sarma has surmised that subsequent to 91 G. E. the new phrases were added to the *prāśasti*.<sup>1</sup> The present Andhavaram plates of Indravarman though dated later than the Chicacole plates referred to above, record curiously the same *prāśasti* as given in the earlier records dated 87 and 91 G. E. In fact it is identical with the *prāśasti* found in the Narsīṅgapalli plates of Hastivarman : G. E. 79.<sup>2</sup> But for the difference in the name of the donee, the village granted and the date, the text of our inscription is practically identical with that of Indravarman's grant dated 91 G. E. In particular the imprecatory verse recorded in lines 21 and 22 is peculiar to these two records.

These plates furnish us with a new Gaṅga name—*Lōkārṇava*. Who is this *Lōkārṇava* at whose command the charter is said to have been written? There is no clue in the plates to ascertain this point. We know of Eastern Gaṅga names like *Kāmārṇava*, *Raṇārṇava*, *Dānārṇava* and *Guṇārṇava*, but not *Lōkārṇava*. Though by its suffix *arṇava* it sounds like an Eastern Gaṅga name, no king with that name has been met with so far in the Eastern Gaṅga genealogy.<sup>3</sup>

As noted above, this grant of Indravarman is dated in the augmenting years of Tumburu-vaṁśa (*Tumburu-vaṁśa-rājya-saṁvatsarāṇām*). In all the grants of the early Eastern Gaṅgas so far discovered the years were stated to be merely the 'augmenting years' (*pravardhamāna-saṁvatsarāḥ*) presumably of the succession of the Eastern Gaṅga kings. From the time of Indravarman I and Sāmantavarman the phraseology adopted in quoting the date of the early Eastern Gaṅga kings who ruled from Kaliṅganagara remained the same (*pravardhamāna-vijayarājya-saṁvatsarāḥ*) till the time of Anantavarman of 304 G. E. when for the first time the Gaṅga Era is specifically mentioned as *Gāṅgēya-vaṁśa-pravardhamāna-vijayarājya-saṁvatsarāḥ*. Since no records between 254 and 304 G. E. have come to light the actual date of commencement of this particular phraseology in the early Gaṅga charters could not be ascertained. Basing on the phraseology supplied by the plates of Anantavarman, all the earlier grants so far discovered, though no specific reference to the *Gāṅgēya-vaṁśa* was made in them, have been presumed to have been dated in the Gaṅga era. Now the Andhavaram grant raises a doubt as to the correctness of the above presumption. Indravarman of this charter, as is evident from the *prāśasti*, was no doubt a Gaṅga king. Since he dates his charter in the augmenting years of the Tumburu-vaṁśa, it seems probable that he was a subordinate of a king of that dynasty. Who are these Tumburus? Were some of the Early Gaṅgas subordinates to this dynasty? No information is forthcoming regarding this Tumburu-vaṁśa except a stray reference to the tribe of Tumburus in the *Harivaṁśa*<sup>4</sup>, wherein they are mentioned along with Tushāras, as inhabitants of the Vindhyan forests. If the Andhavaram plates are to be taken as genuine, the above questions are to be solved by future researches. Still, since the

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 62 ff. and plate.

<sup>3</sup> [Probably it is a *birda* of Indravarman.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> *Harivaṁśa-purāṇa*, canto V, v. 20: *Yā ch=ānyā Vindhya-nīlayās=Tushārās=Tumburās=atthā | ādharmā rucyā yā cha vidhī tāt=Vēnasaṁbhavān ||*



enology is all about the Early Gaṅgas, and the donor, Mahārāja Indravarman, is said to be the establisher of the spotless Gaṅga family, the years may be taken to be of the Gaṅga era till such time as the contrary is proved.

The date of the inscription is given in words as *Śatē trīmśaty-adhikē* and then in numerical symbols as *saṁvatsarāḥ 100 30 3*. The last number 'three' is represented by three horizontal strokes one over the other, but between the symbols representing 30 and 3 another horizontal stroke, though shorter in size, is also noticeable. After the date in numerical symbols comes the term *Śrāvaṇa-māsa*. It is possible to interpret the year as 133 if the numerical symbols are taken into account. Then the expression *Śatē trīmśaty-adhikē* should be changed to *Śatē trayas-trīmśaty-adhikē*. The omission of *trayas* before *trīmśat* may be, as suggested by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, a case of haplography due to the carelessness of the engraver.

Notwithstanding the investigations of a host of scholars, the latest of them being Prof. Mirashi, the starting point of the Gaṅga era is still a riddle awaiting a satisfactory solution. Dr. Fleet<sup>1</sup> who tried to arrange the Gaṅga genealogy and fix the starting point of the era by basing his arguments on the synchronism afforded by the Gōdāvarī grant of Prithivīmūla, gave it up as the identification of Indrabhaṭṭāraka with Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the Chālukya dynasty did not stand scrutiny. On the other hand, Mr. G. Ramadas<sup>2</sup> basing on the astronomical details supplied by the grants themselves fixed 349 A. C. as the initial year of the Gaṅga Era; but this was questioned by Mr. R. Subbārao<sup>3</sup> who, following the line of argument of Fleet, identified Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the Gōdāvarī grant of Prithivīmūla with Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman of the Vishṇukunḍin family and fixed the date of commencement of the Gaṅga era to be some time between 492 and 496 A. C.

This was disputed by Mr. Somasekhara Sarma<sup>4</sup>, as the chronology of the Vishṇukunḍins itself has not been satisfactorily fixed, and as there was no agreement among scholars in the arrangement of the pedigrees furnished by the copper plate records of the rulers of the Vishṇukunḍin family. After an exhaustive discussion with the help of astronomical details supplied by the grants Mr. Somasekhara Sarma surmised that the Pūrṇimānta system of reckoning was followed during the rule of the early Gaṅgas and that the "Epoch of the Gaṅga Era began in the Śaka year 426-7 or 504-5 A.C. between June and January of that year". Prof. Mirashi of Nagpur, after detailed examination of the Gaṅga dates showed that the "Gaṅga Era commenced on *amānta* Chaitra śu. di. 1 in the Śaka year 420 (the 14th March A.D. 498).<sup>5</sup> In his note on the Ponnuturu plates of Gaṅga Sāmantavarman<sup>6</sup> he also suggested that though the *Pūrṇimānta* scheme has been used in two of the earlier grants of the Gaṅga Era, the *Amānta* scheme has been adopted in later grants. If the surmise that the discrepancy in the numerical symbols employed in the present record is a scribal error and the suggested correction be accepted, then the grant was made in the year 133. It should be taken as the current year. The grant is said to have been made on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the new moon day of Śrāvaṇa. Calculating from the starting point fixed by Prof. Mirashi, i.e., Śaka 420 plus 132 expired years of the era, we get Ś. 552 (630 A. C.) as the date of the grant. According to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, on the 13th of August of that year there was a solar eclipse; but this was in the month of Bhādrapada.

The village Tōṭavāṭaka is said to have been situated in the Krōśhṭukavartanī *vishaya*. **Krōśhṭukavartanī** appears in many of the early Gaṅga plates as the name of a territorial division and has been identified with the area round about the Narasannapeta taluk in the Srikakulam

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 131 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *JBORS*, Vol. IX, pp. 398 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *JAHS*, Vol. II, pp. 146 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 171 ff. and *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. IX, No. 1, pp. 141 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Above*, Vol. XXVII, p. 192.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 171 ff.





111

20 20  
22 22  
24 24

Seal



From a Photograph

District of the Andhra State. **Tōṭavāṭaka** appears to be the ancient name of Tōṭāḍa or Tōḍavāḍa, a village at a distance of about eight miles from Andhavaram, the findspot of the inscription under review, while **Andōrakāgrahāra** is the early name of Andhavaram itself. It is called **Āndō-reppa** in the record of the Māṭhara king Anantaśaktivarman<sup>1</sup>.

TEXT<sup>2</sup>*First Plate*

- 1 Ōm<sup>3</sup> [\*] Svasti [\*] Sarvv-arttu-su<sup>4</sup>kha-ramanīyād=viṣaya-Kaliṅganagarā[t]=sakala-bhuvana-nirmuā-
- 2 ṇ-aika-sūtradhāraṣya Bhagavatō Gō<sup>5</sup>karṇa(rṇa)svāmināḥ; charaṇa-kamala-yugala-praṇāma-(mā)-
- 3 d=apagata-kali-kalaṅk[ō] vinaya-naya-sampadām=ādihāraḥ sv-āsi-dhārā-parispa[nd-ā]-
- 4 dhigata-sakala-Kaliṅg-ādhirājyaś=chatur-udadhi-taraṅga-mēkhal-āvanitala-pravi-
- 5 tat-āmala-yaśāḥ <sup>6</sup>anēka-samara-samkshōbha-janita-jaya-śabdō Gāṅg-āmala-ka(ku)-
- 6 la-pratishṭhaḥ pratāp-ātīśay-ānāmīta-samasta-sāmanta-chūdāmaṇi-prabhā-maṇja-

*Second Plate ; First Side*

- 7 ri-puñja<sup>7</sup>-rañjita-charaṇō mātā-pitri-pād-ānuddhyātaḥ paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-mahā-
- 8 rāj=Ēndravarmmā Krōshṭukavarattanyām Tōṭavāṭaka-grāmē sarvva-samavētān=kuṭumbina
- 9 s=samājñāpayati [\*] viditam=astu vō yath=āyam grāmō=smābhis=sarvva-karaiḥ=pari-
- 10 hrity=ā-chandr-ārka-pratishṭham=agrahāraṇ=kṛitvā mātā-pitrōr=ātmanāś=cha puṇy-āyu-
- 11 rryaśasām=abhivṛiddhayē<sup>8</sup> Andōrak-āgrahāra-va(vā)stavyēbhyō nānā-ga(gō)tra-Bahvṛicha-chara-
- 12 ṇa-brahmachāribhyaḥ Śrāvaṇa-māsa<sup>9</sup>-amāvāsyām=āditya-grah-ōparāge<sup>6</sup>

*Second Plate ; Second Side*

- 13 udaka-pūrvvan=dattas=tad=viditvā yath-ōchitam bhōga-bhāgam=upanayantas=sa(su)kham
- 14 prativasath=ēti [\*] Bhaviṣyad=rājabhis=ch=āyan=dāna-dharmmō=nupālaniyas=tathā cha Vyā
- 15 sagitāḥ ślōkā bhavanti [\*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā bahubhis=ch=ānupālītā [\*]
- 16 yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam(lam) [\*] Svadattām=para-dattām-vā(ttām vā)
- 17 yatnād=raksha Yudhisṭhira [\*] mahim=mahimatām śrēṣṭha dānāch=chhrēyō=nupāla
- 18 nam(nam) [\*] Shasṭim varsha-sahasraṇi mōdatē divi bhūmidah [\*] ākshēptā ch=ānu-mantā cha

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 176.<sup>2</sup> From the original plates.<sup>3</sup> Indicated by a symbol.<sup>4</sup> The two letters *rttu-su* are written over an erasure.<sup>5</sup> The three letters *ratō gō* are written over an erasure.<sup>6</sup> *Sandhi* is not observed here.<sup>7</sup> The letters *puñja* are written over an erasure.



## Third Plate

- 19 tāny=ēva narakē vasēd=iti (sēt [||\*] iti ) Śrī-pravaraddhamāna-Tumvu(mbu)ru-vaṇśa(vamśa)-  
rājya-samva-(samva)tsarā-
- 20 nām śatē triṇśa(triṇśa)ty-adhikē samva(samva)tsarāḥ 100 30 3 Śrāvāṇa-māsa<sup>1</sup>-amāvāsya<sup>2</sup>-di-
- 21 nāni<sup>3</sup> cha [||\*] Nighnantām<sup>4</sup> bhārṭi-gō-vipra-bāla-yōshid-vipaśchita(tām) [||\*] yā gati(s=\*)  
sā bha-
- 22 vēd=bhūmi[m] harata[h\*] śāsan-āṅkitām(tām) [||\*] Yath=āpsu patitā(taḥ) Śakra taila-vi(bi)-  
ndur=viṣarppati [||\*]
- 23 ēvaṁ bhūmi-kri(kṛi)taṁ dāna[m\*] sasyē sasyē viṣarppati [||\*] Śrī-Lōkārṇa(ṇa)vadēvasya
- 24 vijit-ānēka-vidvisha(shah) ājñayā likhitam śrēṣṭham Prabhākareṇa(ṇa) śāsanām(nam) ||

## No. 10—EPIGRAPHIC NOTES

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

## 6. Rākshaskhālī (Sundarban) Plate ; Śaka 1118

In the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. X, June, 1934, pp. 322-31, Dr. B. C. Sen edited the Sundarban (Rākshaskhālī) copper plate, dated Śaka 1118, belonging to a ruler of lower Bengal, whose name was read as śrī-Maḍōmmaṇapāla. In the *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, April, 1935, pp. 679-82, I made an attempt to improve upon the reading and interpretation of the record as published by Dr. Sen and suggested *inter alia* that the name of the ruler was very probably śrīma[d\*]-Dōmmaṇapāla. This suggestion and some others of mine were later supported by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in the *Dacca University History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 222, note. The inscription has recently been re-edited by Mr. R. K. Ghoshal in this journal, Vol. XXVII, pp. 119 ff., where some of my views have been commented upon, while some of them have been accepted.

As regards the name of the ruler in question, Mr. Ghoshal seems to be inclined to prefer *Maḍōmmaṇapāla* to *Dōmmaṇapāla* suggested by me. In this he apparently ignores the important fact that a name like *Maḍōmmaṇa* is not known to have been borne by any Indian in any period of history, while *Dōmana* (no doubt the same as *Dōmmaṇa*) is a fairly popular name even now in Bengal<sup>4</sup>. That the name was popular among the Vaidyas of Bengal also in early times is proved by the mention of Dōmanadāsa in Bharatamallika's *Chandraprabhā* (Śaka 1597) and of Damanasēna (the same as Dōmana<sup>5</sup>; cf. the Bengali tendency to pronounce *a*, both initial and medial, as *o*) in Kavikanṭhahāra's *Sadvaidyakulapañjikā* (Śaka 1575) as the ancestors respectively of the Dāsas and the Sēnas among the Vaidyas<sup>6</sup>. Another interesting fact which can hardly be ignored in this connection is that the name *Dōmmaṇa*=*Dōmana*=*Damana* is apparently of South Indian

<sup>1</sup> Sandhi has not been observed here.

<sup>2</sup> Read *dīnē*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *nighnatām*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. II, p. 152.

<sup>5</sup> *Chandraprabhā*, Calcutta, B. S. 1290, p. 19: *Dōmanaḥ Pāla-jāmātā Vaidyaḥ Pālō na vidyatē | Vamītyō Dōmanadāsaḥ Vāmanaḥ kulavān katham || iti chintā na kartavyā Vāmanē bahavō guṇāḥ ||* This Dōmanadāsa was one of the ancestors of the Kulina Dāsas in the Vaidya community of Bengal. According to the *Sadvaidyakulapañjikā*, Damanasēna was the grandson's great-grandson of Vināyaka whom tradition assigns to the age of Ballālasēna (circa 1158-79 A.C.). Damanasēna of the *Sadvaidyakulapañjikā* is actually called Dōmanasēna in the *Chandraprabhā* (p. 69). For the great popularity of the name Dōmana among the Vaidyas, see *Chandraprabhā*, pp. 27, 69, 129, 212, 218, 233, 319, 334, 359.



origin as we have the name *Dommana* (no doubt a variant of *Dōmmaṇa*) only in the south ; cf. the Māṅgallu grant<sup>1</sup> of the Eastern Chālukya king Amma II (circa 945-70 A.C.) and the Dibbida plates<sup>2</sup> (Śaka 1191) of the Mataya chief Arjuna. As regards the South Indian association of the Bengal Vaidyas, among whom the southern name *Dōmana*=*Ḍamana* is found to have been popular even during the medieval period, I have elsewhere<sup>3</sup> observed, "The present day Ambashthas of the Tamil land and Malabar (their early distribution in South India may have been wider) appear to be referred to as Vaidyas in inscriptions dating from the seventh century.<sup>4</sup> Their entry into Bengal during the rule of the Sēnas, hailing from Karṇāṭa or the Kanarese country of the Deccan, is very probable, as the Sēnas of Bengal must have patronized South Indians in the same way as the Muslim rulers of India entertained Musalmans of other countries at their courts. It is thus very probable that the crystallization of the professional community of the Vaidyas or physicians of Bengal into a caste was a result of their amalgamation with the tribal Ambashtha-Vaidyas of Southern India. This seems to have been the background on which the theory identifying the Vaidyas with the Ambashthas of early Indian literature (Maṇu calling them physicians) was fabricated in the late medieval period".<sup>5</sup> It may be added that the Sēnas themselves came to be regarded as Vaidyas in the Vaidya *kula-pañjikā*.<sup>6</sup> Since *Dōmmaṇapāla* bore a South Indian name, was a subordinate apparently of the South Indian Sēnas and used the Śaka era which was popular in the south and seems to have been popularised in Bengal by the Sēnas, I suggested that his family may have originally belonged to South India ; but this has been regarded by Mr. Ghoshal as "the absurdity of Dr. Sircar's persistent and curious Southern complexes".

King *Dōmmaṇapāla* made the grant in question when he was *svīya-mukti-bhūmau Dvārahaṭākē*, i.e., at *Dvārahaṭāka* which was his *mukti-bhūmi*.<sup>7</sup> Mr. Ghoshal interprets the expression *mukti-bhūmi* as 'the place of initiation', without any regard to Sanskrit lexicons, and says, "Dr. D. C. Sircar asked if this term indicated Maḍōmmaṇapāla's imminent death!" His use of the note of exclamation clearly indicates that he has discovered here another of my 'absurdities'. But *mukti-bhūmi* is apparently the same as the well-known *mukti-kṣētra* which is often used as an epithet of holy places and means 'a place where salvation is attainable on death'. That the Indian kings regarded death at a *tīrtha* as especially meritorious is definitely known from numerous sources including Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, ch. 68, verse 19 :

*bhuktvā samyag=vasudhām śauryeṇ=ōpajitām=asīty-abdaḥ |*

*tīrthē prāṇāms=tyaktvā bhadro dēv-ālayam yāti ||*

<sup>1</sup> *An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1917, part II, para. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. V, p. 111.

<sup>3</sup> *JRASSB*, Letters, Vol. XIV, p. 106, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vols. IX, p. 101 ; VIII, pp. 317-21 ; XVII, pp. 291 ff. ; *Ind. Ant.*, 1898, pp. 57 f.

<sup>5</sup> See my paper entitled "The Ambashtha Jāti" in *JUPHS*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 148-61. The village Vaidyas in South India are barbers.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Sadvaidyakuḷoppanjikā*, Dacca, B. S. 1292, pp. 1-2 : *purā Vaidyakul-ōdbhūta-Ballālēna-mah-ajāsā*. It is interesting to note that, like *Ḍomana*, the typical southern name *Ballāla* was extremely popular among the Vaidyas of Bengal. Cf. *Chandraprabhā*, pp. 48, 49, 126, 141, 151, 175, 176, 184, 189, 212, 225, 238, 264, 319, 331, 332, 335, 338, 362, 403, 420.

<sup>7</sup> *Dvārahaṭāka* was not the capital of *Dōmmaṇapāla* as, in that case, the charter would have been probably issued from there. Similar mention of the place from where a grant (recorded in a charter issued from the capital) was made by a king is also found in other records. The Nagari plates (above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235 ff.) of Anangabhiṃ III, e.g., say that the Gāṅga king made certain grants when he was *Abhinava-Vāraṇasī-katakē tasyān=Mahānadyām, Śrī-Purushōttama-kṣētrī ī dakṣiṇa-tīrtharāja-taṭē* and *Abhinava-Vārāṇasyām bhagavataḥ Purushōttamasya sannidhau*.



In connection with the merits of religious suicide which was popular with all classes of Indians, the importance of the holy waters of the Gaṅgā and other rivers is often specially mentioned. The *Sabdakalpadrūma*, (s. v. *gaṅgā*), e.g., quotes the following verses from the *Kūrma-Purāṇa* :

*Gaṅgāyām jñānatō mṛitvā muktīm-āpnōti mānavaḥ |*

*a-jñānād-brahma-lōkaṁ-cha yāti n-āsty-atra saṁśayaḥ ||*

*Gaṅgāyām-cha jalē mōkshō Vārāṇasyām jalē sthalē |*

*antarīkshē cha Gaṅgāyām Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgamē ||*

The practice of *Gaṅgā-yātrā* (i.e., going to the bank of the Gaṅgā with a view to die there and to go to heaven as a result of such a meritorious death) is well known in Bengal even today.<sup>1</sup> The prevalence of the same custom also in other parts of India is indicated by P. Thomas who observes, " . . . . . old people, on the point of death, make long journeys to Benares or some other sacred city on the banks of the Ganges so that they may wash their sins away in the sacred stream or die in the waters. A dying man is often carried by his relatives to the Ganges and is held immersed knee-deep in the waters of the river. The banks of the Ganges at Benares are as sacred as the Ganges itself and people of the neighbourhood, who fall sick and are not expected to survive, are made to live in huts on the banks of the river till they die."<sup>2</sup> The celebrated Abbé Dubois also points to the custom as well as similar others when he asks, " . . . how shamelessly they violate nature by placing the sick, whose recovery is dispaired of, on the banks of the Ganges, or of some other so-called holy river, so that they may be drowned by the floods or devoured by crocodiles? Have they ever attempted to restrain the frenzy of those fanatics who, in their mistaken devotion, foolishly allow themselves to be crushed under the wheels of the cars of their idols, or throw themselves headlong into the stream at the junction of the Ganges and the Jumna?"<sup>3</sup> Now Dōmmanapāla's plate was found on the small island of Rākshaskhālī on the southern sea-board of West Bengal only about 12 miles due east of the celebrated *tīrtha* of Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama at the mouth of the river Bhāgīrathī or Gaṅgā now called Hooghly. We have seen how salvation was regarded as the result of death in the waters of the Gaṅgā at any place, how the same was believed to be obtained from death at Banaras either in the waters of the Gaṅgā or on its banks and how death not only in the waters and on the banks of the Gaṅgā but also in the air at Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama was regarded as equally meritorious. That the locality of Dvārahaṭāka lay probably in the vicinity of the Gaṅgā as well as of Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama seems to be indicated by the discovery of the plate in the neighbourhood and by the fact that Dvārahaṭāka is said to have been situated in the small district of Pūrva-Khāṭikā or the eastern Khāṭī which was bounded on the west by the lower course of the Gaṅgā.<sup>4</sup> The second part of the name *Dvārahaṭāka* is the same as Sanskrit *haṭṭaka*, modern *hāṭā* which is the common name-ending of many localities; but whether the first word in the name of our locality indicates one of the 'doors' or mouths through which the Gaṅgā flows into the sea and actually refers to a locality within the Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama area cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge.<sup>5</sup> There is, however, hardly any absurdity in the suggestion that Dōmmanapāla went to Dvārahaṭāka with a view to dying in the waters

<sup>1</sup> The great popularity of the practice as late as the nineteenth century is clearly demonstrated by the newspapers of those days. Cf. B. N. Banerji, *Saṁvāda-patrī Sekāler Kathā*, Vol. I (B. S. 1344), p. 150; Vol. II (B. S. 1348), pp. 535-36.

<sup>2</sup> *Hindu Religion, Customs and Manners*, p. 93.

<sup>3</sup> *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, trans. Beauchamp, third ed., p. 606.

<sup>4</sup> *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, pp. 25-26.

<sup>5</sup> There is a place called Dwarahat in the Almora District, Uttar Pradesh. The *Chandraprabhā* (pp. 145, 155, 185, 192, 309, etc.) mentions Dvārahāṭṭā as a seat of the Bengal Vaidyas. Mr. J. N. Gupta identifies this place with Dwarhata near Haripal in the Hooghly District of West Bengal.



of the Gaṅgā for attaining salvation and made the grant in question on that sacred occasion. In that case only is the epithet *svīya-mukti-bhūmi*, applied to the locality, easily explainable. I do not see how it can be interpreted in any other equally satisfactory way.

Of kings ending their lives in the waters of the holy rivers we have the well-known instances of Chandēlla Dhaṅga (953-1002 A.C.), who committed suicide in the Trivēṇī at Prayāga or Allahabad<sup>1</sup>, and Chālukya Sōmēśvara I Āhavamalla (1043-68 A.C.) who drowned himself in the Tuṅgabhadra described as 'the Gaṅgā of Dakṣiṇāpatha'.<sup>2</sup> According to Bilhana's *Vikramāṅkadēva-charita*, the Chālukya king's proposal to end his life in the Tuṅgabhadra was hailed by his ministers as a right act and the king made grants of a heap of gold before entering the waters. On the authority of Hindu scriptures, Colebrooke speaks of the custom of making gifts by a dying man as he says, "When at the point of death, donation of cattle, land, gold, silver or other things, according to his ability, should be made by him, or, if he be too weak, by another person in his name".<sup>3</sup> There is thus no absurdity in Dōmmaṇapāla granting a village on a similar occasion.

Verse 12 of the Jubbulpur inscription<sup>4</sup> of Yaśaḥkarna says that Kalachuri Gāṅgēyadēva Vikramāditya (circa 1015-41 A.C.) attained *mukti*, i.e., committed religious suicide, at Prayāga together with his hundred wives. Prayāga was thus the *mukti-bhūmi* of Gāṅgēya and those of his queens who died with their husband. The *Adbhutasāgara*<sup>5</sup> seems to say how king Ballālasēna of Bengal gave numerous gifts at the time of committing religious suicide, together with his queens, in the waters of the Gaṅgā. King Kalāśa (1063-89 A.C.) of Kashmir, "knowing in his helpless condition that his life was about to escape, hurried to proceed to a *tīrtha* to die", and there he dedicated a gold image of the god worshipped at the place.<sup>6</sup>

Mr. Ghoshal's explanation of the expression *ratna-traya*, which not only occurs in the present record and the Manahali plates of Madanapāla, as pointed out by him, but also in such other inscriptions as the Ashrafpur plate (B)<sup>7</sup> of the Khadgas, the Kailan (or Kailain) plate of Śrīdhārāparāta<sup>8</sup> and the Tipperah plate<sup>9</sup> of Bhavadēva, is clearly wrong. It can neither be "right over the wealth (deposited underground)", as suggested by Mr. Ghoshal, nor "a tax levied for the maintenance and upkeep of big Buddhist establishments", as suggested by others and referred to by him. *Ratna-traya* means primarily a Buddhist religious establishment symbolising the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, Vol. I, p. 146 (Khajuraho inscription, verse 55): *Rakṣitvā kṣhitim=ambu-rāśi-raśanām=ētām=anany-āyatīm jīvitvā śaradām śatam samadhikam śrī-Dhaṅga-prithivīpatiḥ | Rudraṁ mudrita-lōchanāḥ sa hridayē dhyāyān-japān-Jāhnavī-Kālīndyōḥ sulilē kalēvara-parityāgād-ayān=nirvṛtitim*. For religious suicide at Prayāga, see JUPHS, Vol. X, 1937, pp. 65 ff. See also Kano, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. IV, pp. 604-13, on such suicides.

<sup>2</sup> *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita*, Canto IV, verses 59-68: *utsaṅgē Tuṅgabhadrayāśaśa-śiva-chintayā | vāñchā-myzaham nirākartum dēha-graha-vidambanām || yātō-yam=upakārya kāyāḥ Śrīkaṇṭha-sēvayā | kṛitaghnū-vratam=ētasya yatra tatra visarjjanam || tath=ēti vachanam rājāḥ pratyupadyanta mantriṇaḥ | uchiḥ-ācharaṇē kēśhām =:ōtsāha-chaturam manāḥ || tataḥ katipayair=ēva prayāgāḥ prapāyī-priyāḥ | tāṁ kṣhōṇi-patir=adrākāhid=Dakṣiṇā-patha-Jāhnavīm || Tuṅgabhadra narēndrēna tēn=āmanyata māninā | taranga-hastair=utkṣhipya kṣhipant=ir=ēndra-mandirē || uddandā tēna dīndirē pinda-panktir=adriyāta | vimāna-hamea-māl=ēva prahitā padma-sadmanā || atidūram samutplutya nipatubhiḥ saṅkharaiḥ | arājata dharā-chandraḥ pratyudgata iva grahāḥ || latr=āvasthīya dhaurēyō dhīrānām dharāṇi-patiḥ | snātō Chāṇḍīsa-charaṇa-dvandra-chintā-parō=bhavat || adatta ch=ōpari-chchinnam=akhinnāḥ kāñchan-ōtkaram | na kṛichehhrē=pi mahābhāgō=tyāga-vrata-parānmukhōḥ || pravītya kaṇṭha-daghnē=tha sarit-tōyē jagāma saḥ | kallōla-tūryanirghōshaiḥ=chandrachūdāmanēḥ purīm ||*

<sup>3</sup> *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I, p. 155.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. II, p. 4: *prāptē Prayāga-vaṭa-mūla-nivēśa-bandhav sārddham śatēna grihīṇbhīr=amutra muktīm*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ojha, *Palaeography of India* (Hindi), 1918, p. 184, note 2: *nānā-dāna-chit-āmbu-samchalanataḥ sūry-ātmajā-sangamam Gaṅgāyām virachayya nirjara-puram bhāry-ānuyātō gataḥ*. Cf. N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 147.

<sup>6</sup> *Rājataranginī*, VII, 708, 716.

<sup>7</sup> *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 90.

<sup>8</sup> *IHQ*, Vol. XXIII, p. 235.

<sup>9</sup> *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Letters, Vol. XVII, p. 88.



Buddhist trinity, viz., Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha, worshipped there.<sup>1</sup> There are instances of kings granting land in favour of the *ratna-traya*. Thus the expression *ratnatraya-bahiḥ* of Dōm-maṇapāla's inscription means to say that the village in question was granted with the exclusion of the area around the Buddhist establishment in it or better the area in the possession of a Buddhist establishment. Similarly, *ratnatraya-rājasambhōga-varjita* of the Manahali plate means "excluding lands enjoyed by the Buddhist establishment and those belonging to the king's Khās Mahāl"

#### 7. Saugor Inscription of Śaṅkaragaṇa

Prof. V. V. Mirashi has recently published the Saugor inscription of Śaṅkaragaṇa in this journal, Vol. XXVII, pp. 163 ff. According to his reading, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Śaṅkaragaṇa*, during whose reign the inscription was incised, has been described in the record as *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Vāmarājadeva-pād-ānudyāta*, although what has been read as *Vāmarāja* appears to me from the published facsimile to be only *Vāvarāja*.<sup>2</sup> The inscription has been assigned on palaeographic grounds to the middle of the eighth century. In view of this date of the record, kings Vāmarāja and Śaṅkaragaṇa, who would appear to have belonged to the Kalachuri family, have been regarded, without any reason whatever, as ancestors of the Kalachuri emperors of Tripurī. Similarly, without any convincing argument, Vāmarāja has been placed a few generations earlier than Śaṅkaragaṇa, roughly about the second half of the seventh century. It is well known that the Kalachuris of Tripurī, from the time of Karṇa (1041-71 A.C.), described themselves in their official charters as *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamāhēśvara-śrī-Vāmadēva-pād-ānudyāta*.<sup>3</sup> Professor Mirashi now thinks that Vāmadēva mentioned in the records of the Kalachuris of Tripurī is no other than the king of the Saugor inscription of the eighth century, whose name is Vāmarāja according to his reading.

Professor Mirashi refers to the Malkāpuram inscription of Śaka 1183 (1261-62 A.C.) which speaks of the Śaiva pontiff Vāmaśambhu as the third (not *second* as maintained by the Professor) in spiritual descent from Sadbhāvaśambhu who founded the Gōlākī *maṭha* in the Dāhala or Chēdi country with the help received from the Kalachuri king Yuvarāja (either Yuvarāja I who reigned about the middle of the tenth century or his grandson Yuvarāja II who flourished about the end of the same century as he is known to have been defeated by Paramāra Muṇja, (974-96 A.C.) and incidentally says that 'even now' the Kalachuri kings are honoured for worshipping Vāmaśambhu's feet. He further refers to my paper in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XV, 1938, pp. 96 ff., and says, "Dr. D. C. Sircar has recently suggested that this Vāmaśambhu was the spiritual preceptor of the Kalachuri king Karṇa and flourished in the middle of the eleventh century A.D. The description in the Malkāpuram inscription that even then (i.e., in the middle of the thirteenth century

<sup>1</sup> Cf. N. G. Majumdar, *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, Part II, pp. 74-75.

<sup>2</sup> Hiralal read the name as Vāgharāja. But the disputed *akshara* is not *gha*, and apparently also not *ma* as suggested by Professor Mirashi who thinks that the loop of *ma*, not to be found on the facsimile, is still visible on the stone. It will be seen from the facsimile of the inscription that the upper and lower left strokes of *ma* join its loop in an acute angle, whereas the back of the letter in question is fully rounded exactly as in the preceding *vā*. Indeed much has been made on the slender basis of the reading of the letter as *ma*, which appears to be merely conjectural. For other references to the word *Vāva* or *Bāva* in inscriptions, see *paramabhaṭṭāraka-śrī-Bāva-pād-ānudyāta* in the Lohata plate (*IHQ*, Vol. XXV, p. 288) and *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Bāva-pād-ānudyāta* in the Maitraka records (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 186, note). The use of the word has to be compared with that of *Bappa* in epigraphic passages like *mahārāja-Bappa-svamin* (*Sel. Ins.*, p. 438), *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-śrī-Bappa-pād-ānudyāta* and *Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja-śrī-pād-ānudyāta* (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, loc. cit.). Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao who has also carefully examined the letter agrees with me that the reading of the name is not *Vāmarāja*. He thinks that it may be *Vāparāja* or *V[ṛ]parāja*.

<sup>3</sup> See above, Vol. II, pp. 5, 309, etc.



A.D.) the feet of Vāmaśambhu were worshipped by Kalachuri kings squares with the fact that the expression *Vāmadēva-pād-ānudyāta* occurs in almost all records of the Kalachuris of Tripuri from Karṇa downwards". But he next sets forth certain "reasons" for which he is "inclined to look with suspicion on the statements in the Malkāpuram inscription about the early pontiffs of the Gōjakī maṭha." These "reasons" are, however, extremely unlikely to satisfy all students of history. As for instance, Professor Mirashi points out the absence of epigraphic evidence to prove the existence of Kalachuri rulers at Tripuri about the time when the Malkāpuram inscription was engraved. But the possibility of the scions of the imperial Kalachuri house of Tripuri ruling over parts of Dāhala in the thirteenth century at least as minor chiefs can hardly be ruled out. A writer on the history of the Kalachuris says at the end of his account of the Tummāpa Kalachuris who represented a branch of the Tripuri house: "It is certain that the Muslims never succeeded in establishing their power in the Chhattisgarh division and there is evidence to show that the Kalachuris continued to figure as chiefs of Chhattisgarh right up to the 18th century. The Khalari stone inscription of the Kalachuri king Haribrahmadēva (son of Rāmadēva and grandson of Simhaṇa) is dated in 1415 A.D. while the Arang plate of the Haihaya king Amarasimhadēva is dated as late as 1735 A.D".<sup>1</sup> The absence of Vāmadēva's name in the records of the Kalachuris of Chhattisgarh scarcely proves that the Śaiva saint was not held in veneration by the Kalachuris of the thirteenth century. This may merely show that their esteem for Vāmadēva was not as remarkable as in the case of the Kalachuri monarchs of Tripuri. Professor Mirashi's doubt regarding the authenticity of the statement in the Malkāpuram inscription on the basis of such weak "reasons" can therefore hardly be taken quite seriously.

Vāmadēva, referred to in the records of Kalachuri Karṇa and his successors, is endowed with imperial titles just like the kings who are said to have been his *pād-ānudyāta*. Professor Mirashi says, "the use of imperial titles in connection with him would be difficult to explain for we have not till now come across a single instance of the assumption of such titles by spiritual teachers". Of course the epithet *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* applied to the Śaiva priest Vimalaśambhu or Śiva in the Mamdāpur inscription of Śaka 1172 noticed in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, 1888, p. 17, note 3, has been passed over in silence together with some of my observations published at later dates. It was pointed out by me that the Śaiva saint Vāmadēva (Vāmaśambhu) was represented as an emperor because the Kalachuri kings, Karṇa and his successors, regarded their dominions as belonging to the saint and themselves as the latter's deputies just as the Guhilots of Chitor and the kings of Travancore considered themselves viceroys respectively of the gods Ēkalīṅga and Padmanābhasvāmin. The tradition regarding the dedication of the Marāṭhā empire by Śivājī in favour of his *guru* Rāmadāsa was also referred to. It was further pointed out with quotations from a number of epigraphic records that the god Jagannātha or Purushōttama of Puri is mentioned as the overlord of the reigning Gaṅga monarch in several later Gaṅga inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> Now it seems that Professor Mirashi may be satisfied if he finds inscriptions in which a Śaiva saint is unmistakably endowed with regal or imperial epithets. Fortunately I am able to draw his attention to several such records.

Recently I had occasion to examine a number of impressions of the Achalgarh (Mount Abu, Rājputānā) inscription of the Dāvḍa Chāhamāna Tējaśimha of Chandrāvati noticed in the *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, No. 2, Appendix, p. xv, No. 58; *Progress Report of the Archaeological*

<sup>1</sup> Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 815. For fuller lists of the Kalachuri rulers of Chhattisgarh (Ratanpur and Raipur branches), see Hiralal, *Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar*, 1932, pp. 205-07.

<sup>2</sup> See my paper entitled 'Gaṅga Bhānudēva II and Purushōttama-Jagannātha' in *JKHRS*, Vol. I, June 1946, pp. 251-53. According to the Oriya chronicle *Mādalū Pāñjī*, Anāṅgabhimā III dedicated his kingdom in favour of the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha and for that reason the said Gaṅga king and his successors became *Rāutas* (feudatories) of the deity (cf. *Oriassa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 43-51; above, p. 19).



*Survey of India*, Western Circle, 1906-07, p. 28; and Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 689. The inscription is as yet unpublished; but the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey*, referred to above, gives the following information regarding its findspot and contents: "In the vicinity and in front of the Achalésvara temple are standing some ancient temples, mostly Vaishnava, the exterior of which is profusely sculptured with erotic figures. At the back is a stepwell, which, as the inscription attached to it tells us, was constructed by Mōkala and others in *Samvat 1337 varshē Māgha sudi 3 Bhārgava-dinē* when Śarvēśvara *mahā-munindra* was the high priest of the Achalésvara *mahā-maṭha* and king Tejasiṃha was reigning at Chandrāvati". The date of the inscription corresponds to Friday, January 11, 1331 A.C.

The inscription consists of seventeen lines of writing. The relevant portion of the record (lines 4-15) reads as follows:—

- 4 .....svasti śrī-Arbuda- ||  
 5 || mahāśailē śrī-Achalésvara(śva)ra-mahāmaṭhāt paramabhaṭṭāraka-paramamāhēśvaraḥ(śvara)-  
 para- ||  
 6 || niraṃjanaḥ(na)-kaṃdarpadarpadalana-svavaṃsaḍḍyōt(śōddyōta)kara-rāja-śrī-Sarvēśvara(śva)-  
 ra-mahāmuniṇdra(ndra)-vi- ||  
 7 || jayarājyē || sat=ity=ēvaṃ kālē pravarttamānē sati Chandrāvatiḥbhūmaṇḍalē samastarā-  
 jāva-  
 8 || lisamalanīkṛita-paramamāhēśvara(śva)ra-parāchīnavastōpalakshita<sup>1</sup>-param(rama)brahmā(hma)-  
 laksha- ||  
 9 || prasādāva(vā)pta-rāja-śrī-Teja[h\*]śi(si)mha-vijayarājyē || tasmin kālē varttamānē | śrī-Vapa- ||  
 10 || kāṇvayakulapradīpa-ripudāvādāvanāla-ripula[la\*]nāvaiva(dha)vyadi(dī)kshāguru-kalikā- ||  
 11 || lābhinaṇḍapapādapa-sadāśiṃ(śaṃ)bhudhyānarata-rāja-śrī-Bathā-suta-Mōkala-G[ē](Gō)hilō- ||  
 12 || tra ta(s=ta)thā Sa[ohya]shēlā-thākura[h\*] |<sup>2</sup> kuma(mā)ra-Suhaḍasala ta(s=ta)thā Sīṃgārādē-  
 Ū(vy=Ū)tima-suta-Vīkala[h\*] puna[h\*] ||  
 13 || pāvadyāṃ(dyām) Gē(Gō)hilōtra-Mōkala udhōraṃ kārāpitaṃ<sup>3</sup> || śrī-Achalésvara-pra[s]ādēna ||  
 samvat ||  
 14 || 1387 varshē Māgha-sudi 3 Bhārgava-dinē Śatabhishā-nakshatrē kumbhasthē chamdrē prati-  
 shṭā<sup>4</sup> ||  
 15 || kārāpitaṃ || śubhaṃ bhavatu || .....

It will be seen that the language of the inscription is corrupt, although in many parts it can be quite easily corrected. The most important persons mentioned in the record are of course three: (1) *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-paramamāhēśvara Rāja-śrī-Sarvēśvara-mahāmuniṇdra* of the Achalésvara-mahāmaṭha on the Arbuda-mahāśaila (i.e., Mount Abu), described in lines 4-7; (2) *Samastarājāvalisamalanīkṛita-Paramamāhēśvara Rāja-śrī-Tejasiṃha* of the Chandrāvati-bhūmaṇḍala, described in lines 7-9; and (3) Gōhilōtra Mōkala (described in lines 9-12 and mentioned in line 13) who belonged to the family of Vapaka, i.e., Bappa, and was either himself a *Rājan* or was the son of *Rāja-śrī-Bathā*. Mōkala was no doubt a subordinate of Tejasiṃha; but whether the

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of this defective passage is not clear.

<sup>2</sup> The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

<sup>3</sup> The context seems to require here something like *śatāḥ ..... kārītaṃ*. The word *udhōra* is not Sanskrit. Mr. A. K. Vyaṣ suggests to me that the intended reading is *udhāra* (Sanskrit *uddhāra*) used in the sense of 'repair'. *Pavadi* seems to stand for Hindi *bāṛī*, 'a step-well'.

<sup>4</sup> Read *pratiśṭhā kārīta*.



latter has to be regarded as a subordinate of Sarvēśvara is not made quite clear in the inscription, although that is probable as Sarvēśvara is mentioned before Tējahsinha and as the epithet *paramabhaṭṭāraka* is applied only to the former. What is, however, very interesting to note is that Sarvēśvara, who was apparently the pontiff of the Śaiva establishment which is called Achalēśvara-mahāmaṭha and is still today situated within the bounds of Achalgarh on Mount Abu, has not only been called *paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *rājan*, but his *viṣaya-rājya* is also referred to. It seems that the Śaiva saint Sarvēśvara was the spiritual guide of Tējahsinha, the latter considering himself the deputy of the former in ruling his dominions. Whatever may be the value of this suggestion, Professor Mirashi can hardly object to the Śaiva saint Vāmadēva (Vāmaśambhu), like Sarvēśvara of the Achalgarh inscription, being endowed with regal titles in the inscriptions of the Kalachuri kings.

With the above record mentioning the *viṣaya-rājya* of a Śaiva ascetic may be compared a Jain inscription in the Gwalior Museum (originally from Bahādurpur), which was recently examined by me<sup>1</sup>. This epigraph, dated V.S. 1573, Āshāḍha-badi 4, records the construction of an Ādinātha-chaitya at Bahudravypura (Bahādurpur) by the Śrīmāla-saṅgha and the installation of an image therein by Āchārya Puṇyaratna Sūri during the *viṣaya-rājya* of Jinahamsa Sūri of the Kharatara-gachchha. Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao has kindly drawn my attention to two Nolamba-Pallava records having a greater bearing on the question under discussion. The first<sup>2</sup> of these inscriptions, which has been assigned to a date about 870 A.C., mentions a Śaiva pontiff named Bhramaraśivāchārya as *samadhigatapañchamahāśabda-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara*. The other inscription,<sup>3</sup> dated Śaka 858 (936 A.C.), assigns the same titles to another Śaiva pontiff named Varuṇaśiva-bhaṭṭāra.

That *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Vāmadēva* of the inscriptions of Karṇa and his successors was not a king but a saint was also suggested by me on the strength of a verse of the *Prithvirājaviṣaya* (attributed to Jayānaka) which is only known from Jōnarāja's commentary on that work.<sup>4</sup>

Verse 16 of Canto VII of the above poem<sup>5</sup> refers to the marriage of Sōmēśvara, father of the hero, Chāhamāna Prithvirāja III, while the former was at the court of Chaulukya Kumārapāla (circa 1141-73 A.C.), with the daughter of the *Tripurī-purandara*, i.e., the [Kalachuri] king of Tripurī. The commentary of Jōnarāja says that Sōmēśvara married Karpūradēvī, daughter of Tējala<sup>6</sup>. Just to introduce the illustrious family to which the hero's mother belonged, the poet, as do the authors of the Kalachuri epigraphs, begins with the mythical account of Chandra (the moon), his son Budha and the latter's descendant Kārtavīrya Arjuna surnamed Kalichuri<sup>7</sup>, after whom the family is said to have been known as Kalichuri (i.e., Kalachuri). The author then gives an account of the exploits of a very great Kalachuri king of Tripurī, named Sāhasika (verses 95-112 and possibly also the lost verses up to the end of Canto VII), who was a predecessor of the maternal grandfather of his hero. Who was this Sāhasika, predecessor of the Kalachuri king Tējala who ruled at Tripurī about the middle of the twelfth century?

<sup>1</sup> It is being noticed in the *An. Rep. Ind. Ep.* for 1952-53.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, p. 376 (Śrīnivāspur taluk, No. 27); trans., p. 276.

<sup>3</sup> *SHI*, Vol. IX, Part I, p. 12, No. 24.

<sup>4</sup> See *IHQ*, Vol. XVIII, 1942, pp. 80-81.

<sup>5</sup> Edited by Gaurishankar H. Ojha and Chandradhar Sharma Guleri, Ajmer, 1941, p. 182.

<sup>6</sup> H. B. Sarda in his account of the work (*JRAS*, 1913, p. 277) gives the name of Karpūradēvī's father as Achalarāja.

<sup>7</sup> The author attempted a fantastic explanation of *Kalichuri* which (together with the variants *Kafochchuri*, *Kalatsūri*, etc.) is, however, in reality an adaptation of the Turkish title *Kulchur*.



In this connection, a verse, the text of which is lost but the commentary with the exception of the commencing words is preserved, appears to be very interesting. This commentary runs: "mānavayās-sa (very probably *kshiyamāṇa-vayās=sa* as suggested by Ojha and Guleri) *Sāhasika=tapasvinē Vāmadēva-nāmnē nija-rājalakṣmīm guru-dakṣiṇāyai dattvā sarvām bhūmim jētum prasthitavān*. Thus the Kalachuri king Sāhasika of Tripuri is stated to have offered his kingdom as *guru-dakṣiṇā* to his *guru*, the ascetic Vāmadēva, and went out on a *digvijaya*. I think it very probable that the Kalachuri king Sāhasika of Tripuri mentioned in the *Prithvirājaviṇaya* is no other than Gāṅgēyadēva (circa 1015-41 A.C.) who was a great conqueror and established the imperial dignity of the Kalachuri family of Dāhala on a firm basis. Gāṅgēya assumed the title *Vikramāditya* after a famous hero of Indian tradition and folklore, whose other *biruda* was Sāhasāṅka. The name *Sāhasika*, applied to the Kalachuri king in the *Prithvirājaviṇaya*, seems to be another form of *Sāhasāṅka-Vikramāditya*.<sup>1</sup>

This reference to an ascetic Vāmadēva as the *guru* of a Kalachuri king who dedicated his kingdom in the former's favour is supported by the mention of Vāmadēva, for the first time, in the earliest record of Gāṅgēya's son Karṇa (circa 1041-71 A.C.) as the latter's overlord and also by the evidence of the Maḷkāpuram inscription showing that the Kalachuri kings worshipped the Śaiva saint Vāmaśambhu for about two centuries before the middle of the thirteenth century. This goes against Professor Mirashi's conjecture that Vāmadēva of the passage *Vāmadēva-pād-ānudyāta* in the Kalachuri records has to be identified with a Kalachuri king of the seventh century whose name has been read by him as Vāmarāja, although it has appeared to others as Vāgharāja, Vāvarāja, Vāparāja or Vōparāja. As Sōmēśvara's marriage took place when he was staying at the court of Kumārapāla (circa 1141-73 A.C.) and as his son Prithvirāja III was born some time before the death of Vighararāja IV (circa 1153-64 A.C.), it seems possible that the *Tripuri-purandara* Tējala was no other than Gayākarṇa (circa 1125-55 A.C.), great-grandson of Gāṅgēyadēva *Vikramāditya=Sāhasika* (Sāhasāṅka).

If the Kalachuri kingdom was formally dedicated by Gāṅgēya about the end of his career to his *guru* Vāmadēva (Vāmaśambhu), it is easy to explain why that king's son as well as the latter's successors claimed to have been viceroys of Vāmadēva just as in the case of the deputies of other theoretical overlords like the gods Jagannātha-Purushottama, Ēkalinga and Padmanābha. But what explanation can we reasonably offer for the continuous mention of a seventh century ancestor in the records of his descendants from the middle of the eleventh century? Is not the unjustifiability of Professor Mirashi's suggestion that Vāmarāja was mentioned as being meditated on by all his descendants from the end of the seventh century quite clearly demonstrated by the total omission of the name of this alleged illustrious ancestor of the Kalachuri emperors from the elaborate genealogy of the early members of the family found in such records as the Bilhari inscription<sup>2</sup> of Yuvarāja II and the Banaras plates<sup>3</sup> of Karṇa? If he was so important an ancestor as to be meditated on by all the Kalachuri emperors from Karṇa downwards, i.e., from the eleventh century onwards (as indicated by inscriptions, but from the seventh century as claimed by Professor Mirashi), how is his omission from the genealogy to be explained? In my opinion, there is no answer to the question except surmises which cannot be seriously considered.

<sup>1</sup> See *JUPHS*, Vols. XXIV-XXV, 1951-52, p. 232. The characteristic epithet *sāhasika* is very often found in the description of *Vikramāditya*; cf. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VI, p. 194; *Vikrama Volume*, ed. R. K. Mookerji, 1948, pp. 637 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See Bhandarkar, *List*, No. 1577.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1223. As regards the absence of the passage *Vāmadēva-pād-ānudyāta* in Kalachuri records of a date earlier than the beginning of Karṇa's rule, pointed out by me, Prof. Mirashi says that the expression "generally occurs in the copper-plate grants." He also says, "In the absence of the grants of earlier kings, it is not safe to assume that Vāmadēva was forgotten in the meanwhile." But the occurrence of the passage in question in the Sarnath stone inscription of Karṇa (*ASI*, AR, 1906 07, pp. 100 f.) and the Lalpahad rock inscription of Nara-simha (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 211 ff.) clearly shows that the Professor's contention cannot be maintained.



There is much in Professor Mirashi's paper which is imaginary as well as inaccurate. He says that "after the defeat of Buddharāja by Pulakēśin II, they (i.e., the Kalachuris) seem to have remained for sometime in obscurity.....the Kalachuris seem to have turned their attention to the north where there was no great king to check their advance after the death of Harsha in A.D. 647. Vāmadēva seems to be the founder of this northern Kalachuri power. He overran Bundelkhand and Vaghelkhand and established himself at Kālāñjara." Now, in the first place, what we know from inscriptions shows that Kalachuri Buddharāja was defeated by Chalukya Maṅgalēśa and not by Pulakēśin II<sup>1</sup>. Secondly, the Abhona<sup>2</sup> (Kalachuri year 347-595 A.C.) and Vadner<sup>3</sup> (Kalachuri year, 360-608 A.C.) plates of Buddharāja, which were issued respectively from Ujjayinī and Vaidīśa (i.e., Vidiśā) show that he had established himself in both West and East Malwa long before Harsha (606-47 A.C.) was free from his struggles in the U.P. It is therefore natural to think that king Śaṅkaragaṇa of the Saugor inscription, who was ruling over the country about East Malwa more than a century later, was a descendant of Buddharāja. Professor Mirashi's Vāmadēva can hardly be described as the founder of Kalachuri power in that area. Thirdly, the conjecture that it was Vāmadēva who conquered Bundelkhand and Vaghelkhand and especially Kālāñjara is a mere flight of fancy. There is again nothing in the present state of our knowledge to suggest that the kings mentioned in the Saugor inscription were direct ancestors of the Kalachuris of Tripuri, although that may not be altogether impossible.

#### 8. Mehār Plate of Dāmōdaradēva ; Śaka 1156, Regnal year 4

The Mehār copper-plate inscription was edited in this journal<sup>4</sup> jointly by the late Dr. B. M. Barua and Mr. P. B. Chakravarti. Unfortunately, the treatment of the record by the said scholars is not quite satisfactory since both the transcript and translation of the inscription as published by them contain many errors in our opinion. Consequently, we re-edit here the grant portion of the record in lines 17-32, which has suffered the most at the hands of the editors.

Although we are chiefly concerned in the present note with lines 17-32 of the Mehār plate detailing the grant recorded in the inscription, the nature of the editors' treatment of the introductory verses may be illustrated by an examination of their reading and interpretation of at least one of the stanzas in this part of the epigraph.

Verse 7 of the inscription has been read and translated as follows :—

*Dēvēndrasya yathāiva Mātaliḥ-abhūt Kṛishṇasya yantā varah  
khyātō Dāruka-va(ba)ndhula(r-a)sya nṛpatēr-Vārshṇēya-līlādharah |  
tat-tulyō-bhavar-asya vāraṇa-ghaṭā-salpātra-mukhyaḥ kṛitī  
śrī-Gaṅgādharadēva ēsha samarē Prāgyōtishēndr-ōpamah ||*

"Just as Mātali was to Indra, (just as) Dāruka was the well-known charioteer and friend of Kṛishṇa, so to this king was the illustrious Gaṅgādharadēva, the foremost among the honest courtiers, resourceful like the scion of the Vṛishṇi family (i.e., Kṛishṇa). His elephant column was like his (i.e., of the king). He equalled in battle (even) the lord of Prāgyōtisha (i.e., Bhagadatta)."

A minor defect in the treatment of the verse may be mentioned at the outset. This is the indication of its metre as *Sragdharā*, although actually it is *Śārdūlavikṛīḍita*. What is, however, more important is that the above translation of the stanza exhibits a number of blemishes, some of

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Mahākūta pillar inscription of Maṅgalēśa (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 7), which is supported by the Aihole inscription of Pulakēśin II himself (cf. above, Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff.). See also *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 347-8.

<sup>3</sup> Bhandarkar, *List*, No. 1206.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1207.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 182-91.





which show that the learned interpreters have failed to grasp the real implication of the verse. In the first place, the words *vāra* in the first and *kṛitī* in the third foot of the stanza have been left out in the translation. Secondly, the expression *Dārūka-bandhu* in the emended passage *Dārūka-bandhur-asya* in the second foot does not appear to be quite happy. Moreover, the emendation involves the unnecessary and unpoetic duplication of the word *asya* which actually occurs in the following (i.e., the third) foot. Thirdly, it is difficult to believe with the editors of the record that a poet worth the name would have compared a person at the same time with both *Kṛishṇa* (*Vārshṇēya*) and *Kṛishṇa*'s charioteer *Dārūka*. Fourthly, although the text of the stanza rightly gives *vāraṇa-ghaṭā-satpātra-mukhya* (i.e., the chief of the worthy officers in charge of the elephant columns) as a single compound expression, in the translation *satpātra-mukhya*, interpreted as "the foremost among the honest courtiers", has been wrongly separated from the compound. Fifthly, the passage *tat-tulyā-bhavad-asya vāraṇa-ghaṭā*, in which *vāraṇa-ghaṭā* has been wrongly separated from the said compound, has been quite unjustifiably interpreted as "His (i.e., Gaṅgā-dharadēva's) elephant column was like his (i.e., the king's)." This is clearly against the rules of Sanskrit grammar as the expression *tat-tulyaḥ* in the masculine cannot possibly qualify *vāraṇa-ghaṭā* in the feminine. Moreover, it is impossible to believe with the editors that a poet of any merit would have clumsily introduced the elephant force of a courtier (as the word *pātra* has been taken to mean) in the king's description to indicate its equality with the elephant corps of the royal army. Is it possible that a courtier was allowed to enjoy an elephant force as strong as the king's? What is then the point in the former's comparison with the charioteers *Mātali* and *Dārūka*?

It seems to us that the intended reading of what has been read as *Dārūka-vandhulasya* is not *Dārūka-bandhur-asya* but *Dārūkavan-Nalasya*.<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that *Vārshṇēya* was the celebrated charioteer of the famous king *Nala* of the *Nishadhas* just as *Mātali* and *Dārūka* were the charioteers respectively of *Indra* and *Kṛishṇa*. Our *anvaya* of the stanza would thus run as follows: *yathā Mātaliḥ Dēvēndrasya khyātāḥ varāḥ yantā abhūt tat-tulyāḥ ēva Kṛishṇasya Dārūkavat Nalasya Vārshṇēya-līlādharāḥ samarē Prāgyōtishēndr-ōpamaḥ asya nripatēḥ vāraṇa-ghaṭā-satpātra-mukhyaḥ ēsha kṛitī śrī-Gaṅgādharadēvaḥ [asya khyātāḥ varāḥ yantā] abhavat*. We are inclined to translate the verse in the following words: "Just as *Mātali* was the famous (and) excellent charioteer (*yantā*) of the lord of the gods, exactly like him this illustrious *Gaṅgādharadēva*, who is competent, who is like *Kṛishṇa*'s [*yantā*] *Dārūka*, who resembles *Nala*'s [*yantā*] *Vārshṇēya*, who is an equal to the lord of *Prāgyōtisha* in battle (and) who is the chief of the worthy officers in charge of the elephant columns of the king, was his famous (and) excellent rider (*yantā*)."

It may further be pointed out that the learned interpreters of the verse have absolutely nothing to say why the poet has introduced the leader of the elephant force of king *Dāmōdara* in a charter purporting to record a grant of land made by the king in favour of certain *Brāhmaṇas*. It, however, seems to us that the nature of the verse quoted above is similar to that of the two concluding stanzas of the *Bangaon plate*<sup>2</sup> of *Vigrahapāla III*. In the *Bangaon copper-plate inscription*, a grant of land, actually made by a royal officer named *Ghaṇṭīśa* out of his own *jāgīr*, is represented as a gift of the *Pāla* king because, according to the legal procedure of those days, the king had to ratify the creation of a rent-free holding by any of his fief-holders. The *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad* (*Calcutta*) plate of *Viśvarūpasēna* likewise refers to the ratification by the *Sēna* king of similar grants of revenue-free land made by *Prince Sūryasēna*, *Prince Purushōttamasēna* and the minister

<sup>1</sup> As regards the reading *ndhu*, it may be pointed out that there is usually little difference in the *Gauḍīya* alphabet among *ndā*, *ns* and *nu* and that sometimes the same sign was used to indicate *nn* as well. For this form of *nn*, cf. "*unnayana*" in line 15 and "*āvachchhanna*" in line 31 of the *Sōbhārāmpur plate* of *Dāmōdaradēva*, which is being published in this journal.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 48 ff.



(*Sāndhivigrahika*) Nāñisimha out of their respective *jāgirs*.<sup>1</sup> In the Mehār inscription, the real donor of the grant, therefore, seems to have been the royal officer Gaṅgādharadēva, the village of Mēhāra in which the gift land was situated probably lying in his own *jāgīr*. Unless Gaṅgādharadēva was intimately associated with the charter in this way, it is impossible to explain his introduction in the document. It seems also that on a previous occasion the village of Mēhāra formed part of the *jāgirs* of two other officers, viz., *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* Munidāsa and *Mahākshapaṭalika* Dalaēva, who had created two rent-free holdings in the village with the king's sanction. These two grants are referred to in our record in lines 29-31 without any specification of the amounts of rent allotted to them to show that the king and the new owner of the *jāgīr* (i.e., Gaṅgādharadēva) recognised the rent-free nature of the holdings in question. It is of course difficult to say whether these free holdings were created during the reign of Dāmōdara or one of his predecessors.

Before taking up the grant portion of the Mehār plate for scrutiny, a word may also be said in regard to the reading of the fractions employed in this section of the record in enumerating the area of different pieces of the gift land given in the land measure called Drōṇa or Drōṇavāpa and the amount of its income given in the coin called Purāṇa. As in other medieval records of Eastern India such as the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad plate<sup>2</sup> of Viśvarūpasēna,  $\frac{1}{2}$  is indicated by a vertical *danḍa* and  $\frac{1}{4}$  by a *danḍa* slanting from upper right towards lower left. That is to say, one vertical *danḍa* =  $\frac{1}{2}$ , two vertical *danḍas* =  $\frac{2}{4}$  ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ), and three vertical *danḍas* =  $\frac{3}{4}$  while one slanting *danḍa* =  $\frac{1}{4}$ , two slanting *danḍas* =  $\frac{2}{4}$  ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ) and three slanting *danḍas* =  $\frac{3}{4}$ . In line 19, the area of the plot of land granted to the Brāhmaṇa Śāṅkōka is given in a peculiar symbol which has been read by the learned editors as the numeral 7. But it has been overlooked that the total area of all the twentythree pieces of gift land is quoted in line 32 as 2  $\frac{1}{2}$  Drōṇas + 2 Drōṇas, i.e., altogether 4  $\frac{1}{2}$  Drōṇas only. This shows beyond doubt that the area of any one piece of the gift land cannot be 7 Drōṇas. Moreover, what has been read as 7 has no resemblance with that figure as found in epigraphic records and manuscripts. On the other hand, it resembles very closely the modern Bengali form of  $\frac{7}{4}$  ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ) which was written in medieval inscriptions including the one under study with two slanting *danḍas* of the type described above. The symbol may thus be regarded as the cursive form of  $\frac{7}{4}$  ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ). Another point deserving notice is that, although the editors have noted in their transcript (lines 20, 21, 23, 25, 26 and 29) seven cases of a cross being used after the slanting *danḍa* indicating  $\frac{1}{4}$ , in the enumeration of the area of a piece of the gift land, this has been altogether ignored in their interpretation of the inscription. What has, moreover, been read as a cross in line 26 is actually a cross with a dot on its left and another on its right. The real value of the cross and the cross flanked by dots cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge; but it may be tentatively suggested that the former indicates  $\frac{1}{8}$  and the latter  $\frac{3}{8}$  ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ).<sup>3</sup> It will be seen below that these readings appear to be supported by the total area of the gift land quoted in line 32 of the record.

Let us now quote the text of the grant portion of the Mehār inscription in lines 17-32.

17 uparilikhita-grāmē Sāvarāṇya<sup>4</sup>-sagōtra-parā-śrī-Kāpaḍikasya pañchaviṃśati-pu-

18 rāṇ-ōtpattika-griha-vāṭik-ādi-ṭī 3 vyā-bhū<sup>5</sup>  $\frac{1}{4}$  ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ) sām-hi 25 [ $\frac{1}{4}$ ] tathā Vrā(Brā)-Śrī-Śāṅkōka-sya pañcha-purā-

<sup>1</sup> See my papers on the Maṇipārā and Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad plates, contributed to *JAS*, Letters.

<sup>2</sup> N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 140 ff.

<sup>3</sup> If such was the case, it may be conjectured that, according to this system,  $\frac{1}{4}$  was written by a cross having four dots at the four sides—left, right, upper and lower.

<sup>4</sup> The editors read *Sāva[r]āṇya* apparently because they took the clear sign of superscript *r* to stand for a *top mātrā*, although in the Gaṅgiya alphabet the letter *a* is written without *top mātrā*.

<sup>5</sup> The editors read 2 *vyā-bhū*.



- 19  $\eta$ -ōtpatti[ka\*]-cha-ṭi 1 vyā<sup>1</sup>-bhū  $\frac{2}{16}$  ( $\frac{1}{8}$ ) sām-hi 5 [\*] tathā Vrā(Brā)<sup>2</sup>-śrī-Sudōkasya cha-ṭi 1 vyā<sup>1</sup>-bhū  $\frac{2}{16}$  sām-hi 8 [\*] ta-
- 20 thā Vrā(Brā)-[śrī\*]-Kālēmikasya<sup>3</sup> ṭi 1 vyā<sup>1</sup>-bhū  $\frac{2}{16}$  ( $\frac{1}{8}$ ) sām-hi 4 [\*] Vrā(Brā)-[śrī\*]-Tārā-patēḥ cha-ṭi 1 vyā<sup>1</sup>-bhū  $\frac{2}{16} + \frac{1}{16}$  ( $\frac{3}{16}$ ) sām-hi 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  ( $4\frac{1}{2}$ )<sup>4</sup> [\*] Bharadvā-
- 21 ja-sagōtra-paṁ-śrī-Pāṇḍōkasya<sup>5</sup> gri-ṭi 1 vyā<sup>1</sup>-bhū  $\frac{2}{16} + \frac{1}{16}$  ( $\frac{3}{16}$ ) sām-hi 10 $\frac{2}{3}$  ( $10\frac{2}{3}$ ) [\*] tathā Vrā(Brā)-śrī-Dēukasya<sup>6</sup> griha-ṭi 1 vyā<sup>1</sup>-bhū  $\frac{2}{16} + \frac{1}{16}$  ( $\frac{3}{16}$ )
- 22 sām-hi 4 [\*] tathā Vrā(Brā)-śrī-Sudōkasya griha-ṭi 1 vyā<sup>1</sup>-bhū  $\frac{1}{16}$  sām-hi 8 $\frac{1}{8}$  [\*] Kāṇṭha-maṇiṃya<sup>7</sup>-Vrā(Brā)-śrī-Kēśavasya gri-
- 23 ṭi 1 vyā<sup>1</sup>-bhū  $\frac{2}{16}$  ( $\frac{1}{8}$ ) sām-hi 4 $\frac{1}{16}$  ( $4\frac{1}{16}$ ) [\*] tath-āśya mu-ṭi 1 vyā<sup>1</sup>-bhū  $\frac{1}{16} + \frac{1}{16}$  ( $\frac{2}{16}$ ) sām-hi  $\frac{2}{16}$  [\*] tathā Vrā(Brā)-śrī-Vra(Bra)hmōkasya<sup>8</sup> gri-
- 24 ṭi 1 vyā<sup>1</sup>-bhū  $\frac{2}{16}$  sām-hi 2 [\*] ēda(vam) tath-āśya mu-ṭi 1 [\*] vyā<sup>1</sup>-bhū  $\frac{2}{16}$  ( $\frac{1}{8}$ ) sām-hi [ $1\frac{1}{2}$ ] [\*] [ta]<sup>10</sup>th-āśya nā-bhū  $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>11</sup> sām-hi 2 [\*]
- 25 tathā sya(cha) Vrā(Brā)<sup>2</sup>-śrī-Sirōkasya griha-ṭi 1 vyā<sup>1</sup>-bhū  $\frac{2}{16} + \frac{1}{16}$  ( $\frac{3}{16}$ ) sām-hi 5 $\frac{2}{3}$  [\*] Pūrvagrāmiya-Vrā(Brā)<sup>2</sup>-śrī-Dharaṇikasya Guṇō-
- 26 mbh-ārddha-cha-ṭi 1 vyā<sup>1</sup>-bhū  $\frac{1}{16} + \frac{2}{16}$  ( $\frac{3}{16}$ ) sām-hi 2 $\frac{2}{3}$  ( $2\frac{2}{3}$ ) [\*] Sidhalagrāmiya<sup>12</sup>-paṁ-śrī-Pāukasya<sup>13</sup> cha-ṭi 1 vyā<sup>1</sup>-bhū  $\frac{1}{16}$  sām-hi 4 [\*] Ātrē-
- 27 ya-[sa\*]gōtra-Vrā(Brā)<sup>2</sup>-śrī-Śāṅkōkasya nā-bhū  $\frac{1}{16}$  sām-hi 1 $\frac{1}{4}$  [\*] Diṇḍisāyīya-Vrā(Brā)<sup>2</sup>-śrī-Prajāpatēḥ griha-vātyām
- 28 bhū  $\frac{1}{16}$  sām-hi 3 $\frac{1}{4}$  [\*] grihi-paṁ-śrī-Nāthōkasya nā-bhū  $\frac{1}{16}$  sām-hi 1 $\frac{1}{4}$  Vrā(Brā)<sup>2</sup>-śrī-Jalōkasya<sup>14</sup> grā-hi 1 $\frac{1}{16}$  ( $1\frac{1}{16}$ ) [\*] Vrā(Brā)<sup>2</sup>-śrī-
- 29 Viśvarūpasya gri-ṭi 1<sup>15</sup> vyā<sup>1</sup>-bhū  $\frac{2}{16} + \frac{1}{16}$  ( $\frac{3}{16}$ ) sām-hi 3 $\frac{2}{3}$  ( $3\frac{2}{3}$ ) [\*] Vrā(Brā)<sup>2</sup>-śrī-Mādhōkasya chi<sup>16</sup>-khi-mu-ṭi 1<sup>17</sup> vyā<sup>1</sup>-bhū  $\frac{1}{16}$  [\*] Kēśara-

<sup>1</sup> The editors read *byā*.

<sup>2</sup> The editors read 7. The symbol, however, stands midway between the form of  $\frac{1}{2}$  written with two slanting dashes and its modification now used in Bengal.

<sup>3</sup> The editors read *brā*.

<sup>4</sup> The editors' transcript has *Kālēmikasya*.

<sup>5</sup> This has been omitted in the editors' transcript; but in their translation it is given as ' $\frac{1}{16}$  purāṇas (sic.)'.

<sup>6</sup> The editors, transcript has *Pāṇḍōkasya*.

<sup>7</sup> The editors read *Dēukasya*. But note the resemblance of the initial *u* in this word with the same letter in *uparīkṣita* in line 17 and its difference from *ḍ* in *Kāpaḍika* in the same line.

<sup>8</sup> The editors read *Kāṇṭhamaliya*.

<sup>9</sup> The editors read *Bra*.

<sup>10</sup> The amount and the *akshara ta* are broken away; but, adding the other amounts and comparing the result with the total given in line 32, the lost amount can be confidently restored. The editors say, "As the total of the yearly income from different lands falls short by 1 *purāṇa* from the total given in line 32, we may take the income of Brahmo's land as 1 *purāṇa* yearly". This is due to a mistake in their calculation.

<sup>11</sup> The editors' transcript has  $\frac{1}{2}$  at this place.

<sup>12</sup> The editors' transcript has *Sidhalagrāmiya*.

<sup>13</sup> The editors read *Pā(m)ḍukasya* and observe, "The name does not seem to be *Pāuka*". The initial *u* employed here closely resembles the same *akshara* as found in *uparīkṣita* in line 17. Cf. *Kāmarūpaśāsanavāṇī*, p. 161, n. 3.

<sup>14</sup> The editors read *Janō(lō)kasya*. But compare *l* in this word with the same letter in *līlā* in line 12.

<sup>15</sup> The editors read 2.

<sup>16</sup> The editors read *bi*.

<sup>17</sup> The editors read 3.

30 kōṇiya-Vrā(Brā)-śrī-Śrī(Śrī)patēḥ<sup>1</sup> mahāsāndhivigrahika-śrī-Munidāsa-kārita-śāsana-cha-  
ṭī 1 vyā<sup>2</sup>-bhū  $\frac{5}{16}$  [1\*]

31 Vrā(Brā)-śrī-Śrī(Śrī)vatsasya<sup>1</sup> mahākshapaṭalika-śrī-Dalaēva-kārita-śāsana-gri-cha-ṭī 1  
vyā<sup>2</sup>-bhū  $\frac{5}{16}$  [1\*] ēvaṃ

32 śāsanika-Vrā(Brā)<sup>3</sup>hmaṇa<sup>4</sup> 20 vā-ṭī 16 bhū-drō 2  $\frac{11}{16}$ <sup>5</sup> nāla-bhū-drō 2 sām-hi 100 [111]<sup>6</sup>

Of the many contractions used in the section of the inscription quoted above, *paṃ* and *Vrā* (*Brā*) no doubt stand respectively for *paṇḍita* and *Brāhmaṇa*. Similarly *bhū-drō* apparently stands for *bhūmi-Drōṇa* or *bhūmi-Drōṇavāpa* (i.e., a *Drōṇa* or *Drōṇavāpa* of land) and *nā-bhū* for *nāla-bhūmi* (i.e., cultivated land). The other abbreviations used in the inscription besides these are : (1) *sām-hi*, (2) *grā-hi*, (3) *vyā-bhū*, (4) *ṭī* and (5) the composite contractions, of which *ṭī* is a component, such as *gri-ṭī* or *griha-ṭī*, *cha-ṭī*, *mu-ṭī*, *gri-cha-ṭī*, *chi-khi-mu-ṭī*, and *vā-ṭī*.

As regards the meaning of *sām-hi*, the editors of the Mehār inscription observe, "N. G. Majumdar (*Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 146, f.n. 3) explains *sām* in the sense of *sākalyēna*, 'in all,' while on page 125, f.n. 2, he rightly suggests that *sām-hi* stands for *śāśvatam*. In the Edilpur copper plate of Kōśavasēna, *sā* or *sām* stands for *sā(śā)śvatan-dāy-ōtpattika(m)*, *hi* being obviously *sahih* (Madanpādā copper plate of Viśvarūpasēna, line 44)." It should, however, be noticed that the suggestion regarding *sām-hi-śāśvatam* has been wrongly attributed to N. G. Majumdar who never said anything like that. Again, what was read in the Madanpārā plate as *sahih*, which gives little sense, is undoubtedly *bahih* (Bengali *bai*, 'excluding').<sup>7</sup> Moreover, how can the meaningless *sahih* clarify the implication of *sām-hi* and how can the latter stand for *śāśvatam* in which neither *sām* nor *hi* occurs? As we have shown elsewhere,<sup>8</sup> *sām* and *hi*, together forming the composite contraction *sām-hi*, stand respectively for the words *sāmvatsarika* (i.e., annual) and *hiranya* (i.e., coin or cash). Thus *sām-hi-sāmvatsarika-hiranya* indicates the annual revenue income of a piece of land in cash. This contraction is invariably followed by the number of *Purāṇas* constituting the annual revenue income.

Similarly *hi* in *grā-hi* also stands for *hiranya* and *grā* is a contraction for the word *grāhya*, 'to be realised'. This contraction occurs only in line 28 which says that the *grihi-paṇḍita* Nāthōka received a plot of *nā-bhū* or arable land which was  $\frac{5}{16}$  *Drōṇa* in area and fetched the annual revenue income of 1  $\frac{1}{2}$  *Purāṇas*. Of this amount, however, 1  $\frac{1}{2}$  *Purāṇas* were realisable by the *Brāhmaṇa* Jalōka so that the land was made rent-free in respect only of the donor's share in the income constituting  $\frac{1}{2}$  *Purāṇa* only.

In regard to the contraction *vyā-bhū*, the editors say, "Its meaning has so far been missed. The Sāhitya Parishat plate clearly attests that it stands only for *chatur-sām-āvachchhinna-vāstu-*

<sup>1</sup> The editors read *Śrī*.

<sup>2</sup> The editors read *byā*.

<sup>3</sup> The editors read *brā*.

<sup>4</sup> For *hmaṇa*.

<sup>5</sup> The editors' transcript has here 2  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

<sup>6</sup> As to other blemishes in the transcript of the remaining lines of the epigraph, cf. *Tribha(bhu)vana* .... *drishṭi(ṭi)* for *Tribhugana* .... *drishṭi* (line 2), *valiraṣ* for *valiraṣ* (line 7), *tat-tulyō* for *tat-tulyō* (line 12), *Śrīmad-Ari* for *Śrīmad-Ari* (line 13), *Paundra* for *Paundya(ndra)* (line 14), *vibhaktam* .... *prativikṭa* for *vibharjya* (*jya*) .... *śruti-nikṭa* (line 34 : for *jy*, see *Jyaishṭha* in line 43), *śāvanām* for *śāvanam* (line 35), [10\*] *Bakubhīr-va* for [19\*] *Va(Ba)kubhīr-va* (line 37), *avalōka(kya)* for *avalōk(y)a* (line 39), *ā-bra* .... *jātvā* .... *yā* for *ā-bra(bra)* .... *jātvā* .... *yā* (line 40), *ava-kṛta* for *sukṛta* (line 42). Foot-note 11 at page 188 is meaningless as it stands. The signs for the numeral 2, as reproduced here, are misleading and wrong. We also fail to understand the propriety of foot-note 9 at the same page with reference to the use of asterisks only in some cases in lines 18, 22, 24, 26-28.

<sup>7</sup> See above, p. 53, n. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Loc. cit.



*bhūmi*, i.e., *vyāvṛtta-vāstu-bhūmi*, 'demarcated homestead land or residential site'. In it *vyā-bhū* is aptly distinguished from *nāla-bhū* precisely as in our plate". This interpretation of the contraction *vyā-bhū* is, however, clearly wrong. In the first place, if *vyā* means merely 'demarcated,' how can it go only with 'homestead land' and never with 'arable land'? It is impossible to believe that the boundaries of a plot of *nāla-bhūmi* were never demarcated. The editors themselves have quoted the passage *chatuḥ-sīm-āvachchhinna-vāstu-nāla-bhūmi* from an epigraphic record. Secondly, although *vyā-bhū* and *nā-bhū* have been clearly distinguished, there is definite evidence to prove that the category of land styled *vyā-bhū* often included some land of the class called *nā-bhū* or *nāla-bhūmi*, 'cultivated land'. This is shown by the fact that, though our inscription specifically mentions only three plots of *nā-bhū* respectively measuring  $\frac{1}{2}$  Drōṇa (line 24),  $\frac{1}{4}$  Drōṇa (line 27) and  $\frac{1}{16}$  Drōṇa (line 28), i.e., in all only  $1\frac{1}{16}$  Drōṇas, the total area of the gift land of this category as quoted in line 32 is 2 Drōṇas. There is thus no doubt that  $\frac{1}{16}$  Drōṇa of *nā-bhū* was included in the *vyā-bhū* plots specified in the record. As we have elsewhere<sup>1</sup> suggested, *vyā-bhū* probably stands for *vyāmiśra-bhūmi*, 'mixed land', consisting of land of various types such as *vāstu* (homestead land), *nāla* (arable land), *khila* (fallow land), etc.

The editors have suggested that the contraction *ṭi* stands for *vāṭi* or *chaṭi*, while *gri-ṭi* or *griha-ṭi* and *mu-ṭi* have been supposed to stand respectively for *griha-vāṭi* and *mukhya-vāṭi* or *mukhya-chaṭi*. But what they understood by *chaṭi* is not clear. In Sanskrit, the word *vāṭi* or *vāṭikā* means 'a house-site', 'a garden', etc.; but there is no such word as *chaṭi*. It has to be noticed that the abbreviations of words like *vāṭi* and *chaṭi* are expected to be *vā* and *cha* respectively and not *ṭi* for both of them. The contraction *mu-ṭi*, moreover, cannot stand for *mukhya-vāṭi* meaning 'a prominent or principal house-site or garden', not only because the word *mukhya* would in that case be quite meaningless but also because an analysis of the specified revenue income of the different plots of land as quoted in the inscription shows that the rent of a Drōṇa of *gri-ṭi* and *cha-ṭi* was very considerably higher than that of a Drōṇa of *mu-ṭi*. In line 29, the editors have read *bi* (sic. *chi*)-*khi-mu-ṭi* 3 (sic. 1) *byā* (sic. *vyā*)-*bhū*  $\frac{1}{4}$  and translated the passage as "one main house with low and fallow land—demarcated homestead land  $\frac{1}{4}$  (drōṇa)". It has been suggested that *bi-khi-mu-ṭi* stands for *bila-khila-mukhya-vāṭi*. Unfortunately, the interesting point that this particular plot of land had no rent allotted to it has been overlooked. This fact undoubtedly suggests that *chi-khi* stands for *chira-khila* referring to a piece of land that was never brought under cultivation or any other profitable use and therefore fetched no revenue income at all. Similarly, that *ṭi* does not stand for *vāṭi* is quite clear from the passage *griha-vāṭik-ādi-ṭi* 3 *vyā-bhū*  $\frac{1}{4}$  *sām-hi* 25 occurring in line 18 of the inscription. The passage apparently means "*ṭi* of house-site, garden, etc.—3 in number; mixed land— $\frac{1}{4}$  Drōṇa in area; annual revenue income in cash—25 Purāṇas". It is also interesting to note that *ṭi* occurs only in connection with *vyā-bhū* and never with *nā-bhū*. We have elsewhere<sup>2</sup> suggested that *ṭi* may stand for the word *ṭikkara* or *ṭikar* recognised in Hindi, Bengali and Oriya lexicons in the sense of 'a mound'.

The real meaning of *cha* in *cha-ṭi* and *mu* in *mu-ṭi* is very difficult to determine. An analysis of the specified revenue income allotted to the various plots of land would suggest the following averages: (1) 37 $\frac{1}{2}$  Purāṇas for a Drōṇa of *gri-ṭi* or *griha-ṭi* land; (2) 30 $\frac{3}{4}$  Purāṇas for a Drōṇa of *cha-ṭi* land; (3) 4 Purāṇas for a Drōṇa of *mu-ṭi* land; and (4) 4 $\frac{1}{4}$  Purāṇas for a Drōṇa of *nāla* or arable land. This shows that *gri-ṭi* was the most profitable kind of homestead land while *cha-ṭi* was a slightly less profitable type of the same kind of land. That these two kinds were almost equal in value is further suggested by the following indications. In line 31, a plot of land is characterised as *gri-cha-ṭi*, i.e., as mixed *gri-ṭi* and *cha-ṭi*. It will be seen that our record specifies 21 *ṭi*'s of the three classes, viz., *gri-ṭi*, *cha-ṭi* and *mu-ṭi*, in the body of the charter, but that, in the total quoted

<sup>1</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Loc. cit.



in line 32, it speaks only of *vā-ṭi* 16. In the contraction, *vā-ṭi*, *vā* apparently stands for *vāstu* meaning 'homestead land'.<sup>1</sup> It seems that the unprofitable plots characterised as *mu-ṭi* were not regarded as proper *vāstu* land and were left out in the calculation of the total. But in the details of the grant we have specific mention only of 3 *mu-ṭis*. We are therefore short of 2 *mu-ṭis*. Can it be suggested that the passage *griha-vāṭik-ādi-ṭi* 3 in line 18 included 1 *ṭi* of the *mu-ṭis*. Can it be further be conjectured that *gri-vāstu-griha-vāṭikā* category and 2 of the *mu-ṭi* class? Can it be further be conjectured that *gri-ṭi* indicated a mound containing houses and gardens, *cha-ṭi* a mound containing plantations only and *mu-ṭi* a mound without houses and gardens and covered with grass or jungle?<sup>2</sup> But all three appear to have contained, possibly on the borders, small patches of land of the *nāla* category if not also of any other type such as *khila*.

For easy reference we quote below the details of the grant portion of the Mehār copper-plate inscription in a table.

Number and Name of the donee.	Category and area of land.	Annual revenue income.
1. Paṇḍita Kāpaḍika of the Sāvarṇya gōtra.	griha-vāṭik-ādi-ṭi 3; vyā-bhū $\frac{1}{2}$ Drōṇa.	25 Purāṇas.
2. Brāhmaṇa Śāṅkōka (of the same gōtra?).	cha-ṭi 1; vyā-bhū $\frac{1}{2}$ Drōṇa	5 Purāṇas.
3. Brāhmaṇa Sudōka (of the same gōtra?).	cha-ṭi 1; vyā-bhū $\frac{3}{16}$ Drōṇa	8 Purāṇas.
4. Brāhmaṇa Kālēmika (of the same gōtra?).	ṭi (gri-ṭi or cha-ṭi) 1; vyā-bhū $\frac{1}{8}$ Drōṇa.	4 Purāṇas.
5. Brāhmaṇa Tārāpati (of the same gōtra?).	cha-ṭi 1; vyā-bhū $\frac{9}{16}$ Drōṇa	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ Purāṇas.
6. Paṇḍita Pāṇḍōka of the Bhāradvāja gōtra.	gri-ṭi 1; vyā-bhū $\frac{11}{16}$ Drōṇa	10 $\frac{1}{2}$ Purāṇas.
7. Brāhmaṇa Dēuka (of the same gōtra?).	griha-ṭi 1; vyā-bhū $\frac{9}{16}$ Drōṇa	4 Purāṇas.
8. Brāhmaṇa Sudōka (of the same gōtra?).	griha-ṭi 1; vyā-bhū $\frac{1}{4}$ Drōṇa	8 $\frac{7}{16}$ Purāṇas.
9. Brāhmaṇa Kēsava of Kāṇṭāmaṇi Do.	gri-ṭi 1; vyā-bhū $\frac{1}{8}$ Drōṇa mu-ṭi 1; vyā-bhū $\frac{1}{16}$ Drōṇa	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ Purāṇas. $\frac{2}{16}$ Purāṇa.
10. Brāhmaṇa Brahmōka (of the same place?).	gri-ṭi 1; vyā-bhū $\frac{3}{16}$ Drōṇa	2 Purāṇas.

<sup>1</sup> The contraction *vā* for *vāstu* occurs in several records including the Chittagong plate of Dāmōdaradēva himself (N. G. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 181).

<sup>2</sup> Wilson's *Glossary* recognises some Bengali and Hindi names of particular types of land, which begin with the syllable *cha* or *mu*, e.g., *chachar* or *chañchar* (land that has lain fallow only for a few years), *char* or *chāchar* (inferior fallow land or sandy land on the banks or in the bed of a river), *charāi* (pasture lands), *mus* (land along the high banks of rivers), *musavi* (an embankment), etc. But these do not appear to have anything to do with the *cha-ṭi* and *mu-ṭi* of our record.



<i>Number and Name of the donees.</i>	<i>Category and area of land.</i>	<i>Annual revenue income.</i>
10. Brāhmaṇa Brahmōka (of the same place ?).	mu-ṭi 1 ; vyā-bhū $\frac{1}{2}$ Drōṇa	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Purāṇas.
Do.	nāla-bhūmi $\frac{1}{2}$ Drōṇa	2 Purāṇas.
11. Brāhmaṇa Sirōka (of the same place?)	griha-ṭi 1 ; vyā-bhū $\frac{1}{4}$ Drōṇa	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ Purāṇas.
12. Brāhmaṇa Dharaṇika of Pūrvagrāma	cha-ṭi 1 (half of which was in the possession of Guṇōm-bha) ; vyā-bhū $\frac{3}{32}$ Drōṇa.	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ Purāṇas.
13. Paṇḍita Pāuka of Sidhalagrāma	cha-ṭi 1 ; vyā-bhū $\frac{1}{2}$ Drōṇa	4 Purāṇas.
14. Brāhmaṇa Śāṅkōka of the Ātrēya gōtra.	nāla-bhūmi $\frac{1}{2}$ Drōṇa	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Purāṇas.
15. Brāhmaṇa Prajāpati of Diṇḍisāya	bhū (forming a part of his griha-vāṭi) $\frac{1}{16}$ Drōṇa.	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ Purāṇas.
16. Grihi-Paṇḍita Nāthōka (of the same place ?).	nāla-bhūmi $\frac{5}{16}$ Drōṇa	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Purāṇas (minus 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Purāṇas to be realised by the Brāhmaṇa Jalōka, i.e., $\frac{1}{2}$ Purāṇa only) <sup>1</sup> .
17. Brāhmaṇa Viśvarūpa (of the same place ?).	gri-ṭi 1 ; vyā-bhū $\frac{1}{8}$ Drōṇa	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ Purāṇas.
18. Brāhmaṇa Mādhōka (of the same place ?).	chi-khi-mu-ṭi 1 ; vyā-bhū $\frac{1}{2}$ Drōṇa.	(no rent as it was chirakhila).
19. Brāhmaṇa Śrīpati of Kēśarakōṇa	cha-ṭi 1 (belonging to a śāsana or rent-free holding created by Mahāsāndhivigrahika Munidāsa) ; vyā-bhū $\frac{1}{16}$ Drōṇa.	(no rent as it belonged to a śāsana).
20. Brāhmaṇa Śrīvatsa (of the same place ?).	gri-cha-ṭi 1 (belonging to a śāsana created by Mahākshapaṭalika Dalaēva) ; vyā-bhū $\frac{1}{16}$ Drōṇa.	(no rent as it belonged to a śāsana).
In all : donees (Brāhmaṇas)—20	Vāstu-ṭi 16 ; bhūmi-drōṇa 2 $\frac{11}{16}$ + nāla-bhūmi-drōṇa 2 (i.e., together 4 $\frac{11}{16}$ Drōṇas of land of the different categories).	Sām-hi 100 Purāṇas.

<sup>1</sup> In the editors' translation, Jalōka has been made a donee ; but this is impossible in view of no mention of a piece of land in his connection and also of the total amount of the donees' revenue income quoted in line 32. If Jalōka's amount is counted, the total will be more than 100 Purāṇas even without considering the amount lost in line 24.

No. 11—ABBOTTABAD INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KADAMBESVARADASA ;  
YEAR 25

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

An inscribed stone slab, measuring 23 inches by 8 inches, was discovered about 35 years ago from a spring-tank about three miles from **Abbottabad** in the Hazara District of the North-West Frontier Province of what is now West Pakistan. It was secured for the Lahore Museum and is preserved there as Exhibit No. 107. The inscription, containing only four lines of writing, was noticed by the late Pandit Daya Ram Sahni in the *Annual Report of the Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1919*.<sup>1</sup> There are two notes on the record in the said work, one at p. 18 and the other in Appendix C (No. 2). The date of the epigraph is quoted in the latter as the year "25 or 125 of an unknown era, possibly the Gupta era," while in the former it is said, "It is dated in the year 25 on the first day of Mārgaśīra. The era employed is not specified; but there seems to be no doubt that the era intended is the Gupta era. The date of the inscription would then correspond to A. D. 344". The latter quotes the name of the ruler mentioned in the inscription as *Mahārāja Kadambēśvaradāsa*; but the former says, "The name of the reigning chief was *Mahārāja Kadambēśvara*; but nothing is known of him from any other source". As regards the object of the record, Sahni says, "The purpose of the inscription is to record the making of something, the nature of which cannot be clearly made out. But as the slab bearing this record was found in a spring-tank three miles from Abbottabad, it is possible that the construction of the tank itself is meant. The author of the work was a certain person named *Shāphara Kumāra Sthānamgaśūra*. Both the names are curious and appear to be foreign". Unfortunately these observations regarding the purport of the inscription contain a number of errors.<sup>2</sup> Sahni says that arrangements were being made for the publication of the record in the *Epigraphia Indica*, although the idea seems to have been later given up. The record has not been noticed in D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*.

The epigraph is written in Brāhmī characters and may be assigned on palaeographical grounds to a date about the third century A. C. The letter *n* is of the early Kushāṇa type and is without the loop; but *ṇ* has a more modified form. The right limb of *g*, *t* and *ṣ* is not lengthened downwards. The form of *ph* is interesting as a slightly curved line starting from the top of the right vertical touches the horizontal base near the angle which the latter forms at its juncture with the left vertical of the letter.<sup>3</sup> The letter *sh* is formed by *p* with the addition of a horizontal bar touching the left and right verticals of the latter. The form of *m* is interesting. It apparently developed from the type of the letter as found in a later Kushāṇa inscription<sup>4</sup> from Mathurā. The letter as found in the Kuṣā inscription<sup>5</sup> was a further modification of the type employed in the record under study. In writing the date the symbols for 20 and 5 have been

<sup>1</sup> Diacritical marks in the transliterated passages are wanting in this publication. We have supplied them in our quotations below.

<sup>2</sup> It will be seen that, with reference to "*Shāphara Kumāra Sthānamgaśūra*", Sahni speaks of one personal name as well as two personal names. This is apparently because he had in his mind *Shāphara-kumāra Sthānamgaśūra*, i.e., "*Sthānamgaśūra* son of *Shāphara*". Unfortunately no such passage actually occurs in the inscription.

<sup>3</sup> For the same type of *ph* in post-Kushāṇa inscriptions, see Bühler's *Tafel IV*, line 28. For its occurrence in the epigraphs of the Kushāṇa age, see the *Abichchhatrā Yaksha* image inscription in *JUPHS*, Vols. XXIV-XXV, 1951-52, Plate facing p. 194.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 76-79 and Plate.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 237 f. and Plate.



employed. The palaeography of the inscription thus may be regarded as showing the characteristics of a period between the second and the fourth centuries and may therefore be roughly assigned to the third century A. C. although it does not appear to be earlier than the middle of that century. The characters of the present epigraph resemble those of the Shōrkōṭ (Jhang District, Punjab) inscription<sup>1</sup>, assigned to 403 A. C., but exhibit earlier traits especially in the formation of the medial vowel-marks. The most interesting fact about the palaeography of the present inscription in Brāhmī characters is that it was discovered in an area where Kharōṣṭhī was the popular script. The popularity of Kharōṣṭhī in the Peshawar-Hazara region as late at least as the third century A. C. is indicated by inscriptions and accepted by scholars.<sup>2</sup> The discovery of the epigraph under study has therefore some bearing on the gradual ousting of Kharōṣṭhī by Brāhmī in the area about the North-West Frontier Province. Again the language of the Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions discovered in this region is Prakrit while the present record is couched in Sanskrit. We know that Prakrit was originally the language of Indian records but that it was ousted by Sanskrit from the Brāhmī inscriptions of Northern India by the third century and from South Indian records about a century later. The inscription under study is interesting from this point of view also.

The inscription begins with the date **Sa 25 M[a]rgaśīra-di pratha**, i.e., **Sarhvatśarē pañchavimsē Mārgaśīra-dinē prathamē**. Thus the record was incised on the first day of the month of Mārgaśīra or Mārgaśīrsha in the year 25 of the regnal reckoning of a ruler. The object of the inscription is recorded in the following passage which reads *kāritō-ya[m\*] Kumāra-sthānam*, i.e., *kāritam-idam Kumāra-sthānam*, "this Kumāra-sthāna has been made (i.e., constructed)". As regards the mistake *kāritam* for *kāritam*, it may be pointed out that the use of nominative singular for accusative singular is sometimes noticed in the Prakrit records from the North-West Frontier Province and has been regarded as a dialectic peculiarity of the area in question.<sup>3</sup> The expression *Kumāra-sthāna* appears to mean 'a temple of the god Kumāra'. The inscribed stone thus originally belonged to the structure referred to in this passage. Kumāra is regarded as another name of the god Skanda, also called Viśākha and Mahāsēna. But Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*<sup>4</sup> mentions the images of the gods Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha, while certain coins of the Kushāṇa king Huvishka bear representations of three gods called in the legend by the names Skando (Skanda), Komaro (Kumāra) and Bizago (Viśākha) or of four gods named in the legend as Skando, Maaseno (Mahāsēna), Komaro and Bizago.<sup>5</sup> The facts show not

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Vol. XVI, pp. 15 ff. and Plate.

<sup>2</sup> G. H. Ojha, *Prāchīna-lipi-mālā* (*The Palaeography of India*), p. 37; Bühler, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII (Appendix), p. 18. Sten Konow assigns the latest known Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions, found in India, to the fourth or fifth century A. C. (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. II, Part i, p. xiii). He reads the dates in some records as the years 318, 359, 384 and 399 and refers them to an old Saka era starting from 84-83 B.C. (ibid., p. xci). Cf. also the inscriptions bearing dates in the years 303 (above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 8 ff.) and 359 (ibid., Vol. XIX, pp. 203 ff.). But even if the old Sogtho-Parthian era is identified with the Vikrama Samvat of 58 B.C. (cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 125, note; 144, note), the latest date in Konow's list (year 399) would correspond to 343 A.C. It is also not very easy to be definite about the era. Lüders in the *Āchārya-puṣhpāñjali Volume* (D.R. Bhandarkar Volume), pp. 281 ff., refers dates in the years 270 and 292 (or 299) found in two early Brāhmī inscriptions from Mathurā to the Parthian era of 248 B.C., although the dates of the Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions cited above cannot be assigned to that era. A few Kharōṣṭhī records from Taxila have been assigned to the fifth century (Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. I, pp. 374-76).

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> See under Pāṇini, V, 3, 99; Kielhorn's edition, Vol. II, p. 429.

<sup>5</sup> See R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, Vol. I, p. 207; R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, pp. 214-15; D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 22-23. For two early images of the god Skanda found in the ancient Gandhāra country in the present Rawalpindi-Peshawar region, see *IHQ*, Vol. XXX, pp. 81 ff. The Skanda cult was very popular with such north-western tribes as the Yaudhēyas (cf. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 270 ff.).



only that Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsēna had been originally the names of different deities who were identified at a later date but also that Kumāra was an important popular god in the dominions of the Kushāṇas. This is interesting in view of the fact that the Kushāṇa emperors are known to have had their headquarters at Peshawar, not far away from the findspot of our inscription in the Hazara District.

The following passage, giving the name of the person responsible for the construction of the Kumāra-sthāna referred to above, reads: *Gaśūraṇa Makaputrēṇa Shāpharēṇa*, i.e., *Gaśūrēṇa* (or *Gaśūrāṇām*) *Maka-putrēṇa Shāpharēṇa*, "by the Gaśūra Shāphara, son of Maka" or "by Shāphara who is the son of Maka and a member of the Gaśūra clan or class". Both the names, *Maka* and *Shāphara*, are apparently foreign. *Maka* reminds us of such non-Indian names as *Maka* (Greek *Magas*) and *Moga* or *Moa* (*Maues*) found in Indian epigraphic and numismatic records.<sup>1</sup> The name *Shāphara* similarly reminds us of the well-known Pahlavi name Shāhpūhre (Shāpur) borne by three Sassanian emperors ruling respectively in 241-72, 310-70 and 383-88 A. C. The epithet *Gaśūra*, applied to the name of Shāphara, also points to his foreign origin. This word seems to be the same as Krorayina *guśura* and Kuchean Sanskrit *gauśura* standing, as Prof. H. W. Bailey has shown, for Sanskrit *kulaputra*, "a person of good family".<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere Bailey explains the word *gauśurya* occurring in the Derge text as "a lady or princess of the *Gauśura* class of nobility".<sup>3</sup> Thus Shāphara, who constructed a temple for the Indian god Kumāra, seems likewise to have been a member of the Guśura or Gaśūra class of nobility.

The next passage of the inscription reads: *mahārāja-Kadambēśvaradāsa-r[ā]jy[ā]*, "in the reign (or, kingdom) of *Mahārāja Kadambēśvaradāsa*". It is probable that the 25th year of the reign of this ruler has been quoted in the date at the beginning of the record. This presupposes the fact that *Mahārāja Kadambēśvaradāsa* was an independent or at least a semi-independent ruler of the Hazara region. It should, however, be noted that the Chinese writer Yu-houan, author of the *Wei-liao*, speaks of Yueh-chi or Kushāṇa sovereignty over the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province and Afghanistan about the middle of the third century A.C. while the prominent mention of the Kushāṇa king as the Daivaputra-Shāhi-Shāhānushāhi in a Gupta inscription of the middle of the fourth century A.C. shows that the Kushāṇas were still regarded as a notable power in the Uttarāpatha division of Bhāratavarsha.<sup>4</sup> The relation of Kadambēśvaradāsa with the Kushāṇa imperial family cannot be determined without further evidence. If he actually belonged to that imperial line, the inscription under study should probably have borne a date in the Kanishka era and not in his regnal reckoning. Even if it is believed that a *Mahārāja Dēvaputra* Kanishka of the third century started a new era<sup>5</sup> (to which the year 25 of our inscription might be referred) or that the later members of the Kushāṇa dynasty discontinued the use of the Kanishka era of 78 A.C., it is not easy to regard Kadambēśvaradāsa definitely as a Kushāṇa as he is mentioned without the typical title *Dēvaputra*. Of course the king's Sanskrit name does not offer any serious obstacle as we have a Vāsudēva with such a name amongst the immediate successors of the founder of the Kushāṇa era (i.e., Kanishka I). Similar difficulties are also felt

<sup>1</sup> The thirteenth Rock Edict of Aśoka gives the Greek name Magas as *Maka* (Shahbazgarhi and Mansera), *Magā* (Girnar) and *Makā* (Kalsi). See Hultzsch, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 210. A Scythian name is given as *Moga*, *Mevaki* and *Moa* in the Indian script and *Maues* or *Mauakes* in Greek; cf. *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 115, 120; V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, pp. 38-41; *The Age of Imperial Unity (The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. II)*, p. 120, note, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1947, pp. 149 f.; *BSOAS*, Vol. XIII, 1949-50, p. 121. The word *guśura* occurs in the Central Asian Kharoshthi document No. 702; cf. T. Burrow, *Language of the Kharoshthi Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, p. 87; *A Translation of the Kharoshthi Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, p. 141.

<sup>3</sup> *BSOAS*, Vol. XIII, p. 393; cf. H. Lüders, *Zur Geschichte und Geographie Ostturkestans*, p. 255.

<sup>4</sup> *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 152-53.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 146; cf. above, Vol. XIX, pp. 96-97.



if it is proposed to refer the year of the date of our record to the regnal reckoning of an unknown Kushāṇa overlord of Kadambēśvaradāsa.<sup>1</sup> Sahnī was inclined to refer the year 25 in our inscription to the Gupta era. But it is difficult to believe that the suzerainty of the Guptas and the use of their era ever spread over the Hazara District where the inscription under review was found.

The name of king Kadambēśvaradāsa literally means "the servant (i.e. devotee) of Kadambēśvara", in which Kadambēśvara is certainly the name of a deity, probably Śiva in the Liṅga form. Śiva-liṅgas with names ending in the word *īśvara* are known from all parts of India.<sup>2</sup> Kadamba is primarily the name of a particular tree (Nuclea Cadamba) but may also be taken to be the name of a person, family or clan. But whether the name of the deity Kadambēśvara was due to his installation by a person named Kadamba or his association with a particular Kadamba tree cannot be determined.

The inscription ends with the letters looking like *daḥasaka* in line 4. This seems to refer to the locality where the temple of the god Kumāra was built by Shāphara. In that case we may suggest the emendation *Daḥasakē*. If, however, the last two letters may be taken to stand for Sanskrit *svakē*, "in his own", the first two may be read as *daḥē*. The four letters would then read *daḥē svakē*, "in his (i.e. Shāphara's) own *daḥa*". But we do not know any word like *daḥa*, which may suit the context.

#### TEXT<sup>3</sup>

- 1 [Sa]<sup>4</sup> 20 5 M[a]rgasīra-di<sup>5</sup> pratha<sup>6</sup> kārītō=ya<sup>7</sup>
- 2 Kumāra-sthānam Gaśūraṇa<sup>8</sup> Maka-putrēṇa
- 3 Shāpharēṇa mahārāja-Kadambēśvaradāsa-r[ā]jy]ḥ
- 4 daḥa[sa]ka<sup>9</sup> [||\*]

### No. 12—NOTE ON BADAGANGA INSCRIPTION OF BHUTIVARMAN

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

The Badagaṅgā rock inscription of Bhūtivarman, which is the earliest epigraph so far discovered in Assam, has been edited above<sup>10</sup> by the late Dr. N. K. Bhattasali. Previously an article on the inscription was published by the same author in the *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. VIII, 1941, pp. 138-39 (cf. also *Bhāratavarsha*, B.S. 1348, p. 90; *IHQ*, March, 1945, pp. 19-28). He also published a rejoinder in the form of footnotes added to my comments on his

<sup>1</sup> For a sketch of the history of the area about the North-West Frontier Province about the third and fourth centuries, see *The Classical Age (The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. III)*, pp. 50 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 182, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> From an impression.

<sup>4</sup> I.e., *Saṁ* which is a contraction of *Saṁvatsarē*.

<sup>5</sup> *Di* is a contraction of *dinē* or *divasē*.

<sup>6</sup> *Pratha* is a contraction of *prathamē*.

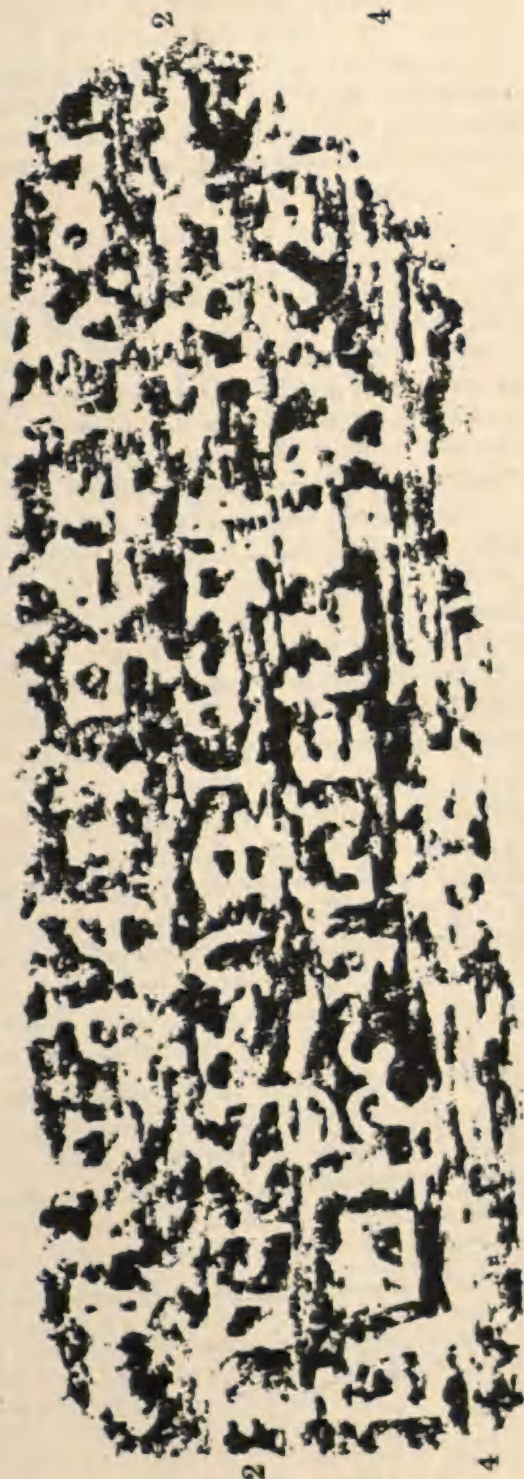
<sup>7</sup> The reading intended is no doubt *kārītō=yaṁ*; but the context would require *kārīkam=idam*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *Gaśūrēṇa* or *Gaśūrāpām*.

<sup>9</sup> For these letters see our remarks above.

<sup>10</sup> Vol. XXVII, pp. 18-23. The local pronunciation of *Badagaṅgā*, as written by Dr. Bhattasali, is *Bargagaṅgā*.

ABBOTABAD INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KADAMBESVARADASA; YEAR 25



SCALE: TWO-FIFTHS





reading of the inscription, published in the same journal, Vol. X, 1943, pp. 63-67<sup>1</sup>. In his article published above, Dr. Bhattasali speaks of the unsatisfactory state of the preservation of the record and of the difficulty with which he succeeded in deciphering the text. A photograph of the inscription as well as an inked impression was published to illustrate Dr. Bhattasali's paper in the *Epigraphia Indica*. The photograph is, however, absolutely unreadable while the impression was the subject of the following editorial comment from the Government Epigraphist for India: "The impression reproduced here is much 'doctored'. An attempt is being made to procure a more faithful impression which will be published when available". The attempt of the Government Epigraphist to secure a good impression of the record was unfortunately not successful till the beginning of 1952 when I was asked to examine and copy the inscription in the course of my tour in Eastern India. Accordingly I visited Nowgong, the headquarters of the District of that name in Assam, on the 5th March 1952 and left for the findspot of the inscription the same day. From Nowgong I reached Dabakā on the river Jamunā, which lies 24 miles away on the motor road from Nowgong to Hozāi. There I learnt that the inscribed rock lies in the vicinity of Dākmakā (from Mikir *Daṁmukāk*, 'a bend') on a rain-bow like bend of the river Dikharu or Dikhru (from Kachhari *ḍi*, 'water'), 16½ miles away on the other side of a reserved forest. Fortunately, the Forest Department of the Assam Government has now constructed a motorable road from Dabakā to Dākmakā, although a wooden bridge on a small stream at Deṅgāo (11½ miles from Dabakā and 5 miles from Dākmakā) was being reconstructed after dismantling when I had to travel by that road. I had therefore to reach Dākmakā from Deṅgāo on foot. The inscribed boulder lies on the Baḍagaṅgā which is a small stream joining on the one hand the Hārkāṭhī and on the other the Dighalpāni. The place is half a mile from Tekegāo which is about 2 miles from Dākmakā. Thus I found the inscription about 19 miles from the Dabakā Bazaar, although Bhattasali has given the distance of the place as about 14 miles north-east of Dabakā (written by him *Dabokā*). I was really very glad to find that the epigraph was in a much better state of preservation than that suggested by Dr. Bhattasali's photograph. It is necessary to record here in this connection that in reaching the inscribed boulder I received considerable help from the officers of the Forest Department of the Government of Assam at Nowgong, Dabakā, Deṅgāo and Dākmakā.

The main point in my comments on Dr. Bhattasali's reading of the Baḍagaṅgā inscription, to which reference has been made above, concerned the second symbol in the date of the record. Bhattasali believed that it is an *l*-type form of 30, while I suggested that it is an *s*-type form of 40. It is gratifying to me that all epigraphists who had occasion to give their opinion on the reading of the symbol have supported my reading against Bhattasali's.<sup>2</sup> But an examination of the original inscription and its impressions prepared by myself revealed to me several mistakes not only in Dr. Bhattasali's transcript but also in my comments on it, based as they were on an unreliable illustration of the record.

The Government Epigraphist for India rightly noticed that considerable doctoring has rendered the impression published along with Dr. Bhattasali's paper absolutely unreliable for scientific purposes. It is a matter of great satisfaction that the whole inscription can be more or less easily read from my impressions. It is also seen that Dr. Bhattasali's attempt to show the letters clearly on the impression by means of inking the supposed blank space outside their incision has resulted in many letters appearing in his doctored impression not as they actually are in the

<sup>1</sup> My comments on Bhattasali's reading and interpretation of the Baḍagaṅgā and Kulkuri inscriptions were first offered in a note added to my paper on the reign-periods of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II, published in the Chaitra (B.S. 1348) issue of the *Bhāratavarsha* (Bengali), Calcutta.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. XXVII, p. 23 for the views of K. N. Dikshit and N. P. Chakravarti and *IHQ*, Vol. XXII, p. 113 for the opinion of Jagannath.



original or in my impressions but as he wanted to read them. This is very clearly demonstrated by the fifteenth *akshara* of the second line of the record as found in his impression. The doctored impression shows this letter clearly as *nya* and that is how it was read by Dr. Bhattasali originally, although it has been read in his paper published in the *Epigraphia Indica* tentatively as *dēva*. This is no doubt because the doctoring was done when the author was eager to read the letter as *nya*; but, when apparently it was later pointed out to him that *nya* is rather awkward in the context, he was compelled to change his reading to *dēva* in spite of the fact that the new reading is quite plainly against the evidence of his impression.

Let us analyse here the mistakes in Dr. Bhattasali's transcript of the Baḍagaṅgā inscription one by one.

1. In line 1, what has been read as *bhāgavata* is clearly *bhaṭṭāraka*. Thus the king in question (i.e., Bhūti-varman of the Bhauma or Nāraka dynasty<sup>1</sup> of Prāgjyotiṣa or Kāmarupa, i.e., modern Assam) is described here as a *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* which is an ordinary imperial title and not as a *Paramabhāgavata* which would have shown that the ruler was a devout worshipper of the *Bhagavat*, i.e., the god Viṣṇu.

2. The ninth letter of line 2 is a clear *na* even in Dr. Bhattasali's impression; but he suggested the reading of the letter as *nām* and read the entire passage as *°atvamēdhayājīnām śrī-Bhūti-varmadēvapādānām*. It is now seen that the correct reading is *°atvamēdhayājīna[h°] śrī-Bhūti-varmmasya*, although *°varmmasya* is a mistake for *°varmmaṇaḥ*.

3. At the beginning of line 3, Dr. Bhattasali reads the year of the date as 200 30 4 which is followed in his transcript by the *akshara mā* taken by him to indicate the month of Māgha. As Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, who examined my impressions, first pointed out to me, the correct reading of what Dr. Bhattasali has read as 200 30 4 *mā* is *āyushkāmam* and there is no trace of the syllable *saṁ* at the end of the previous line. Thus the actual reading of the passage in question is no doubt *°pādānām āyushkāmam viśhay-āmātya°*. The inscription therefore does not contain either any date in the Gupta era or the name of any *viśhaya*. The expression *āyushkāmam* simply refers to the fact that the *viśhay-āmātya* (governor of a district) performed a meritorious work for the longevity of his master, king Bhūti-varman.

4. The name of the *viśhay-āmātya* referred to above was read by Dr. Bhattasali as *Ar̥yagūṇa* or *Ādyagūṇa*. The first letter of the name is *q* and not *ā*, while the second is either *va* or *da* without any subscript. A comparison with *y* in *°yājīna* in line 2 and in *viśhayā°* in line 3 shows beyond doubt that the second *akshara* of the name in question cannot be *ryya*. The reading of the name seems to me to be *Avagūṇa*. The sense of the name is rather derogatory; but names with derogatory sense are not uncommon in India<sup>2</sup>. Thus the Baḍagaṅgā inscription speaks of *Paramadaivata Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* Bhūti-varman, a performer of the *Ātvamēdha* sacrifice, during whose reign a royal officer named Avagūṇa, who was the governor of a district of Bhūti-varman's kingdom, made an *āśrama* at the findspot of the epigraph for the longevity of his master. The area governed by Avagūṇa seems to have comprised parts of the present Nowgong District of Assam and the adjoining area including the valleys of the rivers Hārkāthī and Dīghalpānī mentioned above. An interesting information supplied by the inscription is that the Nowgong-

<sup>1</sup> The recently discovered Dubi plates give *Varman* as another name of the family.

<sup>2</sup> There is a popular notion in Eastern India to suggest derogatory names for the children especially of women who repeatedly give birth to dead boys and girls. Cf. Bengali and Oriya names like *Ekkari* (literally, 'purchased by, i.e., worthy of, one cowrie only), *Arakshita* (literally, helpless, i.e., wretched, or a beggar), *Fakir* (mendicant), etc. The idea behind such naming is that the attention of the god of death may be diverted from a child bearing a derogatory name. Such children are often given away to somebody and then purchased by the parents at a nominal price. For the similar name *Dukhu* or *Duḥkṛt* (i.e., miserable), cf. *Modern Review*, July 1954, p. 79.



Sibsagar area formed a part of the dominions of the Bhauma-Nāraka kings of Kāmarūpa at least during the reign of Bhūti-varman who, as will be shown below, must have flourished in the sixth century A.C.

Another important fact recorded in the inscription under review is the celebration of the *Aśvamēdha* attributed to Bhūti-varman. As I have pointed out elsewhere<sup>1</sup> this information has to be reconciled with the evidence supplied by the legend on the seals of Bhāskaravarman of the Bhauma-Nāraka dynasty, who flourished about the first half of the seventh century A.C. and was a contemporary of king Harshavardhana (606-47 A.C.) of Thanesar and Kanauj. The information supplied by the seals may be summarised as follows:—

- 1 *Mahārājādhirāja* Pushyavarman, lord of Prāgjyōtisha and descendant of Naraka as well as of Bhagadatta and Vajradatta;
- 2 *Mahārājādhirāja* Samudravarman, son of No. 1;
- 3 *Mahārājādhirāja* Balavarman, son of No. 2 from Dattavati;
- 4 *Mahārājādhirāja* Kalyāṇavarman, son of No. 3 from the queen Ratnavati;
- 5 Gaṇapati-varman, [son of No. 4] from Gandharvavati;
- 6 Mahēndravarman, [son of No. 5] from Yajñavati;
- 7 Nārāyaṇavarman, performer of two *Aśvamēdhas* and [son of No. 6] from Suvratā;
- 8 Bhūti-varman, [son of No. 7] from Dēvavati;
- 9 Chandramukhavarman, [son of No. 8] from Vijñānavati;
- 10 Sthiravarman, performer of two *Aśvamēdhas* and [son of No. 9] from Bhōgavati;
- 11 Susthitavarman, son of No. 10 from Nayanaśōbhā;
- 12 Supratishṭhitavarman, son of No. 11 from Dhruvalakshmī;
- 13 Bhāskaravarman, younger brother of No. 12 and son of No. 11 from Dhruvalakshmī.

It will be seen that Bhūti-varman, called an *aśvamēdha-yājīn* in the Badagaṅgā inscription, is not credited with the performance of the horse-sacrifice in the legend on Bhāskaravarman's seals, although his father Nārāyaṇavarman and grandson Sthiravarman are both endowed with the epithet 'performer of two *Aśvamēdhas*'. As has been explained in my paper referred to above, I do not accept Dr. Bhattasali's suggestion that, according to the legend on Bhāskaravarman's seals, Mahēndravarman, father of Nārāyaṇavarman, performed the two horse-sacrifices and am inclined to attribute them to Nārāyaṇavarman. It has been shown by me that the epithet *dvir-aśvamēdha-yājīn* admittedly refers to the following name of Sthiravarman in the legend and that, on the same analogy, the epithet *dvir-turagamēdh-āhartā* should refer not to the preceding name of Mahēndravarman but to the following name of Nārāyaṇavarman.<sup>2</sup> I have further shown that the position of the queen-mothers' names in the two expressions, viz. *Śrī-Bhōgavatyām dvir-aśvamēdha-yājī Śrī-Sthiravarmā* and *dvir-turagamēdh-āhartā Śrī-Suvratāyām Śrī-Nārāyaṇavarmā*, does not make any difference in Sanskrit syntax. Now the omission in the legend on Bhāskaravarman's seals of any reference to the horse-sacrifice that was celebrated by Bhūti-varman according to the Badagaṅgā inscription is really inexplicable; but I suggested that the second of the two *Aśvamēdhas* attributed by the seal-legend to Bhūti-varman's father

<sup>1</sup> *IHQ*, Vol. XXI, pp. 143-45.

<sup>2</sup> Verse 12 of the Nidhanpur inscription comparing Mahēndravarman with *yajña-vidhinām-ā-padam-anajam* and his mother Yajñavati with *Yajñavati araniḥ* does not prove Mahēndravarman's celebration of the *Aśvamēdha*. The poet apparently played on the word *yajña* in the name of the queen-mother. Mahēndravarman may of course have performed some of the numerous Vedic sacrifices other than the *Aśvamēdha*.



Nārāyaṇavarman may have been celebrated when that king was too old and his son Bhūtivarman was ruling the country on his father's behalf and that this was possibly the reason why Bhūtivarman is said to be the performer of the horse-sacrifice in the record of his own reign<sup>1</sup>.

Nārāyaṇavarman was the first performer of the *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice among the kings of the Bhauma-Nāraka dynasty of Kāmarūpa, which was founded by Pushyavarman. It is interesting to note in this connection that the independent status newly acquired by ancient Indian ruling families was usually signalled by the celebration of the *Aśvamēdha*<sup>2</sup>. In the ancient history of India, we have also many instances of a feudatory naming his son after his overlord<sup>3</sup>. The naming of Pushyavarman's son as *Samudravarman* apparently after the celebrated Gupta monarch Samudragupta (*circa* 340-76 A.C.) appears to be a significant fact in the early history of Kāmarūpa. Samudravarman's queen Dattavati seems also to have assumed the name of Samudragupta's queen Dattadēvī. These facts leave hardly any doubt that the Kāmarūpa king Pushyavarman was a vassal or subordinate ally of the Gupta emperor and flourished about the middle of the fourth century A.C.<sup>4</sup> The Bhauma-Nārakas of Kāmarūpa appear to have continued to offer allegiance to the Guptas till the beginning of the sixth century when the imperial Gupta power declined and the Bhauma-Nāraka king Nārāyaṇavarman (*circa* 494-518 A.C.) performed the horse-sacrifice no doubt to assert the newly gained independence of the kingdom of Kāmarūpa, formerly under the suzerainty of the Guptas. Again the facts that Pushyavarman was a contemporary of Samudragupta, that Susthitavarman and Supratishṭhitavarman appear to have died quite early in life and that Bhāskaravarman reigned in the period *circa* 600-50 A.C. suggest roughly the following chronology of the Bhauma-Nāraka kings of Kāmarūpa<sup>5</sup> :—

(1) Pushyavarman	. . . . .	<i>circa</i> 350-74 A.C.
(2) Samudravarman	. . . . .	" 374-98 "
(3) Balavarman	. . . . .	" 398-422 "
(4) Kalyāṇavarman	. . . . .	" 422-46 "
(5) Gaṇapativarman	. . . . .	" 446-70 "
(6) Mahēndravarman	. . . . .	" 470-94 "
(7) Nārāyaṇavarman	. . . . .	" 494-518 "
(8) Bhūtivarman	. . . . .	" 518-42 "
(9) Chandramukhavarman	. . . . .	" 542-66 "
(10) Sthiravarman	. . . . .	" 566-90 "
(11) Susthitavarman	. . . . .	" 590-95 "
(12) Supratishṭhitavarman	. . . . .	" 595-600 "
(13) Bhāskaravarman	. . . . .	" 600-50 "

<sup>1</sup> The Sailodbhava records generally attribute an *Aśvamēdha* to Sainyabhita Mādhavarman [I Śrinivāsa] but, in a few inscriptions of that king's son and grandson, the latter are also vaguely described as performers of the *Aśvamēdha* probably because they took part in Śrinivāsa's sacrifice. Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, p. 39, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *A New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, pp. 64-65.

<sup>3</sup> See *Successors of the Śātavāhanas*, 1939, pp. 176, 248 note.

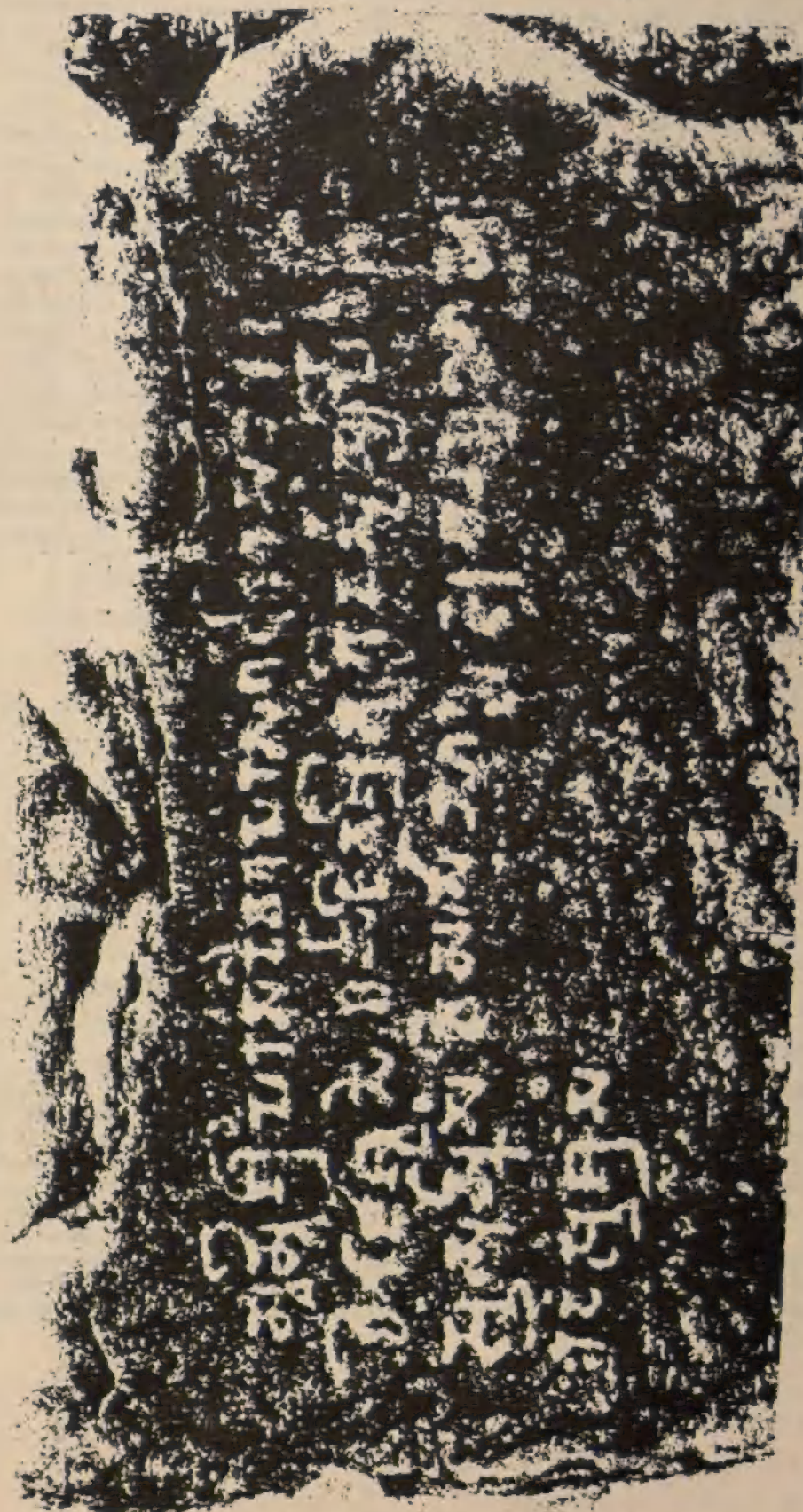
<sup>4</sup> The reference to Kāmarūpa as a *pratyanta* or bordering state in the Allahabad pillar inscription seems to suggest that the Kāmarūpa king was not regarded as an ordinary feudatory of the Gupta monarch.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Bhattasali was inclined to assign Pushyavarman to *circa* 350-90 A.C. and Mahēndravarman (who according to him celebrated two horse-sacrifices) to *circa* 450-90 A.D. See *IHQ*, Vol. XXI, March, 1945, pp. 19-23.





# BADAGANGA INSCRIPTION OF BHUTIVARMAN



SCALE: THREE-TENTHS



TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti [||\*] Śrī-paramadaivata-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārā[jā]-
- 2 dhirāj-āśvamēdhayājina[h\*] Śrī-Bhūtivarmmasya(ṇaḥ) pādān[āṁ]<sup>2</sup>
- 3 āyushkāmaṁ viśay-āmātya<sup>3</sup>-Avagunasya
- 4 idaṁ<sup>4</sup> āśramaṁ [||\*]

## No. 13—EKKANCHI INSCRIPTION OF YADAVA SIMHANA ; SAKA 1147

R. N. GURAV, ATHNI

**Ekkañchi** is a petty village in the Athni taluk of the Belgaum District, Bombay State, situated about six miles from Athni, east by north, and two miles north of the village Baḍchi on the Athni-Bijāpur road. The inscription edited below is fixed in the temple of Hanumān to the right of the image. As reported by the villagers the stone bearing the inscription was found buried in the village site while digging the earth for a manure pit, about twenty years ago. It was then fixed in the Hanumān temple where it now stands.

The writing is damaged in places and this makes the reading difficult. The inscription is written in mediaeval Kannaḍa language and alphabet. In regard to palaeography we may note that the Dravidian *r* is retained as in *mūnūṇar-olagaṇa* (l. 4), *aru-gayi* (l. 9) and *aruvaṇa* (ll. 12-13). The cursive form of *v* appears in *aruvaṇav-eraḍu* (ll. 12-13). The doubling of the consonant after *r* is observed as in *Mallikārjjuna* (ll. 10-11) and *sarvvabādhā* (l. 15). The consonant is also doubled after *anusvāra*, e.g., *saṁnādhāna*- (l. 14). *S* is used for *ś* as in *saka* (l. 1); *ri* occurs in place of *ṛi* in *Bri-vā* (l. 2); initial *p* is changed to *k* as in *kaṇa* (l. 13) and *hūsi* (l. 15), but not in *paḍuvalu* (l. 11). The intervocalic *p* is changed to *v* in *aruvaṇa* (ll. 12-13). The abbreviations *Kārtti-ba* and *Bri-vā* are noteworthy. The expressions *sūlavāḷa* (l. 7) and *hiṭṭa hūsi* (ll. 14-15) (having smeared with flour) are of lexical interest. The former may stand for *sūlāyṭa* in the sense of a 'herald'. The context in which the latter is placed seems to suggest that it may have been used to denote a cognate custom which normally finds its expression in the familiar phrase *dhārāpūrvakaṁ māḍi*, i.e., 'by pouring water'.

The epigraph commences with the expression *svasti* and cites the date Śaka 1147, Pārthiva, Kārttika ba. 11, Thursday. This date regularly corresponds to October 30, 1225 A.C. It then refers to the reign of the **Dēvagiri Yādava king Simhana**. As no regnal year of the ruler is mentioned, the date is of no special interest. Several inscriptions of this king in the Athni taluk and bordering areas have been found, for instance, at Kokaṭnūr,<sup>5</sup> Hire-Paḍasalagi,<sup>6</sup> Madbhāvi,<sup>7</sup> Bīllūr<sup>8</sup> and Khidrāpur.<sup>9</sup>

The charter purports to register the grant of a house and a piece of land, with certain privileges, to the carpenter Champōja in recognition of his service (the nature of which is not clear) by Virabhadra, the priest in charge of the temple of Koppanātha of Ekkañchi, Hegade Saḍayya, Sūlavāḷa

<sup>1</sup> From impressions prepared by me.

<sup>2</sup> Read *pādānām=āyu*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> The rule of *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

<sup>4</sup> Read *idaṁ=āśramam* ||

<sup>5</sup> *Karnatak Inscriptions*, Vol. II, pp. 129 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 125-26.

<sup>7</sup> Ink-impression in my collection.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *JBBRAS*, Vol. XII, pp. 7 ff.



Chaurayya, Prabhu Jakkarasa and the eight *hiṭṭus*. The village Ekañchi was a *dēvavāḍa* of the god Koppanātha at Telasaṅga included in the tract of Kaṇaṁbaḍe Three Hundred which was under the authority of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Sahadēva-Nāyaka. The gift was made in the presence of the god Kalidēva by smearing with flour.

*Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Sahadēva-Nāyaka of the present record is apparently identical with Sahadēva of the Kokaṇnūr inscription<sup>1</sup> (1235 A.C.) and Sahadēva Daṇḍanātha of the Mañkaṇi epigraph (1205 A.C.).<sup>2</sup> It is noteworthy that all these three records belong to the reign of Simhaṇa. In the Mañkaṇi inscription Sahadēva is said to be ruling over Tardavāḍi 1000; but in the Kokaṇnūr charter no definite area is assigned to him, nor does he bear a designation. Still, the latter speaks of his conquests over such far-off regions as Mālava, Maleyāḷa and Āndhra. It may be surmised from this that by this time he had risen to a high position by dint of his prowess. In the Kokaṇnūr epigraph Nāgarasa is said to be ruling over the tract of Kaṇaṁbaḍe, implying thereby that Sahadēva exercised authority over a wider region.

The place-names mentioned in the inscription are: Kaṇaṁbaḍe Three-Hundred, Telasaṅga and Ekañchi. Of these Kaṇaṁbaḍe Three-Hundred and Telasaṅga occur in a number of inscriptions of this area. Kaṇaṁbaḍe is identified with Kanmaḍi, about 10 miles north-north-east of Telsang, in the Bijapur taluk of the Bijapur District, by Dr. Fleet.<sup>3</sup> Telasaṅga is the present Telsang in the Athni taluk, about 22 miles east of Athni. The name appears as Tiḷasaṅga, Telasaṅga, Telasaṅgava and Telasaṅga in the inscriptions of the place.<sup>4</sup> Of these, Tiḷasaṅga appears to be the older form. Ekañchi, the village where the record was found, still retains its old name in the form Ekkañchi. The inscription refers to the god Koppanātha of Ekañchi. But no such god and temple exist in this place at present. In fact, there are no ancient or mediaeval temples in the village or round about it. The Hanumān temple, where the present epigraph is kept, does no appear to be old.<sup>5</sup>

My thanks are due to Mr. P. B. Desai of the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India for having kindly revised this article.

#### TEXT<sup>6</sup>

- 1 Svasti [[\*] Śrī-Sa(Śa)ka-varshaṁ 11[4]7neya Pārtti(rthi)va-saṁvatsara[da]
- 2 Kārtti ba' 11 Bri(Bṛi) vā' śrī-Sirṁhapadēvana rā[jya]-
- 3 daṁdu śrīmanu(n)-mahāmaṇḍalēśva(śva)raṁ Sahadēva-nā-
- 4 yakaṇa-ā[va] maṇ[da]lāṁ Kaṇaṁbaḍe-mūnūra-olagaṇa
- 5 śrīmatu Telasaṅgada Koppanātha-dēvara dēvavāḍ Ekañ-
- 6 chiya Koppanātha-dēvar-āchāryya Virabhadra Hegaḍe [Sau]-
- 7 ḍayya Sūlavāḷa Chāṇ[ra]yya prabhu Ja[kka]rasa mukhya-

<sup>1</sup> *Karnatak Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 131.

<sup>2</sup> B. K. Coll., No. 264 of 1927-28.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 268 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Karnatak Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Nos. 15, 18, 21 and 27. Some old remains are scattered in the southern and south eastern side of Telsang, which merit excavation. Recently, a finely carved image of Viṣṇu, excellently preserved, was found in a field near the village while digging a pit, at about 10 feet below the surface.

<sup>5</sup> It has, however, to be noted that sculptured stones like *śaḥ* stones and hero stones, Gajalakṣmī tablet and Śiva in sitting posture, all worn out or partly mutilated, are found fixed round this temple.

<sup>6</sup> *In situ* and from ink-impressions prepared by me.

<sup>7</sup> *Kārtti ba* appears to be an abbreviation of *Kārtika bahula*.

<sup>8</sup> The abbreviation *Bri vā* stands for *Bṛihaspativāra*.

- 8 veṁṭu-ḥiṭu(ttu) sthāna-mānya-sahitav-āgi baḍa-  
 9 gi Champōjage koṭṭa maney-aṅu-gayi []  
 10 Mallikārjjuna-dēvara maneyim mūḍalu [keyi] [\*] Mallikā-  
 11 rjjuna-dēvara keyim paḍuvalu Nāgāḷa-Bijavāḷa bīḷa-  
 12 bhūmiya mettumgeyiy-āgi koṭṭar-ā-aṅuva-  
 13 ṇav-eraḍu haṇa [\*] Aramaneya . . rada[li] bhōgada  
 14 kelasa māḍuvanu [\*] Śrī-Kalidēvara samnnidhānadali hiṭṭa  
 15 hūsi koṭṭaru sarvva-bādha(dhā)-parihāra-  
 16 v-āgi [\*] Sukhadim̐d-irppanu [\*] Maṅgaḷa mahā-śrī-śrī [||\*]

## No. 14—KOTTURU INSCRIPTION OF CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA; YEAR 4

(1 Plate)

P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

This inscription<sup>1</sup> was copied by me in the course of the epigraphical survey of the Tadpatri taluk, Anantapur District, Madras State, during the field season of 1947-48. It is incised on a coarse piece of stone (which is broken into two parts) lying in a field near the Āṇjanēya temple at Kottūru, hamlet of Brāhmaṇapalle. The stampages were taken after joining the two parts. Though partly damaged and worn out, the writing on the whole is in a fair state of preservation. I edit the record here for the first time with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The epigraph is engraved rather indifferently. To the left of the inscription proper are carved two perpendicular lines denoting the margin. The characters are Telugu-Kannāḍa of about the 8th century. The record consists of eight lines. The average size of the letters is 1.5". The medial short *i* and long *ī* are not distinguished, a circle at the top of the letter denoting both. The medial *ṛi*, which occurs only once in *prīthuvī* in line 1, is not differentiated from the sign for the subscript *r*. The *anusvāras* are not clear on the impressions, apparently due to the rough surface of the stone. The use of class nasals may be noted in the following expressions; *Vaṅganūr* in line 2, *kāviṇchī* in line 4 and *pañch-* in line 6. Duplication of *k* is denoted by a horizontal bar in the middle of the letter in the expression *Pūllamukki* in line 3. The orthographical peculiarity of doubling the consonant after *r* may be observed in the Sanskrit expressions, *varttamāna* in line 2, and *pūrvvaka* in line 5, and also in the compound *Vaṅganūr-vvishayambu* in line 2.

The language is Telugu except for the imprecatory verse at the end in Sanskrit. The word *emmadī* (line 4) seems to stand for *enbadi*. *Bhaṭṭāraḷa* (line 2) is the Telugu genitive plural form of the Sanskrit expression *Bhaṭṭāraka*.

The inscription belongs to the reign of Śrī-Prīthivīvallabha Mahārājāḍhirāja Paramēśvara Vijayāditya-Satyāśraya of the Western Chālukya dynasty of Bādāmi and is dated in his fourth regnal year. Since this king's reign commenced in 696 A.C., we may equate his 4th

<sup>1</sup> It is registered as No. 14 of the *ARIE* for 1947-48 and noticed in the year's report.



year with 699-700 A.C. At this time a Vāṇarāja was governing the Vaṅganūr *viśaya*. The object of the epigraph is to record a gift of eighty units of cultivable land as *pannāsa* in the village Peṇukapaṇṇuti by Pūllamukki Bōḷakaṇamayāru. It was made with due ceremony after the announcement of the royal order to the effect in the presence of Chappilīrāja and the residents of two villages. The donee who received the gift was Kumāraśarman of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*.

The primary interest of the epigraph lies in the fact that it is one of the few records belonging to the early part of Vijayāditya's reign. Furthermore, it is the earliest dated inscription of the king so far discovered in the Telugu country. Besides, it also affords a glimpse into the political condition of the Āndhra *dēśa* under the Chālukyas of Bādāmi and their feudatories of the Bāṇa extraction. From the provenance of the inscriptions discovered in parts of the Districts of Cuddapah, Kurnool and Anantapur and further as far as Nellore,<sup>1</sup> it is gathered that the authority of these Chālukya rulers extended over a large portion of the Āndhra country. The major part of this territorial acquisition appears to have been effected by Pulakēśin II in the course of his triumphant expeditions in the eastern and the southern quarters.<sup>2</sup> Highly interesting in this context is the information furnished by an inscription from Peddavaḍugūru<sup>3</sup> in the Gooty *taluk* of the Anantapur District, which has been assigned to the time of Pulakēśin II. The epigraph seems to indicate that the chiefs of the Bāṇa family were ruling in this area in a semi-independent position before the advent of the Chālukya conqueror who vanquished them and reduced them to subordination. Ever since that time the Bāṇas seem to have accepted the suzerainty of the Chālukyas and served them as their loyal vassals.<sup>4</sup>

The name of the Bāṇa chief who is said to be administering the area of the Vaṅganūr *viśaya*, apparently as a subordinate of Vijayāditya, is not specified in our record. From an inscription at Koṇḍupalli<sup>5</sup> in the Gooty *taluk* of the Anantapur District, dated the 23rd year of Vijayāditya, we know that Vikramāditya Bali Indra Bāṇarāja was governing the Turumara *viśaya*. It is probable that Vāṇarāja or Bāṇarāja of our epigraph is identical with the Bāṇa chief of the Koṇḍupalli inscription. But considering the diversity of regions under the authority of these chiefs and also the interval of nearly 20 years between the dates of these records, the possibility that the two might be different, though members of the same family, is not ruled out. Chappilīrāja, in whose presence the gift was made, appears to have been a local authority of some importance. The record was incised by Kañchagāla.

As for the **place-names**, the Vaṅganūr *viśaya* may be identified with the region roundabout the present-day village Vaṅganūru in the Tadpatri *taluk*.<sup>6</sup> The village Peṇukapaṇṇuti or Peṇukapaṇṇu containing the gift land might have been situated near the present-day Kottūru. The same village appears to have been referred to as Penukalapāḍu in a late inscription of the place, dated in 1514 A.C.<sup>7</sup> It seems to have been wiped out of existence subsequently.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Madras Epigraphical Reports*, 1904, para. 16; 1906, para. 40; 1921, paras. 1-2; 1934, para. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXIX (1951), pp. 161-62.

<sup>3</sup> *SIH*, Vol. IX, pt. I, No. 46.

<sup>4</sup> Compare *Journal of Indian History* (op. cit.), p. 162. We may incidentally note that a family of chiefs who called themselves 'the Bāṇas of Khāṇḍavamaṇḍala' has been discovered by the author during his explorations in the Hyderabad State. They were ruling as the feudatories of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa in the 11th and 12th centuries in the vicinity of Malkhēd in the Gulbarga District; see *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. XXI, pp. 98 ff. It is of interest also to note that a princess of the Hebbāṇa or Perbāṇa family, by name Dēvalabbe, figures as a donor in an inscription at Lakkunḍi, Gadag *taluk*, Dharwar District; B. K. Coll., No. 47 of 1926-27.

<sup>5</sup> *SIH*, Vol. X, No. 23.

<sup>6</sup> Vaṅganūru has yielded two inscriptions of later times, one of the Vijayanagara king Vijaya-Bukka Mahārāja and another of Śaka 1429, Prabhava (=1507 A.C.); *ARIE* for 1950-51, Appendix B, Nos. 202 and 201 respectively.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, for 1947-48, Appendix B, No. 13.

<sup>8</sup> It is worthy of note that all the antiquities of the place were found near modern Kottūru only.





KOTTURU INSCRIPTION OF CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA; YEAR 4



SCALE: THREE-SIXTEENTHS

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti [I\*] Śrī-Vijayāditya-satyāśraya-śrī-prithuvīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-
- 2 bhaṭṭāra[la]-vijaya-rājya-sarivatsarambu nālugu varttamānāmbugā[nu] Vāṇarājul  
Vaṇṇanūr-vvishaya[m]bu ēla[n]
- 3 Chappi[e[nru]]<sup>2</sup>-rājula samakshambuna Pūllamukki Bōlakapaṁmayāru Peṇukapaṇuti-pule[m]-  
buna rā[cha]....
- 4 e[mbha]di ma<sup>3</sup>.... pannāsa rājaśrāvitaṁ kāviṇchi ichchiri [I\*] Bhāradvāja-sagōtra[m]buna  
Uñcha<sup>4</sup>.....
- 5 Kumāraśa[rm]nā[riki] udakapūrvva[ñkē]si<sup>5</sup> ichchiri [I\*] Bhōga-vṛiddhi-kā[mani] enragoṭṭu-  
konṛūri mu.....
- 6 koṇṇā[rlu] inu[vū]ri [sā]kshigānu ichchinadi [I\*] Dēniki vakra[m]bu vachchūvāru  
pañcha-mahāpāta.....
- 7 ka[ngāḍe] peḍuṅku pū ... di [I\*] [Sva]dattā[m=pa]radattām = vā(ttāmvā) yō harētī(ta) vasu-  
[m]dharām shashtim varshasaha].....
- 8 [jā]yatē krimiḥ [I] Vipra [si]..tu..Ka[n̄cha]gārlu koṭṭiri [I\*]

No. 15—COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF KADAMBA TRIBHUVANAMALLA ; SAKA 1028

(1 Plate)

P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

The existence of a few sets of copper-plate records<sup>1</sup> in the possession of a respectable gentleman in the western part of the Dekkan was reported to the Government Epigraphist for India. Proceeding on this information photographs of these inscriptions were secured in November 1949. One of them is the present charter,<sup>2</sup> which I edit here with the kind permission of the above authority.

The set consists of **three** plates, each measuring approximately 9 inches long and 6 inches broad. They are strung on a ring the ends of which are fixed into the bottom of a worn-out seal which seems to contain the figure of a lion and a legend which cannot be read. The rims of the plates are raised to protect the writing which is well-preserved. The inner sides of the first and

<sup>1</sup> From impressions.

<sup>2</sup> The engraving of this letter is rather peculiar. Chappi seems to be the name of the chief. Compare the place-name Chirppuli in another Bāga inscription; *SII*, Vol. IX, pt. I, No. 1.

<sup>3</sup> This word might be *marutu* or some similar expression, the latter part of which is damaged.

<sup>4</sup> This expression might be Uñcharu or Uñchari, probably denoting a place. The expressions Uñcharu and Uñchar are met with in another Bāga record of the same area; *SII*, Vol. IX, pt. I, No. 47.

<sup>5</sup> Read -*pūrvvakam chēsi*.

<sup>6</sup> Some of these records are fairly early and highly interesting. They have been noticed briefly in this journal; see above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 338 ff.

<sup>7</sup> It is registered as No. 55 of 1949-50 of the copper-plate collection of the office of the Govt. Epigraphist for India. This inscription is published without plates by Mr. G. H. Khare in the *Bhārata Itihāsa Samiti* *Maṇḍala Quarterly*, Vol. XXXI, No. 4, pp. 45 ff.



the third plate and both sides of the second plate are engraved. The record comprises 47 lines and these are distributed as follows: 12 each on the first three sides and the remaining 11 on the fourth.

The characters are Nāgarī of the 11th century. A characteristic feature of the writing worthy of notice is that a slight vertical stroke looking like a hook is attached to the left of the top line of almost all letters. The hook is placed on both sides of the letters *k* and *j* (line 2) and *u* (line 25). Another tendency which is found in other inscriptions also of this period is the insertion of a vertical stroke with a slanting bar attached towards the right at the end of some lines (lines 2, 5, 22, etc.). This was meant to serve, it seems, the dual purpose of filling in the small gap as well as indicating the incompleteness of the last word. The form of initial *i* in lines 23 and 33 is worth noting. It is made up of two dots at the top subscribed by the sign for medial *u*. *Prish-ṭhamātrās* are often used to denote medial *ē*, *ai*, *ō* and *au*. The *avagraha* sign is consistently omitted. *V* is generally substituted for *b* and *s* is written for *ś* occasionally; for instance, *vra(bra)hmā-* (l. 1), *kadamva(mba)* (l. 2), *sriḥ (śriḥ)* (l. 1), *sā(śā)ntibhaṭṭō-* (l. 17). *Anusvāra* at the end of a word is combined and involved into *sandhi* with the following *akshara*; e.g., *dēvan=tatō* (line 7), *rājñān=dharmmā-* (line 11). The consonant following *r* is generally doubled; e.g., *nirjjitya* (line 6). The last two lines betray a different hand and they were probably engraved some time later than the main record.

The language is Sanskrit and the composition in verse throughout. The verses are 47 in all and all of them, with the exception of the 43rd which occurs in the usual imprecatory portion, are in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre. The record contains a few mistakes of spelling and grammar, which have been corrected in the body of the text or in the footnotes.

The inscription opens with the auspicious symbol and the syllable *śriḥ*. The first verse invokes god Viṣṇu. The second verse concisely recounts the birth of Trilōchana (i.e., Three-eyed) Kadamba, the progenitor of the Kadamba family, from the heroic fervour (*vīra-rasa*) of the god Śiva when he won a victory over Tripura. This account differs in certain respects from the familiar version according to which Trilōchana Kadamba sprang from a drop of sweat of Śiva falling on the earth under a *kadamba* tree.<sup>1</sup> Verses 3-5 describe the three generations of Kadamba rulers, Shashṭha, his son Jayakōśin and grandson Tribhuvanamalla, along with the succession of their subordinate officials, viz., Kālapa, his son Nāgaṇa and grandson Kēlima. Kēlima bore the title *Gaṇḍagōpāla*. He vanquished the enemies on the fields of battle and, favoured by his master, founded charitable institutions at (the city of) Gōpaka. He constructed a tank called Gaṇḍagōpāla and established a well-protected settlement of the Brāhmaṇas (*Brahmapurī*) (verses 6-7). Verses 8-21 contain details regarding the twelve families of the Brāhmaṇas who were invited to reside in the new settlement. On Śaka 1028, Vyaya, Phālguna śu. 13, Thursday, corresponding to February 7, 1107 A. C., when king Tribhuvanamalla was ruling the kingdom from Gōpaka, the pious minded Kēlivarmā, i.e., Kēlima, made several benefactions in favour of the Brāhmaṇas hailing from different parts of the country, in the presence of the king along with his priest, the chief minister and the representatives of the towns and rural areas (*paura-jānapada*) (verses 22-24). Verses 25-36 describe in detail the various fields, gardens and houses purchased by Kēlima in different places in the Goa region for the maintenance of the Brāhmaṇas. Verses 37-40 specify the rules formulated by Kēlima for the equitable enjoyment of the properties by the beneficiaries and their successors and the fines enjoined upon their violators. Then follow the usual imprecatory verses (43-45). The charter was drafted by the poet [Pa]-dmēyabhaṭṭa who was the royal preceptor (verse 46). Verses 41-42 and 47 collectively speak of a temple of Bhārati or Vāgdēvi (i.e., Goddess of Speech) and provision made therein for religious discourses. A piece of land was granted to the goddess and her worshipper received a house.

<sup>1</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 566.



The epigraph belongs to the Goa branch of the later Kadamba family and is the first copper-plate record so far known, issued by king Tribhuvanamalla whose identity we shall consider presently. Before doing this it would be useful to take into account some new facts brought to light by recent epigraphical discoveries concerning some of the early members of this family.

The "tiger-slayer" Gūhalla, Gūhala or Gūvala I appears to be the real founder of the Goa branch of the Kadambas, though the Marcella plates seem to furnish the names of a few more ancestors of the family.<sup>1</sup> For Gūhala I and his son and successor Shashṭha I we have no reliable contemporary records.<sup>2</sup> In the *Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy* for the years 1939-40 to 1942-43 a number of inscriptions from Sōmanalli and Yasale in the Sirsi taluk, North Kanara District, have been listed.<sup>3</sup> These range in date from Śaka 891 to 915 (i.e., 969 to 992 A.C.) and refer to the rule of Chaṭṭayādēva over Banavāse Twelve-thousand and Sāntalige Thousand. As the sway of Shashṭha I of the Goa family never extended over the above territory, we have to identify Chaṭṭaya of these epigraphs with his namesake of the Hāngal branch of the Kadambas.<sup>4</sup>

Jayakēśin I and his elder son Gūhala II are represented by a good number of inscriptions.<sup>5</sup> Gūvala of the Kādarōḷi inscription of 1098 A.C., noticed by Fleet, has to be identified with Gūhala II. Jayakēśin I had a younger son named Vijayāditya,<sup>6</sup> no records of whose reign have been discovered so far. In spite of the fact that we are in possession of not less than half a dozen records testifying to the rule of Gūhala II at least from 1079 to 1125 A.C., it is rather strange to note that he is not generally mentioned in the inscriptions of Vijayāditya's son, Jayakēśin II and his successors. These might make us think that Jayakēśin I was succeeded to the kingdom by Vijayāditya who in turn by Jayakēśin II.<sup>7</sup> But the facts as revealed by contemporary records seem to be otherwise. The absence of Vijayāditya's records can be explained on the assumption that he did not rule for any considerable length of time probably on account of his premature death. On the contrary the existence of the records of his son Jayakēśin II from 1104 A.C. onwards right within the reign of Gūhala II, would indicate that the latter had no issue and that the former was associated earlier with the latter's rule.<sup>8</sup>

Reverting to our record we note that it mentions the king merely as Tribhuvanamalla which is obviously a title. That this title was borne by Gūhala II is made clear by two inscriptions

<sup>1</sup> The Panjim plates of Jayakēśin I, examined in 1951-52 by the Office of the Govt. Epigraphist for India, Murgōḍ plates of Permāḍidēva (*An. Reps. on S. I. Epigraphy*, 1939-40 to 1942-43, p. 282) and Goa plates of Shashṭhadēva II (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 289), besides others (e.g., *JBBRAS*, Vol. IX, p. 266), commence the genealogy from Gūhala only. Basing his interpretation on the faulty reading of the Marcella plates which require to be edited more scientifically, Prof. G. M. Moraes thinks that this Gūhala was preceded by Kaptākāchārya, Nāgavarmā, Gūhala I and Shashṭha I. A careful examination of the published text and translation of this record (*Kadamba Kula*, App. III, No. 1) will make one entertain genuine doubts regarding his deductions. Consequently his genealogy (op. cit., facing p. 167) seems to represent one Gūhala and one Shashṭha in excess.

<sup>2</sup> The earlier portion of the Gudikatti inscription may be assigned to Shashṭha I, but its genuineness is not beyond question; see *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 567.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix E, Nos. 66, 67, 84 and 86-91.

<sup>4</sup> Compare *Kadamba Kula*, pp. 95 ff.; *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, pp. 560-61. Prof. Moraes' assumption that *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 184 furnishes the earliest date in 980 A.C. for Chaṭṭaya of the Hāngal family is not free from doubt, for the date and the chief's name are both missing therein. It is now seen that the Sōmanalli inscription of 969 A.C. is the earliest authentic epigraph so far known mentioning this chief; see *An. Reps.* etc. (op. cit.), App. E. No. 69. The name Shashṭha is changed to Chaṭṭa in Kannaḍa usage.

<sup>5</sup> *SII*, Vol. XI, part ii, Intro. p. iii.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XIII, p. 299.

<sup>7</sup> See for instance *JBBRAS*, Vol. IX, pp. 272-73 and 282-83; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 289. The correct position of Gūhala II in the genealogical account of the family is revealed by the Narēndra inscription; see above, Vol. XIII, p. 299.

<sup>8</sup> *SII*, Vol. XI, part ii, Intro. p. iii.



from Mugad.<sup>1</sup> This fact combined with the date which falls within the reign of Gūhala II, as seen above, leaves no doubt in regard to the identity of this Tribhuvanamalla who must be none else than the said Kadamba ruler.

An inscription at Maḍaki Honnaḷli in the Kalghatgi taluk, Dharwar District, copied by me in 1951-52, introduces a Kadamba chief named Śivachitta-Vira-Permāḍi and refers to his rule over Koṅkapa nine-hundred and Halasige twelve-thousand from his headquarters Chandrāpura. It bears a date in Śaka 1018, Dhātu, corresponding to 1096 A. C. This prince might be Gūhala II as suggested by the date and the title Permāḍi which is often found in association with Tribhuvanamalla.<sup>2</sup> It may now be observed that the well-known surname Śivachitta Permāḍi of Jayakēśin II's elder son was not an innovation but an adoption after that of his senior grandfather Gūhala II.<sup>3</sup> In regard to Chandrāpura (or Chandrapura<sup>4</sup>) of the above epigraph, which is identical with Chandor in Salsette, we may note that it was the early headquarters of these chiefs and continued to remain so in the time of Gūhala II, although some later records incorrectly speak of even Jayakēśin I as residing in their subsequent capital at Gōpaka or Goa.<sup>5</sup>

The twelve families of Brāhmaṇas representing the donees belonged to the following *gōtras*: one family each of Śaṅkha, Bhālandana, Bhāradvāja, Bharadvāja<sup>6</sup> and Atri; two families each of Vatsa and Śaṇḍilya and three of Kauśika. The record enumerates three generations of each donee and the hereditary offices held by them, which were generally associated with the royal household, such as the Paurāṇika, astrologer, superintendent of religious affairs, priest (*purōhita*), preceptor, educational instructor and specialist in sacrificial lore (*yājñika-pravara*). Noteworthy are the attributes characterising some of them, as for instance, Divēdin, Ghaisāsa and Paṭṭavardhana.

The stipulations laid down for the enjoyment of the endowment are interesting. All the lands and houses were to be treated as the common property and the income accruing therefrom was to be distributed equally among the twelve families. The seller and purchaser of a part of it were liable to a fine of five-hundred (coins). A member was entitled to his share so long as he remained in the settlement. In case he left the place his portion was to be enjoyed by the rest; and the deserter was liable to a fine, if he claimed his share. A new person could be accommodated in the vacant house with the consent of all the residents in general and the neighbour in particular. Violation of this rule entailed punishment.

The term *Brihat-Bhairava-Gadyāṇa* occurring in line 30 is of particular interest to the students of numismatics. Two similar terms *Bhairava-Nishka* and *Bhairava-Gadyāṇa* are met with in lines 41-42 of the Panjim plates of Jayakēśin I.<sup>7</sup> The denominations *nishka* and *gadyāṇa* are used here to denote a gold coin in general.<sup>8</sup> From the discovery of gold coins bearing the legend *Malege Bhairava* in the Goa territory and also from the same legend found on the seal of the above-mentioned copper-plates, we can safely conclude that these were issued by the Kadamba rulers of

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Nos. 177 and 211.

<sup>2</sup> The title *Tribhuvanamalla* and the surname *Permāḍi* are both associated with Chālukya Vikramāditya VI and Gūhala II seems to have assumed them after his suzerain.

<sup>3</sup> Gūhala is also mentioned as Gōpāla in an inscription from the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay; *ASR*, 1936-37, p. 99. This shows that Gūhala and Gūvala are both derived from the Sanskrit Gōpāla. Gōpaka or Goa, the headquarters of these chiefs, is also reminiscent of the Puranic name.

<sup>4</sup> The Siroda plates of Dēvarāja mention a Chandrapura (or Chandraūra) as his capital (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 145). It is not unlikely that this Chandrapura and the Chandrāpura of the Maḍaki Honnaḷli epigraph are the same. If this be correct, it will take the antiquity of the place a few centuries earlier.

<sup>5</sup> *Kadamba Kula*, pp. 168-69, 179 and 332.

<sup>6</sup> Bharadvāja and Bhāradvāja are apparently considered as different *gōtras*; cf. *Gōtṛapṛavaranibandha-kadamba*, pp. 40 and 51.

<sup>7</sup> 1951-52 collection of the G. E.'s office; *BISMQ* (op. cit.), Vol. XXXI, No. 4, p. 38.

<sup>8</sup> D. R. Bhandarkar, *Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics*, pp. 181-82; above, Vol. XXVII, p. 10.




Goa.<sup>1</sup> The *Bṛihat-Bhairava-Gadyāṇa* of the present charter must therefore be a gold coin of the *Bhairava* category, bigger in size than the normal one.

Of lexical interest is the word *pāṅga* in line 27. It occurs in a similar context in the Panjim plates of Jayakēśin I (line 42). In this record it is stated that the donee Chhaḍama was to pay as *pāṅga* a fixed amount every year for the village Laghumōrambikā which he received as gift from the king. The expression is not found in Sanskrit or Prakrit. It may, however, be connected with the Kannaḍa *paṅgu* meaning 'obligation' or 'indebtedness'. This suggestion is supported by the context which shows that the ground for the collection of *pāṅga* or fee was obligation.<sup>2</sup> The word has passed into the Marāṭhī language and is used in expressions like *pāṅga phēḍaṇēm* (to discharge the debt).

Adverting to the large number of **place names** found in the record, many of them can be traced with their modified forms in the Goa region; for instance, Gōpaka or Gōva (lines 6, 22, 24) is Goa, Paḥjaṇikhali (line 3) is Panjim, Shaṭṣhaṣṭi (line 32) is identical with Salsette and Maṭhagrāma (line 46) is Margaon.<sup>3</sup>

### TEXT<sup>4</sup>

#### First Plate

- 1 Ōm<sup>5</sup> śrīḥ(śrīḥ | ) Śriyaḥ patiḥ śriyē bhūyād=bhavatām bhakti-bhāvitaḥ | Vra(Bra)hmādi-sura-samūdōhō yan-manīṣhā-vijrīm̐bhitaṁ (tam) || [1\*] Tripu[ra]m̐
- 2 jayataḥ Śambhōr=abhūd=vīra-rasāt=pumān | Tritō(15)chana-Kadamv-ā(mb-ā)khyāḥ kad-amva(mba)-taru-samśrayāt || [2\*] Tad-anvayē=bhūt=pra-
- 3 khyātāḥ Shashṭha-rājō nṛip-āgrāṇiḥ | grāmē Paḥjaṇikhaly-ākhyē tad-bhṛityaḥ Kālapō=py-abhūt || [3\*] Jajñē Shashṭha-
- 4 nṛipāt=khyātō Jayakēśi(śi) jay-aika-bhūḥ | tad-rājya-dhuryō bhṛityō=bhūn=Nāgānaḥ<sup>6</sup> Kālap-ātmajaḥ || [4\*] Tasmān=nṛipāt=Tri-
- 5 bhuvanamallō nām=ōkta-vikramaḥ | tad-bhṛityō Gaṇḍagōpāla-Kēlimō Nāgaṇād=abhūt || [5\*] Anēkaśō=ti-duḥ-
- 6 sād(hā)n=ripūn=nirjitya saṁgarē | patyuh prasādād=akarōt=pūrttān=dharmmā[m̐]s=tu Gō-pakē || [6\*] Tadāga[m̐] Gaṇḍa-
- 7 gōpālādēvan=ta[t-sē]tu-sa[m̐]śritaṁ | chakrē vra(bra)hmapurī[m̐] ramya-harmmyām prākāra-maṇḍitām || [7\*]  ||
- 8 Grāmāt=Kisūrād=Anṇayya-bhaṭṭō=smāt=Pommaṇ-āryakaḥ | Sōm-āryō=smād=atharvāṇō mukhyaḥ śāntika-pausṭi[kē] || [8\*]
- 9 Tach-ehhākhō Mā[dha]v-āryō=smin=Rēvadāsa(sō) vu(bu)dhas=tataḥ | tasmāj=Jayanta-bhaṭṭō=bhūd=rājñām Paurāṇikās=tv-amī || [9\*] Grā-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. IX, pp. 88-89. For the use of the word *niśka* in the Kadamba coinage, see *ibid.*, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> I have interpreted the expression *pāṅga* in a different way elsewhere; Cf. *Myth. Soc. Journ.*, Vol. XLV p. 2 f. On further consideration I would rather discard that interpretation in favour of the above.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Khare has made a careful study of the place-names and suggested their identifications in detail; see *BISMQ* (op. cit.), pp. 51-52.

<sup>4</sup> From photographs.

<sup>5</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>6</sup> This name is spelt as Nāgaṇa in the next verse, which seems to be the correct form.



- 10 mād=Āmvra(mra)vaṇāt=Sāvīṇāryō-smāt-sā(ch=chhā)nta-daivavit | tasmān=Mayyāla-daivajñō  
rājñām sā[m\*]vatsarās=tv=amī || [10\*] Vē-
- 11 ragrāmāt=Sōma-bhaṭṭas=tasmān=Mhālayya-dikshitaḥ | tasmā[d=\*] Dvivēd=Īśvar-āryō rājñān=  
dharmm-ādhikāriṇaḥ || [11\*] Pa-
- 12 ramēśvara-sa[m\*]bhūtād=Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇād=abhūt | Kēśav-āryō=tha Sōm-āryō bhūpā-  
nām guravas=tv=amī || [12\*] Grāmāt=Pi-

## Second Plate ; First Side

- 13 <sup>1</sup>[tpi]riyalād=Ajjam-āryō-smān=Nāga-daivavit | tasmād=Vāmana-bhaṭṭō=bhūd=rājñām vaidy-  
āśvavādinah || [13\*] Grāmāt=Si-
- 14 rūrāt=Tikkayya-ghaisāsād=Vāman-āryakaḥ | tasmād=Ajjama-bhaṭṭō=bhūd=rājñām=ētē pur-  
ōhitāḥ || [14\*] Kulatth[ā]-
- 15 lyām Mhālap-āryas=tasmān=Nārāyaṇ-āryakaḥ | tasmān=Mhālayya-vid=rājñām vidyāyām  
guravas=tv=amī || [15\*] Tatr=aiva Mhā-
- 16 lap-āryō=nyas=tasmād=Bhaṭṭas=Trivikramaḥ | tasmān=Nārāyaṇ-āryō=mī rājñān=dharmm-ā-  
dhikāriṇaḥ || [16\*] Grāmāt=Ka-
- 17 pilakād=Vāsal-āryād=Vātayya-vēdavit | tasmād=Ajjala-ghaisāsō Vēdē=mī paṭṭavarddha-  
nāḥ || [17\*] Tatr=aiva Sā(Sā)nt[i-bha]-
- 18 ṭṭō=nyas=tasmāt=Pattayya-vēdavit | tasmād=Gōvinda-kramavid=yajvanām paṭṭavardd-  
hanāḥ || [18\*] Tatr=aiva Vēda-
- 19 dvaya-vid=Gōvindād=Viṣṇu-panḍitaḥ | tasmād=Gōvinḍa-dvivēdī yājñika-pravarās=tv=  
amī || [19\*] Śamkhō
- 20 Bhāla[m\*]danaś=ch=aiva Bhāradvājō=tha Kauśikau<sup>2</sup> | Bharadvājō=tha Vatsaś=cha Śāṁḍi-  
lyau dva(Va)tsa-jā[s=tra]yaḥ || [20\*] Kauśi-
- 21 kō=trir=amūny=ēśhām gōtrāṇi dvādaśa kra[mā]t ||<sup>3</sup> [21\*] Śākē varsha-sahasrē=shṭāvimśatyā  
samnyutē Vyayē | Varshē Phālgū-
- 22 na-śuddhāyām Trayōdaśyām Gurōr=dinē || [22\*] Gōpaka-sthē Tribhuvanamallē rājyam  
praśāsa(sa)ti | Svāmi-kārāpaka
- 23 iṇa Kēlivarmā tu da(dha)rmmadhīḥ || [23\*] Purō[hi]ta-mahāmātya-svāmi-bhūpāla-  
sannidhau | nānā-dēśa-samāyāta-
- 24 Vṛā(Bṛā)hmaṇān=sannidhāpya cha || [24\*] paura-jānapad-ānanta-nāgarān=sannidhāpya  
cha | Gōvadiv-ābhi[dhē] dēśē grāmē Raṭṭhōḍa-

## Second Plate ; Second Side

- 25 Nēurē | Pūgīvanam śatād=Dōvāt-kṛtvā prādān=namasyakam (kam) || [25\*]<sup>4</sup> Kulatthāly-  
udbhavān=Mālapayyāt=Sāmanta-putrakāt |
- 26 <sup>5</sup>[Pa]la-grāmē tv=Asaul=iti śatāt-kṛtvā namasyakam || [26\*] Tad-grāmāt=Sōnnāra[jva]-  
vī-Chimchakhaṇḍ=iti pāṇam | śatā-

<sup>1</sup> The *akshara tpi* is engraved again inadvertently. So the place name must be Piriya only.

<sup>2</sup> This *akshara* appears to have been engraved as *kaḥ* first and later corrected to *kau*.

<sup>3</sup> The two strokes here seem to denote the end of the verse which, however, contains only two *pādas*.

<sup>4</sup> The deficiency in verse 21 is made good by allotting six *pādas* to this verse.

<sup>5</sup> The letter *pa* looks like *ē*.



i.

2 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति ॥  
 ४ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति ॥  
 ६ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति ॥  
 ८ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति ॥  
 १० ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति ॥  
 १२ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति ॥

ii.a.

१४ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति ॥  
 १६ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति ॥  
 १८ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति ॥  
 २० ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति ॥  
 २२ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति ॥  
 २४ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति ॥




26 नेउरेवेगीवनेतदेवीकीवपादमयका॥कुलवोचुववाभातपय्यासमनुपुतका  
 पतयामितिसातीतिपताकीवनमयका॥वृद्धमासिअपुवोवरवृष्टीतपातेपापता  
 28 कीवदोसवमतयाजादेवकृतादसहुरडसउय्युमाभुसुसुकावमातेसत  
 कावलासमहिसय्यादिसुका॥सुतपय्यतिःकीवसापटमकरददाकीतापत्रभस  
 30 जायापतादमाभमयका॥पत्रिपवापताकीतापत्रयुतनापरापत्रयुअतिक  
 यायातिपवापतापरा॥इहाहुरवगयापपरकचतततभपवपतिरयसा  
 32 सीसापटममयका॥ननपय्याभमयवसदुसकाककयात्रकीतनायुने  
 मातेकीवपावकुतशित॥षडषडपडाइमाकुदतदादमाविसगशतमकोटनकम  
 34 तासापटमकरददा॥तइराउमासपय्यावृष्टीदसुकाप्रसदाइशताकीवसापट  
 ताकलिवमादयातानिमासिअनपुतापतातसमानपय्यावदयावदयतारकासम  
 36 मयकृतापनकनतादयततदा॥ननिसयातामगमिवसावरपसदासावरपता

38 क्रितापावृष्टापादमविकासासर्वयवतदंशोपुहकृतापिदुसकासासमयुद्धम  
 युक्रितकावहतिदावृष्टाभिसासुवगमशीयुद्धाडकापदावकनायुमाभिकयुद्ध  
 40 मविष्ठापितायामसावसत्राणवृष्टमसयायामतदुद्धावृष्टासुवगपुमावतदत  
 42 मयपरापतामसदाकमटाविवमनजापय्यायानमपतीवृष्टातस्वकासावतायुद्ध  
 ककसहृदतममवतपदमनराकादंशोपुहकृतासासायामवसासुवपापाम  
 44 मयवृष्टासुदमपरदतावासादरतवपुनराषडषडसदसाणितवृष्टाडा  
 46 तदापस्माकृतरीराअमुसाणकतानवकनतिनासासाददसदसतसतनातत  
 तिमनयापाटसंतुता॥



- 27 t=krītvā dadau sarvvam=etat=pāṅg-ādi-varjjitam || [27\*] Dēśe=nturaja-samjñē=nyad-grāmān=Maḍaka-samjñakāt | Gālīsanta-
- 28 ka-Vellōra-Ma[jhi]khaṇḍ-ādi-samjñakam || [28\*] Kahētra[m\*] pañcha-śataiḥ krītvā s-āghāṭam=akaram dadau | krītā pattih [Ka]raḥ-
- 29 jālyām śatād=grāmān=namasyakām(n) || [29\*] Pattih pañchāśatā krītā Pattayya-suta-Nāraṇāt | Pattayya-suta-Tikka-
- 30 yyāt=pattih pañchāśat=āparā || [30\*] Vri(Bri)had-Bhairava-gadyāṇa-pañchakam cha śatāt=tataḥ | evam patti-trayam prā-
- 31 dāt=s-āghāṭam sa-namasyakam (kam) || [31\*] Nannapayyan=namasyam cha Hoḍḍakhajjaṇakam krayāt | kritam Nāyyēna ta-
- 32 smāt=tat=krītvā prādāch=chhatais=(tribhiḥ || [32\*] Shaṭṣhashṭi-dēśajād-grāmā Ku(t=Ku)-ḍattary-āhvayāt=tribhiḥ | śataiḥ Kōmḍhalakam kri-
- 33 tvā s-āghāṭam=akaram dadau || [33] Tad-dēśa-Rāigrāmāt=sa Payyāvayy-ādi-samjñakam (kam) | kshētra[m] s-ārdḍha-śatāt=krītvā s-āghāṭa-
- 34 m=akaram dadau || [34\*] Tad-gōtrēbhyō dvij-āgrēbhyō dvādaśabhyah kramād=asau | prakshālyā charaṇa-dvamdva[m\*] dhdhā(dhā)rāpūrvva[m] kriyā-yu-
- 35 tam (tam) || [35\*] Kēlivarmā dadau tāni kshētr-ōdyāna-grihāpi cha | tat-santān-ōpabbhōgārtham yāvad-ā-chamdra-tārakam (kam) || [36\*] Sama-
- 36 yaś=cha kṛitas=tēna kshētra-gēh-āśri(śri)tas=tadā | phalam vibhajya bhōktavyam kshētvam(tram) sādḥaraṇam sadā || [37\*] Sādḥaraṇatvā-

Third Plate

- 37 t=kshētrāṇām grihāṇām dāma(na)-vikrayau | kurvvan=pañchaśatam daṁḍyō grihpaṇ-krētā=pi daṁḍa-bhāk || [38\*] Bhāga-grihē vasa-
- 38 n=bhu[m\*]ktē tyaktvā gachhati yō griha[m\*] | sthitās=tad-bhāgam=asniyu[r\*]=ddaṁḍyō [bhu]kt-āmśa-yāchakaḥ || [39\*] Asvāmika-griha(hē)
- 39 sarvvaiḥ sthāpitō=bhyāgatō vasēt | pārśvāstha-griha-sammatyā śatan=daṁḍyō=nyathā vasan | [40\*] Gaṇḍagōpālādēva-
- 40 sya paritrāṇa-gataiḥ sa[dā] | kār[ya]n=dēva-dhanēn=āpi vyākhyānam Bhāratī-grihē || [41\*] Lēkhak-āchārya-Vāgdēvi-pū-
- 41 jakasya griha-traya[m] | samarya(ya)m laṁghayann=ēnam rājñā daruḍyō=shtakam śata-[m\*] || [42\*] Sāmānyō=yam dharmmē(mma)-sētur=nṛipāṇā[m\*] kā-
- 42 lē kālē pālaniyō bhavadbhiḥ | sarvvān=ētān=bhāvinaḥ pāṛthiv-ēndrān=bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē
- 43 Rāmachandraḥ || [43\*] Sva-dattā[m\*] paradantā(ttā)m vā yō harēta vasuna(ndha)rām (rām) | shashṭir=vvarsha-sahasrāpi viśṭhāyām jā-
- 44 yatē kṛimiḥ || [44\*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ saagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya
- 45 tadā phalam (lam) || [45\*] Kṛitam śri-rā[ja]-guruṇā kavīnāṁ chakra[va]rttinā | śrīmat-[Pa]dmēyabhāṭṭēna śāśa(sa)nam lalit-ā-
- 46 ksharam || [46\*]  || Sōlēgh[r]-iti Maṭhagrāmā[t\*] kshētram krītvā dadāv=asau [47\*] sa-(śa)ta-dvayēna Bhāra-
- 47 tyai namasy-āghāṭa-samyutam(tam) || [47\*]



## No. 16—INSCRIPTIONS FROM BIHAR

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

In the course of my tour in parts of Bihar in February 1954, I examined and copied a number of new inscriptions, some of which are edited in the following pages.

A. *Sanokhār Inscription of Ballālasēna ; Regnal Year 9*

While camping at Colgong (Kahalgāon) about 20 miles from the city of Bhāgalpur in the District of that name, I arranged for a trip to a locality called Belnigārh lying about 18 miles away in the Godda Subdivision of the Santal Parganas District, with the assistance of Mr. Bholanath Mukherjee of Colgong, and Dr. Lakshmikanta Misra and Mr. Janakinath Misra of Kasāī (near Colgong). The village of *Sanokhār*, also called *Sanokhār Bazār*, lies on the way from Colgong to Belnigārh at a distance of about 10 miles from Colgong. At *Sanokhār* I learnt that sometime back a few images had been discovered there from the bed of an old tank in the course of its re-excavation. I was also told that a bronze or *ashṭa-dhātu* image thus discovered was found under a metal cover bearing an inscription and that arrangements had been made for preserving these two objects in the local temple. Mr. Gangaprasad Tekariwala of *Sanokhār* kindly took me to the temple and showed me the image and the inscribed cover. The image was found to be that of the Sun-god of the usual North Indian type. The cover was completely coated with thick verdigris and it was impossible to read the inscription without cleaning it properly. With some difficulty I managed to secure the inscribed cover on loan. My thanks are due to the said gentlemen for their kindness in thus offering me an opportunity to examine the inscription which, when cleaned and deciphered later, proved to be a record of considerable interest to the student of East Indian history.

The cover, which is made of copper, is hollow and cylindrically shaped in the form of a *Śiva-liṅga* on a circular pedestal. The thickness of the metal sheets used is about  $\frac{1}{16}$  inch. The height of the cover is  $12\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The circumference of its central part, which has a diameter of 10 inches, is 32 inches while the circular pedestal has a circumference of 45 inches and a diameter of 14 inches. The whole cover is made up of three separate parts which are rivetted one to the other from above by means of small copper bolts. On the outer side of the cover, both on the top and around the cylindrical portion, are found decorative designs of which those at the top are moulded and those on the body are engraved. The top part is moulded in the form of an expanded eight-petalled lotus with a circular hole in the centre about 1 inch in diameter. Around the outer periphery of the lotus are moulded four rows of decorative designs running along the circumference. The upper part of the cylindrical section is covered with decorations engraved in a row that runs similarly along the circumference. Below this is cut at one place an aperture,  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inches by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches, in the shape of the *vrindā-vana* (a raised mound of earth to plant and preserve the holy basil) as usually made in South India. This hole is flanked by engraved floral designs. A lotus is carved as emanating from the top centre of the aperture and there is another flower engraved above it. Below the aperture are engraved, in one line, seven running horses which clearly associate the cover with the Sun-god. It may be noticed in this connection that such ornamental shelters are now often used in South India as covers of the *Śiva-liṅga*.<sup>1</sup> On that side of the circular pedestal which is opposite the part of the covering that has the aperture, an inscription is engraved in a single line running along the circumference. The length of the line is about 13 inches. The weight of the inscribed cover is 260 *tolas*.

<sup>1</sup> The practice is also prevalent in North India. The *Śiva-liṅga* in the Bihārēśvara temple at Sajetī (Ghatampur Tahsil, Kanpur District, U.P.) is known to be usually kept under an inscribed copper cover.



The characters of the inscription belong to the Gaudīya alphabet and closely resemble the script used in East Indian records of about the twelfth century A.D. such as those of the Sēnas of Bengal and the later Pālas of Bengal and Bihār. The only point of palaeographical interest in the epigraph is that the letter *l* has two different forms exactly as in records like the Naulāgarh inscription<sup>1</sup> of Vigraphapāla. The language is corrupt Sanskrit as in numerous other records, especially private ones, discovered in different parts of Bihār.<sup>2</sup> The orthography of the inscription under study also resembles that of many other contemporary records from Bihār in exhibiting considerable influence of the East Indian pronunciation.<sup>3</sup>

The record, like the grants of the Pālas and Sēnas, is not dated according to any era. In the corrupt language of the inscription, its date is quoted as *paramēsara-ity-ādi-śrī-Valalāsēna-samata* 9. In this passage *paramēsara-ity-ādi* stands for Sanskrit *paramēśvar-ēty-ādi*.<sup>4</sup> We know that the imperial title *Paramēśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja* or *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara*<sup>5</sup> was often condensed in the medieval records, especially of Eastern India, to *Paramēśvar-ētyādi-rāj-āvali-pūrvavat*<sup>6</sup> or *Paramabhaṭṭārak-ēty-ādi-rāj-āvali-pūrvavat*.<sup>7</sup> Sometimes the word *pūrvaka* was used in the place of *pūrvavat* while at times the expression was further contracted by omitting a word or two from the end. There is no doubt that *Paramēśvar-ēty-ādi* is a more abbreviated form of the imperial title group, exactly as *samast-ēty-ādi*<sup>8</sup> which similarly refers to the epithet *samasta-supraśasty-upēta* often noticed at the beginning of the string of imperial titles, as for instance, in the inscriptions<sup>9</sup> of the later Sēnas. The word *samata* in the passage of our inscription quoted above apparently stands for *Samvat* (i.e., *Samvatsarē*).<sup>10</sup> Thus the date quoted is the ninth regnal year of an imperial ruler named *Valalāsēna*. There can hardly be any doubt that *Valalāsēna* is a wrong spelling for *Ballālasēna*. No monarch with the peculiar name *Valalāsēna* is known to have ruled over any part of Eastern India in any period of history while the Sēna king *Ballālasēna* ruled over Bengal, and also over parts of Bihār according to traditions, in circa 1158-79 A.D.,<sup>11</sup> falling in a period to which, as noted above, the inscription under review has to be referred on palaeographical grounds. It may be pointed out that *s* for *ś* is a peculiarity of Bengali pronunciation while the typically South Indian name *Ballāla* is due to the Sēnas having migrated to Bengal from Karnaṭa, i.e., the Kannaḍa-speaking area of the Deccan. The inscription, dated in the ninth regnal year of *Valalāsēna* (*Ballālasēna*) has therefore to be assigned to a date about 1166 A.D.

<sup>1</sup> *JBRs*, Vol. XXXVII, Parts 3-4, p. 4, Plate I, No. 1. Note the different forms of *l* used in the words *pāla* and *Krimilīya* in line 1 of the epigraphic text. Cf. *JRASBL*, Vol. IV, p. 395.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 144-45; *JBRs*, op. cit., p. 10, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *JBRs*, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

<sup>4</sup> As to the change of *para* to *pra*, cf. *pī* for *pati* in an inscription from Bihar (above, Vol. XXVII, p. 144). Another inscription, examined by me at Jhāmṭā near Bihārsharif, gives the name *Dāmōdara* as *Dāmōdra*. But such contractions are quite common in the epigraphic and literary records of Orissa. Cf. Oriya *paramēśvara* in the *Madalā Pāñjī*, ed. A.B. Mahanti, p. 31, lines 11, 15, etc.

<sup>5</sup> In the charters of the East Indian monarchs of the Pāla, Sēna and other dynasties, *Paramēśvara* usually comes first; but in the grants of such imperial families as the Gāhaḍavālas we have *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* at the beginning.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. R. D. Banerji, *The Pālas of Bengal* (Mem. A.S.B., Vol. V, No. 3), p. 111, etc. For similar contractions used in the grants of the Gāhaḍavālas of the U. P., see H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, pp. 541, 545.

<sup>7</sup> R. D. Banerji, op. cit., p. 110; *JASB*, N.S., Vol. XX, p. 372; *JASL*, Vol. XVIII, p. 71, etc.

<sup>8</sup> *JASB*, N.S., Vol. XX, p. 374.

<sup>9</sup> N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 124, 136, 145.

<sup>10</sup> See *IHQ*, Vol. XXX, pp. 382 ff.

<sup>11</sup> *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, pp. 216-18.



The inscription begins with the usual symbol for *Siddham* which is followed by the passage recording the date discussed above. Next come three short passages separated from one another by double *danḍas*. The first of these passages reads *tāmvara-khōli data* and may be rendered into Sanskrit as *tāmra-khōli* (or *khōlikā*) *datā*. This speaks of the gift of a *khōli* or *khōlikā* made of copper undoubtedly referring to the cover bearing the inscription under notice. In Sanskrit the word *khōla* or *khōlaka* (of which *khōli* and *khōlikā* would be feminine forms) means 'a helmet (i.e., a cover for the head)' but not actually a 'a cover (in general)' although *khōl* is used in the sense of 'a case or cover' in both Bengali and Hindi. The second and third passages together read *bhaṭṭāraka-śrī-Damachādita-dēva-padānā || maṭha-pati-śrī-Chihōkasya*. In this *padānā* is no doubt a mistake for *pādānām*. It seems therefore that the copper cover mentioned in the first passage belonged to (i.e., was caused to be made by) the *maṭha-pati* named Chihōka and was granted in favour of the illustrious lord Damachādita. The expression *maṭha-pati* means the superintendent of a monastery or the head-priest of a temple. Damachādita seems to be a mistake for Damachāditya, although we are not sure whether even *Damachāditya*, as a name, is free from errors. There is, however, little doubt that the name refers to the image of the Sun-god of Sanokhār of which the object granted, viz., the *tāmvara-khōli*, was meant to be a cover. The image, together with its cover, seems to have been thrown into the waters of the old tank at Sanokhār with a view to saving it from desecration at the hands of the Turkish Musalmans who conquered the Bhāgalpur region of Bihār about the close of the twelfth century not very long after the dedication of the cover about 1166 A.D.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it offers, for the first time, definite evidence in favour of Ballālasēna's rule over East Bihār.

Vijayasēna (circa 1095-1158 A.D.<sup>1</sup>), the extirpator of Pāla suzerainty from Western and Northern Bengal and of Varman rule from East Bengal and the first imperial ruler of the Sēna dynasty hailing from Karnāṭa, is stated to have come into conflict with Nānyadēva (1097-1147 A.D.), founder of the Karnāṭa dynasty of Mithilā (North Bihār), and with certain powers of the west, against whom he led a naval expedition.<sup>2</sup> It is, however, difficult to determine the amount of success he might have achieved against Nānyadēva whose successors ruled over Mithilā for a long time to come.<sup>3</sup> His grandson Lakshmapasēna (circa 1179-1206 A.D.) claims success

<sup>1</sup> In the *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, p. 231, circa 1125 A.D. has been quoted as an alternative date of Vijayasēna's accession on the supposition that the date of his Barrackpur plate (above, Vol. XV, pp. 282 ff.; N. G. Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 61 ff.) may be the year 32 of his reign. But the correct reading of the date is certainly 62. Bhandarkar (List, No. 1682, note) was inclined to refer the date of the record to the Chālukya-Vikrama era, in which case the year 62 would correspond to 1137-38 A.D. But this is improbable in view of the fact that the inscription applies imperial titles to Vijayasēna who is not expected at that stage to acknowledge his subservience to the Chālukyas by dating his record in their era even if it is supposed that he acknowledged Chālukya suzerainty in the earlier part of his life. The name of Ballālasēna seems to suggest that the Sēnas were related to the Hoysala dynasty in which there were so many Ballālas.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. verses 20-22 of the Deopārā inscription (N. G. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 48). The annexation of North Bengal by Vijayasēna could not have been completed before the eighth regnal year of Madanapāla falling in Śaka 1073 (circa 1151 A.D.). Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XXX, p. 207.

<sup>3</sup> In the *History of Bengal*, op. cit., pp. 210 ff., Dr. R. C. Majumdar suggests that the comparative obscurity of Nānyadēva's successors and the popularity of the Lakshmapasēna-Samvat in Mithilā may point to the genuineness of Vijayasēna's claim of success in North Bihār. These arguments are not conclusive. The epoch of the La-Sam falls in the period 1107-19 A.D. long before Lakshmapasēna's accession. The era could therefore have been associated with the Sēna king only as the result of a popular confusion. It has to be admitted that Lakshmapasēna, with whom the La-Sam is associated, was believed to have been an imperial ruler who is sometimes described as the lord of Gauḍa (cf. *JASB*, N. S., Vol. XX, pp. 372-73). These facts no doubt go in favour of such a confusion which, however, does not prove that Lakshmapasēna, not to speak of his grandfather Vijayasēna, actually ruled over Mithilā.



against a Gāhaḍavāla king of Kāśī and is credited in the later Sēna records with the planting of pillars of victory at Vārāṇasī and Prayāga (Allahabad) in the dominions of that monarch.<sup>1</sup> Besides these, there is no epigraphic evidence to show that the Sēnas had anything to do with any part of Bihār, in the southern half of which the Pālas are known to have continued to rule till the close of the twelfth century.<sup>2</sup> Mihnāj-ud-din's *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, while describing Muḥammad Bakhtiyār Khaljī's conquest of the western half of the dominions of Lakshmaṇasēna, also does not suggest Sēna rule over any part of Bihār.

The published inscriptions of the Sēnas do not ascribe any military achievements to Ballālasēna (circa 1158-79 A.C.), son and successor of Vijayasēna, although there are some traditions referring to his relations with Bihār.<sup>3</sup> Thus, according to the *Laghubbhārata*, Ballāla led an expedition against Mithilā (North Bihār). As he is said to have received the news of the birth of his son Lakshmaṇasēna on the way, the expedition has been assigned by scholars to a date earlier than Ballāla's accession, i.e., to the reign of his father Vijayasēna. The *Ballālācharita* similarly says that Ballālasēna accompanied his father in an expedition against Mithilā and obtained victory. According to another tradition contained in the same work, Mithilā was one of the five provinces of Ballālasēna's kingdom, the other four provinces of the list being Rāḍha, Varēndra, Bāḡdī and Vaṅga, all of which have to be located in Bengal. It will be seen that even these traditions have nothing to say about Ballālasēna's hold over any part of South Bihār.

The late Mr. Nagendranath Vasu quoted the passage : *Ballāla-pūjito bhūtvā Vaṭṭabhūn=Magadh-ēśvaraḥ* and observed<sup>4</sup> "It is said in the *Uttara-Rāḍhiya Kula-pañjikā* that Vaṭṭēśvaramitra, the sixth descendant of Sudarśanamitra of Uttara-Rāḍha, was honoured by Ballāla and obtained the lordship of Magadha. At Kahalgāon (Colgong), 3 Krōśas from Bhāgalpur, there is a temple of Śiva known as Vaṭṭēśvaranātha, which even now preserves the memory of Vaṭṭēśvaramitra."<sup>5</sup> On the strength of this tradition, Vasu believed that the eastern part of Magadha (South Bihār) was included in the dominions of Ballālasēna, although the suggestion has been ignored by later writers on the history of the Sēnas. There is evidence now to show that the name of the god Vaṭṭēśvara at Pātharghātā near Colgong has nothing to do with a contemporary of Ballālasēna. The Pātharghātā (Vaṭṭēśvara-sthāna) stone inscription, recently published by me,<sup>6</sup> is written in characters of the eighth or ninth century A.D. and speaks of the celebration of an anniversary festival of the god Vaṭṭēśvara who was thus being worshipped at Pātharghātā several centuries before Ballālasēna. Curiously enough, Ballālasēna's hold over parts of East Bihār is definitely established by the inscription under study.

Elsewhere<sup>7</sup> we have discussed the struggle between the Pālas of South Bihār and the Gāhaḍavālas of the U. P. in the twelfth century A.D. The Gāhaḍavāla king Gōvindachandra (circa

<sup>1</sup> See the Mādhānagar (N. G. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 111) and Bhowāl (above, Vol. XXVI, p. 6) plates of Lakshmaṇasēna and also the Idilpur, Madanpāṭā and Sāhitya Parishad plates (*Ins. Beng.*, pp. 122-3, 135, 144). For a different interpretation of the evidence of the latter records, see *IHQ*, Vol. XXX, p. 218.

<sup>2</sup> See *JBRs*, Vol. XL, Part 2, pp. 43-53.

<sup>3</sup> *History of Bengal*, op. cit., p. 212, note.

<sup>4</sup> *Vaṅger Jātīya Itihāsa* (Bengali), Rājanya-kāṇḍa, B.S. 1321, pp. 324-25.

<sup>5</sup> The temple is actually at Pātharghātā or Vaṭṭēśvara-sthāna about 3 Krōśas or 6 miles from Colgong and not at Colgong itself. The distance between Bhāgalpur and Colgong is moreover about 10 Krōśas or 20 miles and not only 3 Krōśas or 6 miles.

<sup>6</sup> *JBRs*, Vol. XXXVII, Parts 3-4, pp. 4-7 and Plate. The name of the god was read as *Vaṭṭēśvara* and taken to be a mistake for Prakrit *Vaṭṭēśvara*, Sanskrit *Vaṭṭēśvara*. But the ḍḍ-like letter is really the retroflex ḷ (ḷ) and the correct reading of the name is *Vaḷḷēśvara*. The letter ḷ has been used apparently to indicate the modified (retroflex r-like) pronunciation of the inter-vocal ḍ as prevalent in Eastern India. An inscription, recently discovered by me on the Sāhkund hill in the Bhāgalpur District, similarly writes the word *chāḍḍamāpi* as *chūḍḍamāpi*, i.e., *chūḍḍamāpi* or *chūḍḍamāpi*. Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XXX, p. 211, n.

<sup>7</sup> See above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 137 ff.; *JASL*, Vol. XVII, pp. 29-30.



1114-55 A.D.) is known to have granted land in the Pāṭṇā District in 1124 A.D. and to have been staying at Monghyr in 1146 A.D.<sup>1</sup> His later contemporary, the Pāla king Madanapāla (circa 1144-61 A.D.), is similarly known to have held sway over the Pāṭṇā District in his third regnal year (circa 1146 A.D.) and the Monghyr District in his fourteenth (circa 1157 A.D.) and eighteenth (circa 1161 A.D.) regnal years.<sup>2</sup> Madanapāla's successor Gōvindapāla (circa 1161-65 A.D.) is known to have held sway over the Pāṭṇā-Gayā region in his fourth regnal year (circa 1164 A.D.) but he was ousted from that area by the Gāhaḍavālas sometime before 1175 A.D.<sup>3</sup> The fact that a Pāla king named Palapāla (circa 1165-1200 A.D.), probably the successor of Gōvindapāla, was ruling over the Monghyr District in the thirtyfifth year of his reign would suggest that Gōvindapāla died about 1165 A.D. when the western part of South Bihār passed to the Gāhaḍavāla king Vijayachandra (circa 1155-70 A.D.) and that his successor Palapāla continued to rule over parts of East Bihār till the end of the twelfth century when that region was conquered by the Turkish Musalmans.<sup>4</sup> We have now to accommodate Ballālasēna's hold over the Bhāgalpur region about 1166 A.D. As this date roughly coincides with that of the overthrow of Gōvindapāla by the Gāhaḍavālas, it is possible to think that the Gāhaḍavālas and Sēnas led a joint attack on the Pālas and advanced against South Bihār simultaneously from the west and east. Palapāla, however, may have succeeded in recovering East Bihār from the Sēnas although West Bihār appears to have continued to remain in the hands of the Gāhaḍavālas.

## TEXT\*

Siddham\* pramēśara-ity-ādi-<sup>7</sup>śrī-Valalaśēṇa\*-samata\* 9 || tāmvara-khōli<sup>10</sup> data<sup>11</sup> ||<sup>12</sup> bhaṭṭāraka-  
śrī-Damachādityadēvapadānā<sup>13</sup> ||<sup>14</sup> maṭha-pati Chihōkasya<sup>14</sup> [||\*].

## TRANSLATION

May there be success ! (In) the year 9 of (the reign of) the illustrious Valalaśēṇa (Ballālasēna) who is endowed with (the imperial titles) beginning with *Pramēśara* (*Paramēśvara*), a copper cover belonging to (i.e., caused to be made by) Chihōka, chief priest of the temple, is granted in favour of the illustrious lord Damachāditya.

## B. Lai Inscription of Vikramadēvi ; Year 32

During my tour in the Monghyr District, I came to know of the recent discovery of some inscribed images at Lai lying about six miles from Kājra and about ten miles from Lakkhīsarāi,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *JASL*, Vol. XVIII, p. 81 ; above, Vol. VII, p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> Bhandarkar's List, No. 1638 ; *JRASBL*, Vol. VII, p. 216 ; above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 145.

<sup>3</sup> *JASL*, Vol. XVII, pp. 27 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See *JBRs*, loc. cit.

<sup>5</sup> From the original.

<sup>6</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>7</sup> Sanskrit *paramēśvar-ityādi* (i.e., *paramēśvar-īty-ādi-rāj-śvaṇī-pūroḥvat*).

<sup>8</sup> Read *Ballālasēna*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *Samvat*.

<sup>10</sup> Sanskrit *tāmra-khōli* or *°khōlīkā*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *dattā*.

<sup>12</sup> The *daṇḍas* appear to be superfluous.

<sup>13</sup> Read *Damachādityadēva-pādānām*. The reading does not seem to be *Damarā*<sup>14</sup> as the form of *r* in *pramēśara* and *bhaṭṭāraka* is different.

<sup>14</sup> The reading does not appear to be *Rihōkasya*. See note 13 above. We may suggest the emendation *Chihōkēna*.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM BIHAR  
SANOKHAR INSCRIBED COPPER COVER



(From a Photograph)



A. SANOKHAR INSCRIPTION OF BALLALASENA; REGNAL YEAR 9

Left Half

ॐ धर्मज्ञयन्महादेवी तत्त्वतः समस्तं ॥ १ ॥

Right Half

॥ २ ॥ धर्मज्ञयन्महादेवी तत्त्वतः समस्तं ॥ २ ॥

(From Photographs)

B. LAI INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMADEVI

ॐ धर्मज्ञयन्महादेवी तत्त्वतः समस्तं ॥ १ ॥

SCALE: ACTUAL-SIZE

both stations on the Eastern Railway, and a few small inscriptions found there were copied. My thanks are due to Messrs. S. N. P. Sinha, A. Sinha, J. Sinha, D. N. Sinha, and M. Sinha of Kājrā for the assistance I received from them in this connection.

One of these inscriptions was found engraved on the broken pedestal of a lost image, which was lying under a *Pipal* tree. The inscribed space covers an area only about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches by  $\frac{1}{10}$ th inch. The characters belong to the Gaudīya alphabet of about the twelfth century A.D. and closely resemble those of the Sanokhār inscription edited above. The figure for 2 in line 3 is very similar to a form of that numeral as found in the Mehār plate.<sup>1</sup> The language of the inscription is Sanskrit; but it is not so corrupt as in the Sanokhār epigraph. Nothing in the orthography of the record calls for any special notice; but it may be pointed out that the spelling of the words is not corrupt as in similar other medieval records from Bihār, including the one edited above.

The inscription is not dated in any era. The date portion at the end reads: *Sam 32 Vai...* The letters after *vai* are broken away and cannot be traced on the stone. There is, however, no doubt that the actual date quoted in this part of the record was a day of the month of Vaiśākha. The year 32 has to be referred to the regnal reckoning of a king. The inscription, however, speaks only of a petty chief without reference to his overlord. As we shall see below, the chief has been mentioned in the inscription as an officer of a more important ruler. It is thus extremely unlikely that the record should have been dated in the regnal reckoning of this subordinate ruler. The probability is that the year 32 refers to the reign of his suzerain whose name has not been mentioned in the inscription. It is also not impossible that the portion containing the king's name has broken away.

The object of the inscription is to record the fact that the image, on which it was engraved, belonged to (i.e., was caused to be made by) **Vikramadēvi**, the chief queen (*paṭṭarājñī*) of **Rāṇaka Yaśaḥpāla** who is described as *dānapati* and *vāsāgārika*. **Rāṇaka** (from *Rājanaka* or *Rājānaka*) is a well-known title of feudatory rulers, while *dānapati* means 'a donor' in Buddhist Sanskrit<sup>2</sup> and especially, as we have seen elsewhere,<sup>3</sup> 'the donor of an image', i.e., a person who installed an image for worship in fulfilment of a vow. In the present case, it seems that a vow was taken and the image made and set up on behalf of **Rāṇaka Yaśaḥpāla**. The expression *vās-āgāra*, from which the designation *vāsāgārika* is derived, means 'the inner part of a house', 'a sleeping room', 'a bed chamber', etc. *Vāsāgārika*, which reminds us of such official designations as *Bhāṇḍāgārika* (officer in charge of the *Bhāṇḍāgāra*, i.e., the treasury or store-house), *Sāntyāgārika* (priest in charge of the *Sāntyāgāra*, i.e., the room where propitiatory rites were performed), etc., means 'officer in charge of a king's *vāsāgāra*' and is actually mentioned in the list of royal officials in the Rāmgañj plate<sup>4</sup> of **Iśvaraghōṣa**. **Yaśaḥpāla** was thus an officer in charge of the bed chamber or the inner part of the palace of a king who was apparently identical with his overlord.

The name of **Yaśaḥpāla** may suggest that he was a scion of the imperial Pāla house of Bengal and Bihār. As it was the Pālas who were ruling in the area, where the inscription under study has been discovered, in the period to which the record has to be assigned on palaeographical grounds, it is not improbable that **Yaśaḥpāla**'s suzerain was a Pāla monarch. The only Pāla kings who flourished in the period in question and ruled for more than 32 years are **Rāmapāla** (circa 1078-1122 A.D.) and **Palapāla** (circa 1165-1200 A.D.). Of these two rulers, **Palapāla** ruled

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 184 ff. and Plates.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. I-tsing, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago* (or, *Buddhist Practices in India*), trans. Takakusu, pp. xxix, 41, 46, 59, 159.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 138, note.

<sup>4</sup> N. G. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 153 (text, lines 17-18). For *Sāntyāgārika* or *Sāntyāgārādhipikṛita*, see ibid., pp. 21 (text, line 45), 112 (text, line 47).



over the Monghyr region possibly with his capital at Kawāyā-Jaynagar (ancient Champā),<sup>1</sup> a few miles from Lai, the findspot of our record and probably the home of Yaśāhpāla, while Rāmapāla's capital Rāmavati<sup>2</sup> was situated in North Bengal, possibly near Gaur in the Mālda District. This fact may go in favour of the identification of Rānaka Yaśāhpāla's suzerain with Palapāla. But it is impossible to be definite on this point in the present state of insufficient information.

### TEXT<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Siddham<sup>4</sup> Dānapati-vāsāgārika-Rā-
- 2 naka-śri-Yaśa[h\*]pāla-paṭṭarājñyā[h\*]
- 3 śrī-Vikrama[dē]vyāḥ || **Sarh 32** Vai....<sup>5</sup>

### C. Kaulēśvarī Hill Inscription of Vishnugupta

About twenty years ago, I received information regarding the existence of some inscriptions on rocks and boulders on the top of the **Kuluhā** or **Kaulēśvarī Hill** under the Hunterganj Police Station in the Hazārībāg District from a resident of a border village of the Gayā District. The hill stands about six miles from Hunterganj. On the 28th of February 1954, I visited the hill which is full of Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain relics, and copied all the inscriptions that were found there. On this occasion I received considerable help from Messrs. A. S. Khan and H. N. Sarma of the Hunterganj Police Station, to whom my thanks are due. In the following lines, I am dealing with the earliest epigraphic record of the place.

On a rugged boulder, parts of which have broken away, only two lines of writing could be traced. The upper line is incomplete inasmuch as the concluding letters have broken away. The space between the two lines is considerable; but it is not possible to determine whether there was any writing in this area. The extant portion of the first line of writing is sixty inches long and contains twentyfour *aksharas* together with the *Siddham* symbol at the beginning. The smallest letters in the line are each about 2½ inches in height while a conjunct with vowel-mark is often seven inches high. The second line is about nineteen inches in length. There are only six *aksharas* that are clear in it. The **characters** belong to the Northern Alphabet and the record may be assigned on palaeographical grounds to the **seventh or eighth century A.D.** In respect of **palaeography**, the inscription very closely resembles such other early medieval records from Bihār as the Mangraon epigraph<sup>6</sup> of the 17th year of Vishnugupta's reign.

The first line of the inscription begins with the usual symbol for *Siddham* and reads: *parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Vishnugu*... There is no doubt that the reference here is to the reign of an imperial ruler named **Vishnugupta**. The second line, which is smaller, reads *vyē Pōyarāja-sa[tra]*. It seems therefore that the inscription consisted only of two big lines of writing and that it refers to a *Satra* near its findspot which was associated with a chief named **Pōyarāja**, apparently a feudatory of Vishnugupta. The real significance of the word *saṭra* (correctly *sattra*), used in the inscription, is difficult to determine as various meanings are assigned to it by Sanskrit lexicons. Some of these meanings are 'a great Sōma sacrifice', 'any meritorious act equivalent to the performance of a *Sattra*', 'asylum, hospital, etc.', 'a tank', 'munificence', although the word is now generally used in the sense of 'a house where free food is distributed'.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *JBRs*, loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Bengal*, op. cit., p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> From impressions.

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>5</sup> The reading was apparently *Vaiśākha-dinā*...

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 241 ff. and Plate.



*Paramabhattāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara* Vishṇugupta, during whose reign the inscription was engraved, seems to be no other than the king of that name belonging to the so-called 'Later Gupta' dynasty. Vishṇugupta was the son of Dēvagupta (from Kamaladēvī) and grandson of Ādityasēna. Of Ādityasēna's time, we have the Shāhpur (Pāṭnā District) inscription<sup>1</sup> dated in year 66 of the Harsha era corresponding to 672 A.D. as well as the undated Aphsaḍ<sup>2</sup> (Gayā District) and Mandār hill<sup>3</sup> (Bhāgalpur District) inscriptions. Vishṇugupta's son from Ijjādēvī was Jivitagupta II who is the last known monarch of the dynasty. For this king's reign we have only the Deo-Baranārk (Arrah, Shāhābād District) inscription.<sup>4</sup> So far only one record of Vishṇugupta's time has been discovered. It is, as already referred to above, the Mangraon (Shāhābād District) stone inscription dated in his seventeenth regnal year. The importance of the inscription under review lies in the fact that it is the first 'Later Gupta' epigraph discovered in the Hazāribāg District and the second of Vishṇugupta's records so far brought to light. As king Vishṇugupta must have flourished about the beginning of the eighth century, the inscription helps us in assigning a date to some of the ancient relics on the Kaulēśvarī hill.

#### D. An Inscribed Terracotta Plaque

A terracotta plaque was received by me for examination from Mr. Radha Krishna Choudhary, Professor of History in the Ganesh Dutt College at Begusarai in the Monghyr District. The plaque is stated to have been presented to Mr. Choudhary a few years ago by one of his pupils, who hailed from a village under the Teghra Police Station of the Begusarai Subdivision. Unfortunately its actual findspot and the story of its discovery are unknown. The plaque is semicircular in shape and has a flat obverse and raised reverse. The base of the semicircle is about 2½ inches long while its bisector is about 1½ inches in length. There are four or probably five lines of writing engraved on the obverse of the plaque while two lines, impressed by means of a sealing, are noticed on its reverse. A few letters from the right end of the inscription on the obverse have broken away. My reading and interpretation of the record are published in the following lines with Mr. Choudhary's permission.

The characters employed in the inscription on the obverse of the plaque belong to a cursive form of the Gaudīya alphabet while those in the writing on the reverse have the standard forms of the letters of the same script. It is obvious that the two lines of writing on the reverse were impressed on the plaque when the clay was quite soft before it had dried up or had been baked in the sun. An examination of the letters of the inscription on the obverse shows that they were engraved before the plaque had been burnt in fire. It is not certain whether this record was engraved when the clay was still a little soft or it had already quite hardened as a result of baking in the sun, although an examination of the engraving appears to support the first alternative. In any case, there could not have been a long interval between the impressing of the sealing on the reverse of the plaque and the engraving of the inscription on its obverse. But there is no doubt that the record on the reverse is earlier, at least by a few hours, than the epigraph on the obverse.

The cursive Gaudīya characters of the inscription on the obverse of the plaque resemble in some respects the letters of the modern Bengali and Maithilī alphabets. On palaeographical grounds, the record may be assigned to the thirteenth or fourteenth century A.D., although, as will be seen below, the date quoted in it appears to point to the last quarter of the twelfth century.

<sup>1</sup> *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 210.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 202 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 212.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 215 ff.



As indicated above, the writing on the reverse of the plaque should also have to be assigned to the same age. The language of both the records is Sanskrit. The date, quoted in line 1 of the inscription on the obverse, reads: *Sā 67 Dhausha-dī[n]ā*... no doubt standing for *Samvat 67 Pausha-dīnē*... The record was therefore incised on a day of the solar month of **Pausha** (i.e., **Dhanus**) in the 67th year of some era. Considering the provenance of the plaque and the date of the epigraph suggested by its palaeography it is possible to think that the era to which the year has to be referred is none other than the Lakshmanasēna-samvat or La-Sam prevalent in Mithilā (North Bihār). There is difference of opinion in regard to the epoch of this era; but it has been said that "the initial year of the era, as reckoned at different times and places, varied between 1108 and 1120 A.D."<sup>1</sup> The date of the record under study, viz., year 67, thus appears to fall in the period 1175-87 A.D.

Both the lines of writing, impressed on the reverse of the plaque by means of a sealing, read *śrī-Suhmakasya*, the passage being followed by a double *danḍa* and a symbol. The sealing, used in imprinting the lines, therefore belonged to a person named Suhmaka. It is clear that the same sealing was employed twice. The reason for this may be that the letters of the lower line, originally impressed, did not all of them come out quite clearly. In the first line, which shows some letters more clearly, the fourth *akshara*, viz., *ka*, looks almost like *kā*. But this may be due to a defect in the sealing.

The inscription on the obverse of the plaque consists of four or probably five lines of writing, of which the first, giving the date of the record, has been quoted and discussed above. The object of the inscription appears to be that three persons named Śādhi, Echi and Āka made a gift of a lotus at the feet of Kēśavā at Nagaldāmaka. The third *akshara* of the name read as *Kēśavā* is damaged; but the reading seems to be fairly certain. Kēśavā appears to have been the name of a god or goddess worshipped at a place called Nagaldāmaka. Whether the name is a mistake for *Kēśava*, meaning Vishṇu, cannot be determined. Traces of an *akshara* below the concluding letters of line 4 suggest the existence of a fifth line in the original record probably containing the word *iti* indicating the end of the document. It seems that Suhmaka was the chief priest of the temple of the deity in question or a royal official whose seal was believed to impart the required authenticity to the deed of gift.

The fact that the offering of a lotus in favour of a deity was regarded as important enough to be recorded in an inscription, albeit on a terracotta plaque, appears to suggest that the flower was not an ordinary one. It was probably a lotus made of gold or silver.<sup>2</sup> The inscription points to the custom of using clay plaques or tablets as writing material side by side with other objects such as copper plates. Terracotta plaques, which were not as durable as copper plates but were much cheaper and more easily procurable, were probably used to record minor donations of poorer people.

I have no idea about the location of the place called Nagaldāmaka; but it might have been situated somewhere in the Teghra Police Station in the northern part of the Monghyr District.

#### TEXT<sup>3</sup>

##### Reverse

1 śrī-Suhmakasya ||<sup>4</sup>

2 śrī-Suhmakasya ||<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *History of Bengal*, Vol. I (Dacca University), pp. 233-38; cf. *JBRS*, Vol. XXXVII, Parts 3-4, pp. 10-13.

<sup>2</sup> Flowers made of gold have been discovered at such ancient sites as Salihundam (Srikakulam Dist., Andhra) in the course of excavations (cf. *Indian Archaeology 1953-54*, p. 11). For silver flowers, cf. *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1019.

<sup>3</sup> From the original.

<sup>4</sup> There is a symbol after the double *danḍa*.





# INSCRIPTIONS FROM BIHAR

Obverse | Reverse

D. INSCRIBED TERRACOTTA PLAQUE



(From Photographs)

## Obverse

- 1 Sā<sup>1</sup> 67 Dhau(Pau)sha-di[n]ḥ....<sup>2</sup>  
 2 Naga[ṛdā]makḥ da[ttam pa<sup>3</sup>]-  
 3 dman Śādhy-Eohy-Ākai[h\*]  
 4 Kṛṣa[vā]<sup>4</sup>-pa[dḥ]<sup>5</sup>  
 5 [iti ||<sup>6</sup>]

## No. 17—AJAYAGARH ROCK INSCRIPTION OF CHANDELLA KIRTIVARMAN

(1 Plate)

SANT LAL KATARE, NAGPUR

The inscription belongs to the reign of the Chandēlla king Kirtivarman. It is inscribed on a rock above a group of female images lying below the upper gate of the fort of Ajayagarh, which was also called Jayapura.<sup>7</sup> It is noticed by Cunningham in his Archaeological Survey Report<sup>8</sup>, wherein he says that the inscription consists of four lines and contains the name of king Kirtivarman in the fourth line. It is again noticed by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti in the *Annual Report* of the Archaeological Survey of India for the year 1935-36, p. 92, where its contents are briefly summarised. It is edited here from an ink-impression kindly sent to me, at my request, by Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, Government Epigraphist for India. The famous fort of Ajayagarh lies about 16 miles north-east of Kālāñjara as the crow flies. It has yielded a number of inscriptions of the time of the Chandēlla kings, who had their capital at Kālāñjara. It served as their capital and it seems, whenever Kālāñjara was occupied by the Muslims, the Chandēlla kings took refuge at Ajayagarh from where they pursued their fight against the invaders to recapture their capital.

The inscription, which has in all four lines of writing, occupies a space 3·5½" wide and 4' long on the rock. The characters are Nāgarī of the end of the 11th and beginning of the 12th century A. D. The *prishṭhamātrā* has been used for medial ē, but the *mātrā* for ō is indicated either by an *ūrdhva* and an *agra mātrā*, as in *Kālāñjarō* in line 1, or by a *prishṭha* and an *agra mātrā*, as in *nāmādhēyō* in line 2. In the case of the *mātrās* for *ai* and *au*, no uniform system has been followed. The consonant following *r* is usually doubled. The forms of *ē* and *p* in *ēkātapatram* in line 3 and *y* in *mānyō* in line 2 are similar.

The mistakes in the text which appear to have crept in because of the carelessness of the scribe have been corrected either in the text or in foot-notes. The inscription ends abruptly and though the closing mark of the double *danḍa* is inserted at the end, the last verse remains incomplete.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and, except the invocation to Chaṇḍikā, it is in verse. There are in all eight verses of which the first two are in the *Vasantatilakā* metre and the remaining in *Upajāti*.

<sup>1</sup> Read *Sah*, *Sahvat* or *Sahvatsarē*.

<sup>2</sup> The letter *n* in *nē* and the numerical figure that must have followed are completely broken away.

<sup>3</sup> The *aksharas ttam pa* are broken away and have been conjecturally restored.

<sup>4</sup> The intended reading may possibly be *Kṛṣaṇa*.

<sup>5</sup> Better read *padēshu*. The letter *d* in *dḥ* is damaged.

<sup>6</sup> There are traces of an *akshara* in this part below the concluding letters of line 4.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. I, p. 325.

<sup>8</sup> Vol. XXI, p. 54.



The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village of **Pipalāhika** to, and conferment of authority over the gates of the **Kālāñjara** fort upon, **Mahēśvara** by king **Kirttivarman** in recognition of, and as a reward for, the services that the former rendered to him when he was in distress at **Pitādri**. The Ajayagarh inscription of the time of Bhōjavarman also contains a reference to this fact and states that Mahēśvara earned the grant of the village named above and the title of *Viśiṣha* of Kālāñjara for rendering service to Kirttivarman in the Pita-śaila *viśhaya*.<sup>1</sup> The present inscription thus makes clear the meaning of the term *viśiṣha*, applied to Mahēśvara in the inscription of Bhōjavarman. *Viśiṣha* was apparently the designation of the officer who had authority over the gates of a fort and may be considered to be the commander of a fort.

The inscription opens with salutation to the goddess **Chandikā**. Verse 1, which is mutilated, appears to describe **Kailāsa**, the abode of **Nīlakaṇṭha**, and eulogises **Kālāñjara**. Then follows the description of **Brahmā** (verse 2). **Brahmā**'s son was **Kāśyapa**. From him, i.e., **Kāśyapa**, came into existence the family known as **Vāstavya**, adorned by illustrious men (verses 3-4). In this family was born **Jājūka**, who crossed the ocean of *Vidyā* (learning) consisting of *kalā*, *purāṇa*, *āgama*, *dharmaśāstra* and *sāhitya* and who was the very limit of *satya* (truth) and *sama* (justice) (verse 5). This **Jājūka** bestowed undisputed sovereignty of the world on king **Gaṇḍa** and earned from him as a royal grant the prosperous village of **Dugaṇḍa** (verse 6). The inscription of Bhōjavarman while referring to this grant adds that **Jājūka**, who had the title of *Thakkura*, was appointed *sarvādhikāra-karṇa* by king **Gaṇḍa**. This grant of the village of **Dugaṇḍa** to **Jājūka**, according to the same source, was recorded on a copper plate, which has not yet been discovered. There was then born in that family **Mahēśvara** whose glory was sung by the wives of the **Siddhas** and who restored the golden age of virtue by establishing the laws of **Manu** (verse 7). The last verse (v.8) gives the details of the grant made to **Mahēśvara**.

The inscription apparently belongs to the time of the **Chandēlla** king **Kirttivarman**, who was the great grandson of **Gaṇḍa**. The earliest known date of **Kirttivarman** from an Ajayagarh inscription is V. S. 1147, *Māgha śukla saptamī*, *Rēvatī nakshatra*-Thursday, 10th January, 1090 A.D.<sup>2</sup> and the last known date is V. S. 1154, *Chaitra-sudi 2*, *Ravivāra*-Sunday, 7th March, 1098 A.D.<sup>3</sup>

The present inscription and the Ajayagarh inscription of the time of Bhōjavarman speak of the misfortune which befell **Kirttivarman** at **Pitādri** or **Pita-śaila** when **Jājūka** rendered him help. This is obviously reminiscent of the long struggle between the **Chandēllas** and the **Kalachuris** for mastery over the **Bundelkhand** region. The **Rewah** stone inscription of **Vappulaka** dated in K. S. 812 (1060-61 A.D.) and belonging to the reign of **Kalachuri Karna** shows that **Pitādri** was under the occupation of **Karna** in that year.<sup>4</sup> **Vappulaka** claims to have "held the sword in the valley of the yellow mountain (*Pita-parvata-talē*), having conquered the forces of **Trilōchana** and the goddess of fortune of the ascetic **Vijjala**". The crushing defeat the **Chandēllas** had suffered at the hands of **Karna** is referred to in the *Prabodhachandrōdaya*<sup>5</sup> of **Kṛishṇa Miśra** and the *Vikramāñkadēvacharita* of **Bilhaṇa**.<sup>6</sup> Who this **Chandēlla** king defeated by **Karna** was, it is not possible to determine precisely. The **Chandēlla** contemporaries of **Karna** (1042 to 1071-72 A.D.) were **Dēvavarman**, whose known date is 1051 A.D.<sup>7</sup>, and **Kirttivarman**, younger brother of

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. I, p. 333. The name occurs as **Mahēśvara** in the present inscription; but it is **Māhēśvara** in the inscription of Bhōjavarman.

<sup>2</sup> *ARASI*, 1925-26, p. 93.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 233.

<sup>4</sup> *MASI*, No. 23 p. 132.

<sup>5</sup> I. 6.

<sup>6</sup> XVIII, 93.

<sup>7</sup> *Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions* No. 129.



the former, for whom the dates known so far are 1090 and 1098 A.D. The Chandēlla king defeated and uprooted by Karṇa may be, as suggested by R.D. Banerji,<sup>1</sup> identified with Dēvavarman. In that case the date of this event has perhaps to be placed sometime after 1051 A.D. It may be that Dēvavarman was crushed at the time of the battle fought at Pitādri in 1060-61 A.D., referred to in the Rewah inscription of Vappulaka.<sup>2</sup> Trilōchana defeated by Vappulaka was evidently a Chandēlla general and not Trilōchanapāla of Lāta as suggested by R.D. Banerji.<sup>3</sup> The defeat of Karṇa at the hands of Chandēlla-Kirttivarman referred to in several inscriptions<sup>4</sup> and the *Prabōdhachandrōdaya*<sup>5</sup> has to be placed after the battle in the valley of the Pita-parvata described in the Rewah inscription of Vappulaka in 1060-61 A.D. and before 1071-72 A.D. when Karṇa abdicated his throne.<sup>6</sup> It seems that the decisive battle against Karṇa was also fought at the Pita-sāila as indicated by the present inscription and the Ajayagarh inscription of Bhōjavarman, which speak of the distressed condition of Kirttivarman and the help rendered by his loyal officer Jājūka. In the light of the above discussion it may be suggested that Kirttivarman ascended the throne sometime after 1061-62 A.D. and before 1071-72 A.D.

The Vāstavya family of the Kāyasthas mentioned in this inscription also figures in a number of Chandēlla inscriptions. The genealogical details of the family occur in fuller detail in the Ajayagarh inscription of Bhōjavarman, which states that these Kāyasthas, who were engaged in *karṇa-karma*, resided in thirty-six towns, of which Ṭakkārikā was most excellent. At Ṭakkārikā lived a person called Vāstu and his descendants were known as Vāstavyas. As regards the 'thirty-six' towns, Kielhorn observed that it "would lead one to look for some territorial name such as Chhattispur, but I find only Chhattisgaḍh". There is, however, no difficulty in identifying the 'thirty-six' towns, of which Ṭakkārikā was one, with Chhattisgaḍh in Madhya Pradesh.<sup>7</sup> Ṭakkārikā was the name of a city and a district now forming part of Chhattisgaḍh, which is so called because of the thirty-six forts situated within its area. Of these thirty-six forts, 18 were situated on the one and the other 18 on the other bank of the river Śivanātha, which flows through Chhattisgaḍh. A number of Kāyastha families are mentioned in the inscriptions of the Kālachuris of Tummāṇa.<sup>8</sup>

Four place-names are mentioned in the record, viz., Kālāñjara, Dugaḍa, Pitādri and Pipalāhika. Of these the first is well-known. Dugaḍa is the modern Digaura (Dogora of the map). It is situated some 15 miles from Ṭikamgarh on the Orocha-Ṭikamgarh road, in 24° 58' N. and 78° 55' E. The ruling family of Orocha hailed from the village Digaura, old Dugaḍa, and was therefore known as the Digaura family (*Eastern States Gazetteer*, Vol. VI-A, p. 74.). Pitādri, Pita-sāila or Pita-parvata may be identified with the Pita hill (Pet hill of the map of Orocha State between pages 91-93 of the *Eastern States Gazetteer*, Vol. VI-A), which is about 4½ miles south-east of the village of Digaura in the Baldeobagh *tahsil* of the former Orocha State, now included in Vindhya Pradesh. Pipalāhika cannot be identified.

<sup>1</sup> *MAI*, No. 23, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 132.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. I, pp. 222, 327; *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 39; Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, pp. 676 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Canto I, vv. 5-6 and the prose passages in between the two verses.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XII, p. 205.

<sup>7</sup> *Bilaspur District Gazetteer*, pp. 19 ff., p. 52; *Raipur District Gazetteer*, p. 47. We have actually a list of the thirty-six forts. Even though the list is based upon tradition, the fact remains that the name Chhattisgaḍh is derived from that basis.

<sup>8</sup> *IHQ*, Vol. I, pp. 409 ff.; above, Vol. XIX, pp. 209 ff.; Vol. I, pp. 39 ff., 45 ff., 332; *IA*, Vol. XVI, p. 62; Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. III, Pl. XXI, 1.



TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 ॐ<sup>2</sup> नमश्चण्डिकायै । कैलासशैलमसमं प्रवरं गिरि(री)णां — — —  
 — — — स नीलकंठः । कालञ्जरो जयति [सं]स्पृहणीयवासः स्वर्गोक्तसामपि  
 विमुच्य दिवं मनोज्ञः ॥१॥ आविर्व्व(र्व्व)भूव विवु(बु)धैरपि माननीयः  
 पद्माश(स)नस्त्रिभुवनामलसूत्रधारः । कल्पान्तरस्त्रि(स्थि)-
- 2 तिमिता [अ\*]पि यत्प्रणीतशीलैश्चरन्ति कृतिनो विमलस्वभावाः ॥२॥ तस्यात्मजः  
 कस्य(श्य)पनामधेयो मान्यो मुनीनामभवन्महर्षिः । यदादिमुर्व्वीमपि संबदन्ति  
 न कस्य व(ब)न्वः सुचरित्रशी(सी)मा ॥३॥ वंशस्ततोभून्महनीयः(य)कीर्ति-  
 र्वास्तव्यनामा सुचरित्रकेतुः । विसु(शु)द्धमुक्ता-<sup>3</sup>
- 3 मणिवद्विरेज्यस्माद्वरालंकरणाः पुमान्शः(न्तः) ॥४॥ कलापुराणागमधर्मसा(शा)स्त्र-  
 साहित्यविद्याम्बु(म्बु)धिपारद(ग)श्च । दयानिधानं समसत्यशी(सी)मा जाजूकणं(ना)मा  
 जनि तत्र धीमान(न्) ॥५॥ एकातपत्रं जगतीपतित्वं वितीर्यं गण्डाय महीश्वराय ।  
 श्रो(ग्रा)मो दुगौडा जनता[स]मृद्धो ये-
- 4 नाज्जितं सा(शा)श(स)नमाविभाति ॥६॥ सिद्धाङ्गनागीतयशा महीजा महेश्वरस्तत्कुल  
 आविराशी(सी)त(त्) । यो मानवाचारविधिन्दधान[\*] संपूर्णपुण्यं युगमा-  
 निवा(ना)य ॥७॥ आराध्य प्री(पी)तादु(द्रि)गतम्बि(तं वि) पत्सु श्रीकीर्तिवर्म्माणमथ  
 प्रपेदे । कालञ्जरद्वारवराधिकारङ्गप्र(ङ्ग्रा)मञ्च रम्यम्पपलाहि ॥(ह्रिकञ्च ॥८॥)\*<sup>4</sup>

## No. 18—BHUBANESWAR INSCRIPTION OF PRAMADI ; SAKA 1064

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

In the course of my annual tour in search of inscriptions about the beginning of the year 1934, I visited the Kōdārēśvara (Śiva) temple at Bhubaneswar in the Puri District of Orissa on the 31st of January. There I found three inscriptions engraved on both sides of the doorway of the temple, one on the left side and two on the right. The inscription on the left side of the doorway of the Kōdārēśvara temple is a fairly big one. The writing is unfortunately almost completely rubbed out. Of the two records, incised one below the other, on the right side of the doorway, the

<sup>1</sup> From an impression.<sup>2</sup> Expressed by symbol.<sup>3</sup> At the end of the line there is a sign like a fork.<sup>4</sup> The inscription ends abruptly ; the scribe apparently left out the last letters *knācha* which has to be conjecturally restored.

# AJAYAGARH ROCK INSCRIPTION OF CHANDELLA KIRTIVARMAN

2  
 4  
 2  
 4

SCALE: ONE-FIFTH





letters of the lower one, consisting of eight lines of writing in Gaudīya characters and covering an area of about 31 inches by 15½ inches, are more or less obliterated, although a few lines of the record can be confidently deciphered. The preservation of the other inscription on this side is, however, fairly satisfactory, even though it suffers from a crack in the right half of the stone, which has damaged a letter or two in every line of writing in the epigraph. This inscription has been recently edited in the *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. I, No. 2 (July 1952), pp. 7-8. Unfortunately the published transcript of the epigraph is not free from errors and omissions. The editor of the record also admits that its latter part is unintelligible to him. Moreover he does not notice the interesting fact that the chief, whose donation is recorded in the inscription in question, is already known to the student of South Indian epigraphy from a number of other records. For these reasons, I re-edit the inscription in the following pages.

The inscription covers a space of about 32½ inches in length and 12 inches in height. It contains seven lines of writing. The characters belong to the Gaudīya alphabet as prevalent in Orissa about the twelfth century A.D. The language is corrupt Sanskrit, although the record is couched in a poetical style of prose composition as noticed in a few other similar inscriptions from Orissa.<sup>1</sup> It seems that the author, who was a poor Sanskritist, was eager to impart the idea that the record was composed by him in verse. Little calls for special notice in regard to the orthography of the epigraph. The date of the inscription, expressed in words in lines 1-2, is the 15th day of the dark half of the month of Karkāṭaka (solar Śrāvaṇa) in the expired Śaka year 1064 corresponding to 1142 A.D.

The object of the inscription is to record the gift of a perpetual lamp to the god Kēdārēśvara, described as the lord of the three worlds (*tri-bhuvana-vibhu*) by Rājān Pramāḍi who is stated to have been the *anuja* (younger brother) of king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. Pramāḍi is also described as one who regarded Lord Kēdārēśvara to be the Supreme Being (*bhagavach-ṅhrī-Kēdārēśvar-aika-para*). It is further stated that the inhabitants of the village of Nāgagarbhā in the Paṇḍā vishaya (district), headed by the Pradhānī (headman)<sup>2</sup> named Śaṇḍa, received five Māḍhas of gold, apparently from the donor of the perpetual lamp, viz., Rājān Pramāḍi. The inscription then goes on to say that the villagers receiving the money had to pay interest at the rate of one 'quarter' per month (*māsa-pāḍika-kalā*), the amount payable by them monthly being five 'quarters' (*pañcha-pāda*) for the five gold Māḍhas. The word *pāda* meaning 'a quarter' may of course be taken here to indicate one quarter of a gold Māḍha which is believed to have been a coin weighing forty *Ratis* that was prevalent in medieval Orissa. In that case the monthly interest for the five gold Māḍhas would be 1½ gold Māḍhas; that is to say, the interest was calculated at the rate of 25 per cent. per month. But, although the rate of interest was very high in ancient and medieval India, the rate suggested by the above interpretation of the record appears to be quite abnormal especially in view of the fact that usually the interest on a permanent endowment (like the one referred to in our inscription) was considerably lower than the normal interest on a similar amount. According to a rule, when nothing was pledged as security the rate of monthly interest payable by the ancient Indian debtor of respectively the Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra communities was 2, 3, 4 and 5 per cent., while there is epigraphic evidence to show that the monthly

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, pp. 22-23, 31-32, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Hunter explains the Pradhānī tenure as prevalent in Orissa in the following words: "Pradhān is a Sanskrit word meaning chief or head-man. Besides the tenure-holders now known as Pradhāns, all the Mukaddams, except those created after the Muhammadan conquest of the Province, were originally Pradhāns, i.e., village-officials appointed by the villagers, with the approval of the ruling power, to represent them before Government and the superior revenue officers, and to collect for them and pay to the divisional officers the revenue assessed on their villages. I have explained above how from being mere officials they gradually developed into quasi-proprietors and were, under the British administration, moulded into a homogenous body of village proprietors" (*A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, p. 116).



interest on a permanent endowment was sometimes calculated at the rate of 1 per cent. or  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.<sup>1</sup> It seems therefore that the word *pāda* has been used in the inscription under review in the sense of a quarter of the standard silver coin or currency prevalent in medieval Orissa or more probably a quarter of the standard measure of oil or clarified butter (required for feeding the perpetual lamp), for the provision of which the endowment was essentially created.

The donor of the grant, viz., Pramāḍi claiming to be a younger brother of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.), is also mentioned in the inscription engraved immediately below the one discussed above. The first three lines of this record read as follows :—

1 Siddham<sup>a</sup> Śākāvdā(bdā)nām pramāḍe muni-rasa-viyach-chandra-saṁkhyā-pra[m]ātō ||<sup>3</sup>

2 su(sū)nuḥ Pramāḍidēvasya Chōḍagaṅga-nāmakō d[ī]paṁ(pam) ||<sup>4</sup>

3 [vyadh]ād=a[kha]ṇḍam Kēvā(dā)[rē]śvara-[n]ām[n]ē dē[vāy]=ā[ta]ndra[m=a]-

It is clear from the above that Pramāḍi's son, Chōḍagaṅga, made the gift of another perpetual lamp to the god Kēdārēśvara a few years after the date of Pramāḍi's own record of Śaka 1064 (1142 A.D.). The date of the son's grant is given in chronogram as the Śaka year counted by *muni* (i.e., 7), *rasa* (i.e., 6), *viyat* (i.e., 0) and *chandra* (i.e., 1), which, according to the principle *aṅkānām vāmatō gatiḥ*, would give Śaka 1067 (1145 A.D.). The intervening period between the two grants of the father and the son is, therefore, only about three years.

It is very interesting to note that both Pramāḍi, who claimed to be an *anuja* or younger brother of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, and his son Chōḍagaṅga, apparently named after the Gaṅga monarch, are known from a number of inscriptions found outside Orissa. A Mukhalin-gam (Srikakulam District, Andhra State) inscription<sup>5</sup>, dated the Kanyā-saṁkrānti in Śaka 1054 (1132 A.D.) and the 58th regnal year of Anantavarmadēva (i.e., Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga) records the gift of 5 *Māḍhas* made for a perpetual lamp in the temple of Madhukēśvaradēva (Śiva) by Ulagiyavanda-Permāḍidēva, younger brother of Chōḍagaṅgadēva. Another inscription<sup>6</sup> at the same place is dated Tuesday, the 8th of the bright half of the month of Dhanu in Śaka 1056 (1134 A.D.) and the 60th regnal year (the year opposite the 59th) of Anantavarmadēva, and records a similar grant in favour of the god Madhukēśvara made by Māṅkama-mahādēvī who was the wife of Ulagiyagaṇḍa-Permāḍidēva, younger brother of Chōḍagaṅgadēva. There are several similar inscriptions in the Nilakanṭhēśvara (Śiva) temple at Nārāyaṇapuram in the Bobbili Taluk of the Visakhapatnam District. One<sup>7</sup> of these is dated in the 37th regnal year of Anantavarmadēva and records the gift, made by Permāḍi, of a piece of land for a perpetual lamp in the temple of Nīlīśvara (modern Nilakanṭhēśvara) at Niḍuñjeruvu (modern Nārāyaṇapuram) for the prosperity of Chōḍagaṅgadēva. Two other inscriptions<sup>8</sup> at the same place, the first dated Śaka 1053 (1131 A.D.) and the 57th regnal year of Anantavarmadēva and the second dated the Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti in Śaka 1054 (1132 A.D.) and the 59th regnal year of Anantavarmadēva, record similar gifts of perpetual lamps in favour of the same god by Chōḍagaṅgadēva's younger brother named Ulagaya-gaṇḍa-Permāḍi or Ulayigaṇḍa-Permāḍi. An inscription<sup>9</sup> in the Bhīmēśvara temple at Drākshā-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 158.

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>3</sup> Read *pramātaḥ* 1.

<sup>4</sup> The lines appear to be in verse although the metre is defective.

<sup>5</sup> *SII*, Vol. V, No. 1015.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1019.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 656.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 674, 679.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1186.



rāma in the Godabari District, dated Śaka 1075 (1153 A.D.), records a *Śrāvāṇa-patra* in regard to the sale of a piece of land by a number of Brāhmaṇas, who had received it from Parāntakādēva (a son of Kulōttuṅga I, circa 1063-1120 A.D.), during the reign of Kulōttuṅgadēva (i.e., Kulōttuṅga II, circa 1133-50 A.D.). The said land was purchased from the Brāhmaṇas by Ulaguyyavaṁdda-Permādi and his *dēvi* Vallava-mahādēvi<sup>1</sup> by paying 120 *Māḍhas* through Gaṅga-gonḍachōḍa-v-irāgiyāṇḍāri and was made a gift in favour of Bhīmēśvara-mahādēva for worship and offerings. The inscription also says that Peddajiyyanāyani-Chōḍagaṅga, son of Permādi, made provision for a perpetual lamp in the temple of the god although it is difficult to determine whether this Permādi is the same as Ulaguyyavaṁdda-Permādi. One set<sup>2</sup> of the Vizagapatam plates of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, dated Śaka 1057 (1135 A.D.), records that the Gaṅga monarch granted the localities called Sumuḍa and Tillingi in the Sammaga *vishaya* within Kaliṅgadēśa in favour of Chōḍagaṅga, son of Permādirāja from his wife Māṅkamadēvi. There is little doubt that Permādi or Permādi, mentioned in this and other records, is the same as Pramādi of the Bhubaneswar (Kṣārēśvara temple) inscription under study.

Two<sup>3</sup> of the Nārāyaṇapuram inscriptions, the first dated the Uttarāyana-saṅkrānti of Śaka 1051 and the other dated the Uttarāyana-saṅkrānti of Śaka 1061, record the gifts of perpetual lamps in the temple of Nilakanṭhēśvara made by Rājēndrachōḍadēva, son of Pedda-Permādirāja. If this Pedda-Permādirāja is identical with the Pramādi of our inscription, Rājēndrachōḍa may be regarded as a brother of his other son Ghōḍagaṅga. Subba Rao is inclined to think that the names Rājēndrachōḍa and Chōḍagaṅga were born by one and the same person who was the son of Permādi.<sup>4</sup> A Nārāyaṇapuram inscription<sup>5</sup> of Śaka 1039 (1117 A.D.) records the grant of Virā-Permādi, son of Aytaya, while another epigraph<sup>6</sup> of the same place, dated the Vishuva-saṅkrānti on Monday, the 13th of the bright half of the month of Mēsha in Śaka 1040 (1118 A.D.), records a gift made by Sūrama, wife of Permādirāja. It is difficult to determine whether Permādi of these records is the same as the one who claimed to have been an *anuja* of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. As will be seen below, the evidence of one of these records mentioning Permādi as the son of Aytaya does not tally with that of the Palāṅgara grant<sup>7</sup> of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, dated Śaka 1040.

The said copper-plate charter records the grant of the village of Palāṅgara (modern Palāgara in the Bobbili Taluk of the Visakhapatnam District) in the Samba *vishya* (same as the Samvā *vishaya* of a set of the Vizagapatam plates and the modern Śambhām Pargana in the Chipurupalle Taluk of the same District), made by the Gaṅga king in favour of Ulagiyagonḍa-Perumāḷ, son of Vajjidēva from his wife Ālapirandār and the grandson of Chōḷiyar (resident of Urattūru in Raṭṭa-maṇḍla located either in the Pudukōṭṭai or in the Puṅganūr region) and his wife Śrīyādēvi. *Permādi* and *Pramādi* are contractions of the Tamil compound expression *Perumāṇḍi*, the first component of which, i.e., *Perumāṇ*, may be another form of the word *Perumāḷ*. *Ulagiyagonḍa* and its variants are similarly derived from Tamil *Ulaguyyakkoṇḍa*. It is again interesting to note that in the Palāṅgara grant the donee is described as the *priya-bāndhava* of the donor, viz., the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. It has also to be noticed that the word *anuja* does not necessarily mean a co-uterine younger brother and that the word *bāndhava* may also indicate 'a brother'. Under the circumstances, C. R. Krishnamachari may be right in

<sup>1</sup> Her name suggests that she was a princess either of the Pallava or of the Vallabha (i.e., Chālukya) family.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 172 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *SII*, Vol. X, Nos. 672, 692.

<sup>4</sup> *History of Kalinga* (offprint), p. 144.

<sup>5</sup> *SII*, Vol. X, No. 658.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 659.

<sup>7</sup> *ARSIE*, 1935-36, pp. 61-63.



identifying Ulagiyagoṇḍa Perumā of the Palaṅga grant with Ulagiyagoṇḍa-Permāḍi of the Mukhalingam and Nārāyaṇa puram inscriptions and in suggesting that the person was a younger cousin of Gaṅga Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga on the latter's mother's side.<sup>1</sup> It is well known that the Gaṅga king's mother was the Chōḷa princess Rājasundarī, daughter of Rājēndrachōḷa (probably Virarājēndra, circa 1063-70 A. D.).<sup>2</sup> Subba Rao's suggestion<sup>3</sup> that Permāḍi was a co-uterine younger brother of the Gaṅga king seems to be extremely doubtful.

It appears that Perumā or Permaḍi or Permāḍi or Pramāḍi was serving his relation, the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, in the capacity of a provincial governor. It may be supposed that he had been originally employed as viceroy of one of the southern districts of the Gaṅga empire but was later transferred to the Puri region. Such a conjecture is not entirely unsupported by the dates of the various inscriptions which record his donations and have been discussed above. The same may also have been the case with his son, Chōḍagaṅga. Of course Pramāḍi and Chōḍagaṅga might have also visited the Kēdārēśvara temple at Bhubaneswar in the course of tours of pilgrimage. Another interesting fact is that both the father and the son appear to have remained staunch devotees of the god Śiva even after their relative and patron, Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, had renounced his original leanings towards Śaivism and become an ardent devotee of the god Viṣṇu in the form of lord Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha of Puri.<sup>4</sup>

The inscription mentions two geographical names. They are the district called **Paṇḍā-viśhaya** and the village called **Nāgagarbhā-grāma**. The name of the district no doubt suggests its identification with the Paenda Paragna in the Cuttack District of Orissa. I am not sure about the location of the village.

#### TEXT<sup>5</sup>

1 Siddham<sup>6</sup> Śakasya gata-varshāṇām daśānām śatānām chatu[ḥsha]śthi[śhṭi]-  
sa[mva]tā<sup>7</sup>—

2 m=adhunā Ka[r]kā(rka)ṭaka-māsasya kṛishṇasche<sup>8</sup> dasa(śa)-pañcha[k]ē śrīmad-Ananta-

3 varmmaṇaḥ=Chōḍagaṅg-ādhipasy=ānujō bhagavataḥ<sup>9</sup> śrī-[Kē]dārēśvarau(r-ai)-

4 ka-parah rājā śrī-Pramāḍi-nāmnah(mā) tṛi(tri)bhuvaṇa-vi(vi)bhavē śrī-Kēdārēśarō<sup>10</sup>

5 grataḥ di(di)paṁ prādād=akhaṇḍakam Paṇḍā-vi(vi)śhay[īya-Nāga[gar]bhā-grāmiya-pra-

6 [dh]ānī(na)-[Śa]ṇḍa-prabhṛitibhiḥ grāma-nivāsibhiḥ grihi(grihi)ta-sai(sau)varṇaka-pa[ñcha]-  
māḍhānā[m]āsa-

7 [pādi]ka-kalā pañcha-pāda k[r]ity-ētai<sup>11</sup> dēyam<sup>12</sup>=ā-chandra-tārāya [vai]<sup>13</sup> || o ||

<sup>1</sup> See *ASIE*, 1935-36, p. 63; *SI*, Vol. X, p. 359, note.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 136.

<sup>4</sup> See above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 239 ff.

<sup>5</sup> From impressions.

<sup>6</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>7</sup> Read *saṁvatā*. There appear to be traces of an unnecessary *anuvāra* of the Bengali type after *tā*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *kṛishṇē cha*.

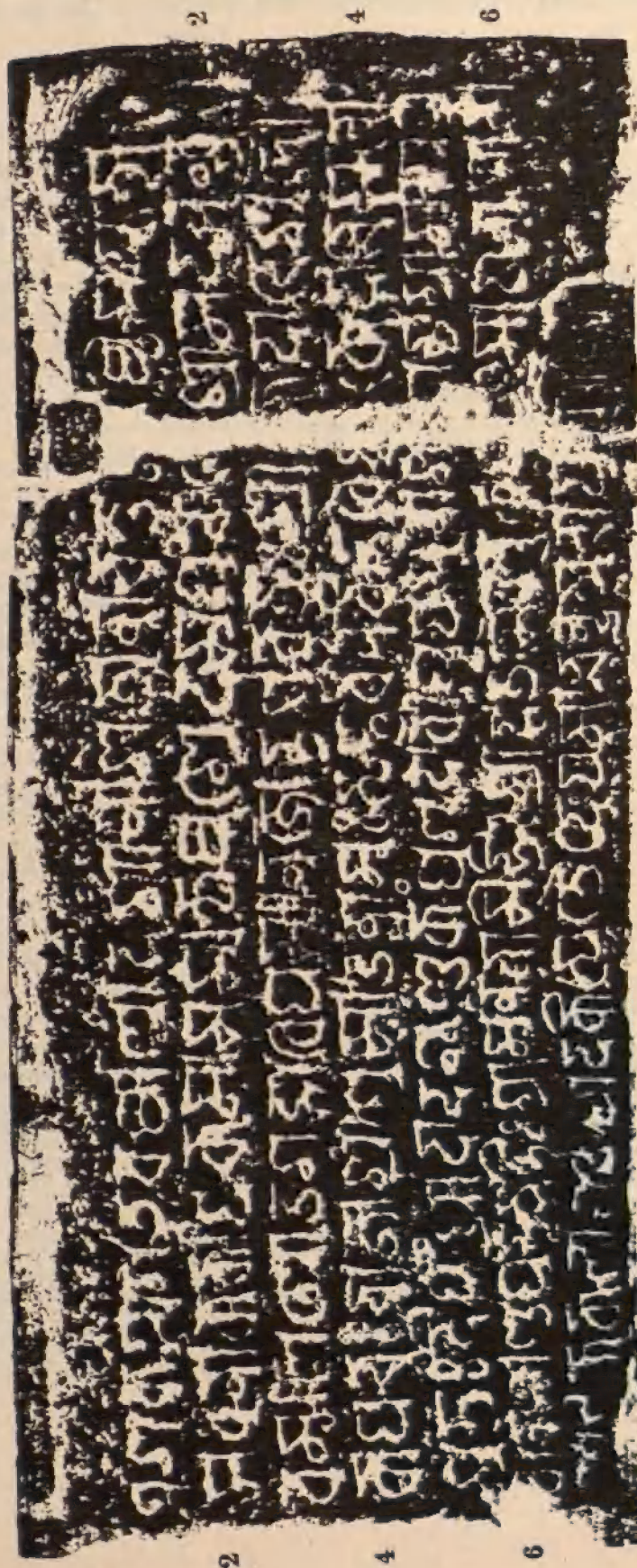
<sup>9</sup> Better read *bhagavach=chhrī*.

<sup>10</sup> Read *tribhuvana-vibhu-śrī-Kēdārēśvar-ā*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *pañcha-pādam kṛite=aitaiḥ*.

<sup>12</sup> Read *dēy=ā*.

<sup>13</sup> Read *°tāram=īti*.



SCALE: ONE-FOURTHS





## No. 19—SEVEN VATTELUTTU INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE KONGU COUNTRY

(3 Plates)

K. V. SUBRAHMANYA ANYER, COIMBATORE

Here are edited seven *Vatteluttu* inscriptions from the *Koṅḡu* country. I am indebted to the Government Epigraphist for India, for sending me the impressions of these records. The first of them comes from Koḍuvāy and the rest from Piramiyam. Both the villages are situated in the Dhārāpuram Taluk of the Coimbatore District. A few words may be said here about Piramiyam where six out of the seven inscriptions edited below were found. It is an insignificant village situated on the bank of the Amarāvati river<sup>1</sup> and is 8 miles north-east of Dhārāpuram, the Taluk headquarters.<sup>2</sup> While the seven sacred temples of the *Koṅḡu* province,<sup>3</sup> celebrated in the hymns of the canonised Śaiva saints Tirujñānasambandhar, Appar and Sundaramūrti-Nāyanār, have failed to provide us with their history owing to their original structures having disappeared without leaving any vestiges of their past and having been replaced by new ones of later times, Piramiyam preserves one of the most ancient structural monuments of the province.<sup>4</sup> This monument is dedicated to Śiva and is attributable to at least the latter half of the tenth century A.D.

Tradition asserts that the region in which Piramiyam is situated was variously known as Dāru-kāvanam, Karṇikāraavanam and Puṇṇāgavanam, that Brahman performed *Yajña* at this place to propitiate Śiva and that the sage Agastya set up a *liṅga* in the place and blessed it to remain for all time under the name Valaṅjulinātha. It is further pointed out that Koṅḡapa, the son of a Magadha king, came here, gave himself up to austerities and became a *siddha* and was called Koṅḡapasiddha and that it was also hallowed by being the place where Iḍaiñāni, a shepherd sage, spent most of his life time.

Virasaṅgāta-chaturvēdimāṅgalam is the name given in inscriptions to Piramiyam and it is said to be a *brahmadēya* in Tenkarai-nāḍu. The affix *chaturvēdimāṅgalam* and *brahmadēya* indicate that it was originally given to Brāhmaṇas studying the four Vēdas and the prefix Virasaṅgāta shows that it was called after a chief, king or general who had the distinction of being known as Virasaṅgāta (i.e., Virasaṅghāta), 'the slaughterer of warriors or heroes'. There is no direct evidence to show when the village came into existence. In one<sup>5</sup> of the inscriptions edited below there figures a person holding the position of a minister and he is styled Virasaṅgātan Śūriyadēvaṇ Vāpavaṇ Uttaramantri *alias* Nānādēsiyanāṭṭu-Cheṭṭi. In the name Virasaṅgātaṇ Śūriyadēvaṇ, the first part might indicate the patronymic of the person and, if so, it may be said that the village owed its name to the benefaction of this minister; and the village may be said to have been formed at the end of the 10th century A.D. when, as will be shown in the sequel,<sup>6</sup> Virasōḷa-Kalimūrkkā-Perumāḷ, who must have been the immediate predecessor of Kalimūrkkā-Vikrama-Chōḷa-Kōṇāṭṭāṇ, flourished. The inscriptions of the place inform us that this Chaturvēdimāṅgalam, like the others of its class, was subject to the assembly of the *sabhā*. The modern name Piramiyam of the village

<sup>1</sup> This river is also called Amabānadī, Āpporunai or Āpporundam or Amarāvati. It is said to take its rise from the Varāha hills.

<sup>2</sup> Sewell's List, Vol. I., p. 220.

<sup>3</sup> Tirucheṅṅōḍu, Koḍumuḍi, Veṅḡamākkūḍalūr, Karuvūr, Bhavāni, Avanāsi and Tirumurugappūḍi.

<sup>4</sup> The foremost among the monuments so far known in the *Koṅḡu* country are the two rock-cut temples at Nāmakkal, both dedicated to Viṣṇu. These temples of about the latter half of the seventh century A.D., are of exquisite workmanship and were perhaps executed by craftsmen who drew their inspiration from the master sculptors of the neighbouring Pallava territory, who had displayed their powerful imagination, deep learning in Āgamic lore and high talent in wielding the chisel.

<sup>5</sup> *ARSIE*, 1920, No. 183.

<sup>6</sup> See page 100, below.



may be derived from *brahmadēyam* which in Tamil would be written *piramadēyam*, and this in colloquial usage would easily change into Piramiyam by the elision of *dē*. The god in the temple at the place is called Tiruvalaṇḍi-Mahādēva (or -Paramēśvara) and Āḷudaiyār-Tiruvalaṇḍi-Nāyaṇār. Tiruvalaṇḍi here may show that the temple is situated on the bank of the river whose water forms here a clockwise eddy.

Piramiyam has contributed 28 inscriptions<sup>1</sup> to the Madras Epigraphical Collection for the year 1920. The peculiarity about these inscriptions is that while they are all in the Tamil language, some (nine) are engraved in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet<sup>2</sup> and the rest (nineteen) are in the Tamil alphabet.<sup>3</sup> This feature of the inscriptions enables us to know and distinguish at sight which of them are earlier and which later.

The earliest inscriptions of Piramiyam in Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters are Nos. 208 and 209 engraved on a slab lying in a field near the village. The former belongs to the reign of *Sārvabhauma Varagupa-Parāntaka* of the Chandrāditya *kula* and is dated in the 6+9th year and the latter bears the date 6+16th year, evidently of the same king's reign as could be gathered from the double date, though his name is lost. Of the rest, two belong to the reign of *Viraśōḷa-Kalimūrka-Perumāḷ* and are dated in the 17th and 24th years of his reign<sup>4</sup> and four belong to the reign of *Kalimūrka-Vikrama-Chōḷa* and are dated in the 20th, 32nd, 41st and 42nd years of his reign.<sup>5</sup> These six inscriptions along with another from Koṇḍuvāy dated in the 14th regnal year of *Viraśōḷa-Kalimūrka-Perumāḷ* are edited here.

This being the first time any inscription of the Koṅgu country and also of the kings noticed herein, is being edited, I may say a word about the country and the dynasty to which the kings belonged. Koṅgu as a common noun means 'honey' or 'flower-dust or pollen'. The term must have been applied to the country that abounded in it.

The Koṅgu country is one of the oldest territorial divisions of South India. It was bordered on the west and, to some extent on the south, by the Chēra country, on the south by the Pāṇḍya country, on the east by the Chōḷa country and Kōṇāḍu, and on the north by the territory of the Adigaimāns. If the last named territory is treated as forming part of Koṅgu, for which there is no warrant as we find the co-existence of the two (i.e., Koṅgu and the territory of the Adigaimān) from the earliest days, the northern boundary would be the Pallava dominions. Having these territories as boundaries, the central region of Koṅgu was sheltered by a series of mountain ranges of considerable height such as the Palni hills, the Kollimalai ranges, part of the Sherveroys, the Anaimalais and the Nilgiris, and was watered by the Kāvērī river with its numerous tributaries—the northward flowing *haḷḷas* (streams) in the Kollegal Taluk, the Bhavānī, the Noyyal (or Kāñchi-mānadi) and the Amarāvati flowing south to north. In spite of these several streams and rivers that were in the country, water scarcity was greatly felt in the region at all times.

In ancient times a highway called Koṅga-peruvaḷi led to this country from the east, and it seems to have been an early trade route. The wealth of the territory lay in its hill produce, silk and beryl, the last of which was produced in large quantities at a place called Paḍiyūr, six and a half miles north-west of Kāṅgayam.<sup>6</sup> A very good breed of bulls and cows from Kāṅgayam is celebrated in the Saṅgam works.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *ARSIE*, 1920, Nos. 182 to 209.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 183, 185, 187, 189, 190, 204, 207 to 209.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 182, 184, 186, 188, 191 to 203, 205 and 206.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 189 and 204.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 187, 190, 193 and 185.

<sup>6</sup> Sewell's List, Vol. I, p. 220.

<sup>7</sup> *Paḍirupattai*, vv. 22 and 77.



The connotation of the word *Koṅgu* may be noted here. This term has a more limited application than the similar ones *Chēra*, *Chōḷa*, *Pāṇḍya*, *Pallava*, etc. While each of the latter conveys to our mind not only a particular country, but also a *kula* or race, its people and its king, the former, i.e., *Koṅgu*, means exclusively a country; it does not denote any *kula* or race or king. We hear of *Śōḷa-kula*, *Pāṇḍya-vaṁśa*, *Pallav-ānvaya*, etc., but not of *Koṅgu-kula*.<sup>1</sup> It may be noted, however, that the words *Koṅgar* and *Koṅgar-kō* are applied to the people and the king of *Koṅgu*, but that none of the later kings of the *Koṅgu* country called himself a *Koṅgu-dēva* or *Koṅgudēva-Mahārāja*, or of being of *Koṅgu-kula*.

The difference in the connotation of the word *Koṅgu* from other similar ones pointed out above seems strongly to indicate that the country did not belong to, and was not ruled by, any particular dynasty of its own. It will be noticed in the sequel that a number of kings held sway over the *Koṅgu* country in later times and that none of them had any distinguishing epithet, surname or title, such as *Māraṇ*, *Śadaiyaṇ*, *Valudi* and *Pāṇḍyadēva* of the *Pāṇḍyas*; *Valavaṇ*, *Śombiyaṇ*, *Rājakēsari*, *Parakēsari* and *Śōḷamahārāja* of the *Chōḷas*; or *Villavaṇ*, *Śēramāṇār* and *Kēraḷa* of the *Chēras*. Instead, we often find the rulers of *Koṅgu* (from the earliest times to the latest) calling themselves by *Chēra*, *Chōḷa* and *Pāṇḍya* names, and adopting their surnames, epithets and titles, sometimes indiscriminately. Some chiefs of the 13th century even declared themselves to be the lineal descendents of very early *Chēra* kings who were the first rulers of the northern part of *Koṅgu*. We have yet to discover if even those kings that were invested with the hereditary rule of the province of *Koṅgu* had at any time any distinct and distinguishing emblem of royalty.

The only source of reliable information for the early history of South India beyond the ken of epigraphy is the Tamil Saṅgam literature. This, in respect of *Koṅgu*, is unfortunately very meagre and does not shed as much light as it does on other parts of the country. In spite of this, it may be said that it does not contradict the result that we have arrived at in our enquiry. On the other hand, it leads us to think that in early times the *Koṅgu* country was subject to the government of its own people. We find a number of references to the people of *Koṅgu*, but not a single one to the king of the land. And every foreign king that subdued the country came to be styled *Koṅgar-kō*,<sup>2</sup> i.e., the king of the *Koṅgu* people. One of the *Chēra* kings is said to have brought under his subjection the country of the *Koṅgar* or the *Koṅgu* country (*Koṅgar-nāḍ-agappaḍutti*).<sup>3</sup> Here *Koṅgar* need not necessarily mean the people. It may as well stand for *Koṅgu* of which it is only another form. It is said of an Āy king that he used innumerable missiles and drove the *Koṅgu* people to the western ocean (*Koṅgar-kuḍa-kaḍal-ōṭṭiya*).<sup>4</sup> The *Chōḷa* king *Kurāppallit-tuñjiṇa* Killi *Valavaṇ* is reported to have seen the back of the people of *Koṅgu* (*Koṅgu-puraṁ-pera*).<sup>5</sup> All these references to the *Koṅgu* people and the country, and the complete absence of mention of any *Koṅgu* sovereign by name seem strongly to suggest that the country was subject to 'people's government'. In this connection it is worth noting that in speaking of the persons or kings that set up images of *Kaṇṇagi* in their territories, the Tamil work *Śilappadigāram* does not mention any king of *Koṅgu* by name but only *Iḷaṅkōṣar*, by which must be meant a people, not a monarch. The plural used is worth noting.

Though the *Koṅgu* country seems, as shown above, to have had the people's government, in the earliest days, it is necessary to note that the northern part of it, or what is more likely the territory that lay north of it, was subject to the rule of a king who was styled *Adigaimāṇ* or *Adigaṇ* or *Adiyar-kōmāṇ* and had his capital at *Tagaḍūr*, identified with *Dharmapuri* in the *Salem District*. A division called after the village *Tagaḍūr* also existed. These *Adigaimāṇs* are

<sup>1</sup> [ Cf., however, *SHI*, Vol. V, No. 241, lines 9-10.—Ed. ]

<sup>2</sup> *Paḍirupattu*, 88, l. 19; 90, l. 25.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 22, l. 15.

<sup>4</sup> *Puraṇḍarāra*, 130.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 373.



regarded as the rulers of Koṅgu, though at no time their rule extended to the whole of that territory. One of the greatest kings of the line was Adigaimāṇ Neḍumāṇ Añji.<sup>1</sup> He is called Maḷavar-Perumāṇ.<sup>2</sup> He is said to have fought against seven kings and chiefs, gained victory, and destroyed Kōvalūr.<sup>3</sup> One of his ancestors is stated to have introduced sugar-cane.<sup>4</sup>

In speaking of him one of the verses in the *Puṇam*<sup>5</sup> says, "like his ancestors, he had the garland of Palmyra". This reference is of importance as showing his descent from the Chēras. He is also said to have worn a garland of *tumbai* flowers and Aegle Marmelos.<sup>6</sup> His son was Poguttēḷiṇi or Elīṇi.<sup>7</sup> The Chēra origin of the early Adigaimāṇ, as gathered from the *San̄gam* works, is quite in agreement with and receives confirmation from what we find recorded in two later inscriptions of the time of the Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga III. One of them comes from Kambayanallūr in the Salem District and the other from Pōlūr in the North Arcot District. In these inscriptions<sup>8</sup> the later Adigaimāṇ chief Viḍukāḍaḷagiya-Perumāl (Sanskrit 'Vyāmuktaśravaṇōjvala') is called a lineal descendent of the Kēraḷa or Chēra Elīṇi (Skt. *Yavanikā*).

The Adigaimāṇs did not maintain cordial relationship with the Chēras even in earlier days. The Chēra king Peruñ-Chēral Iṇumporai is said to have fought a battle on the top of Kollikkūṛṅgam and won a victory over the two kings, i.e., the Pāṇḍya and the Chōḷa, along with an Adigaṇ who commanded an army of several battalions, to have seized their war drums, parasols and crowns, and to have destroyed Tagaḍūr which was guarded by powerful warriors.<sup>9</sup> But this cannot be a bar to Adigaimāṇ's descent from the Chēra which is well established by the references cited above. That the Adigaimāṇs continued to exist will be clear from the following.

An Adigaṇ chief is reported, in the Madras Museum plates of Jaṭilavarman,<sup>10</sup> to have fought against Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ at Ayirūr, Ayiravēli and Pugaḷiyūr, and another is said, in the *Periyapurāṇam*, to have fought against Pugaḷ-Chōḷa.<sup>11</sup> The Nāmakkal cave inscription speaks of *Atiyānvaya*, 'a descendent of Adigaimāṇ', and of Atiyēndra.<sup>12</sup> From all that we have pointed out above it will be clear that the Adigaimāṇs or Adiyar were quite different from the Koṅgar and were lords of a different locality coexistent with Koṅgu. But the fact that the Adigaimāṇs were of Chēra origin, as proved by Tamil literature and inscriptions, may suggest that at some remote age the Chēras overran the northern part of the Koṅgu country and set up a member of their family there, to act as a kind of restraint on the Koṅgu people from advancing northwards, and the Pallavas from pushing south. If this was the case, we can regard the territory of the Adigaimāṇs as having been originally included in Koṅgu. But there is no means of knowing what exactly was the earliest extent of the Koṅgu country as it is not specified in the *San̄gam* works.

It would appear further that when the Pallavas settled the Western Gaṅgas in the south,<sup>13</sup> much of the territory of the Adigaimāṇs had passed into their hands. Gaṅga rule further south than the northernmost part of the Gōpicheṭṭipālaiyam Taluk of the Coimbatore District is not warranted by facts and hence we must regard as incorrect the statement of the *Koṅgudēśarājāk-*

<sup>1</sup> *Puṇanāṇṇūru*, 92.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 90.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 99.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 392.

<sup>5</sup> *Niṇ muṇṇōr pōla iṇṇiyaṇ-kāḷar-kāl irum-paṇam-puḍaiyal* (*ibid.*, 99).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 96 and 158.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 96 and 392.

<sup>8</sup> Kielhorn's Southern List, Nos. 833 and 834.

<sup>9</sup> See *Paḍigam* of the Eighth ten of *Paḍiṇruppattu* and also 78, ll. 8 f.

<sup>10</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 73.

<sup>11</sup> *Pugaḷ-Chōḷa*, vv. 17 ff.

<sup>12</sup> *ARSIE*, 1906, p. 76.

<sup>13</sup> Above, Vol. XIV, p. 335.



ka!<sup>1</sup> that the Gaṅgas had their sway in Koṅgu. On the other hand, there is ample evidence of early Chēra rule throughout Koṅgu, e.g., the place names Ravimaṅgalam and Kōdaimaṅgalam, in addition to the two early inscriptions of Veḷḷalūr<sup>2</sup> and the whole dynasty of kings styling themselves Kēraja.<sup>3</sup>

We have at the outset indicated some grounds for holding that in the earliest days Koṅgu was subject to 'people's rule' and that it was often subject to invasions by the neighbouring powers among whom the foremost was the Chēra, who claimed to be its ruler. But the real government must have been held by the 'Koṅgar' and the settlement of the 'Adiyar' must have resulted in limiting the extent of the Koṅgu territory.

In about the 8th century A.D., Koṅgu seems to have passed into the hands of some personal ruler. This is reflected in a statement of the Vēlvikuḍi plates<sup>4</sup> which records that a daughter of a Gaṅga king of the time of Neḍuñjaḍaiyan was brought and offered to the king of the Koṅgu people, and that it gave an occasion for the Pūrvarāja to march forth with a large army to give battle, etc. Excepting this, there are no further references to any ruler of Koṅgu and it might be that the rulership, if any, did not last long. On the other hand, there are evidences of Chēra rule or supremacy over Koṅgu before the advent of the Chōḷa. At the end of the ninth century, Āditya of the revived Chōḷa line is stated in the *Koṅgudēśarājākkal*<sup>5</sup> as having subjugated Koṅgu, and his son Parāntaka ruled over that part of it where his inscriptions are found. It is known that friendly relations existed between the Chōḷa Āditya and the Chēra Sthāṇu Ravi and that both conjointly conferred honours on a certain chief whom they termed Śembiyaṇ-Tamiḷavēḷ.<sup>6</sup> This must have been for some service rendered to both the kings during the upheaval of Chōḷa revival. But it was given to the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I to set up practically a personal ruler over Koṅgu. The country was at the same time made a part of the Chōḷa empire and invested with a new name 'Viraśōḷa-maṇḍalam', after one of his own surnames. From the Nāmakkal copper plates of Vira-Chōḷa, of which plates I and IV are still to be discovered, it is gathered that Vira-Chōḷa, who was probably a Kēraja prince, was ruling over a portion of Koṅgu as a feudatory of the Chōḷa king Parakēsarivarman, probably Parāntaka I.<sup>7</sup> He seems to have become the progenitor of a hereditary line of kings that ruled over a part of Koṅgu. The records of his descendants are traceable at Paḷani and its vicinity. These may well be termed Koṅgu kings of the Kēraja family. Another part of Koṅgu was under the rulership of a different line.

Now about the family to which the two kings, whose inscriptions are here edited, belonged. In the *Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy* the chiefs of this family are styled Koṅgu-Chōḷas. This term is not an ancient one, but is the one now given to the line of kings which included in it Vira-Chōḷa-Kalimūrka-Perumāḷ and Kalimūrka-Vikrama-Chōḷa, Abhimāna-Chōḷa and others and serves the purpose of distinguishing these members from those of the regular line of Chōḷas descended from Vijayālaya or from the later Chāḷukya-Chōḷa Kulōttuṅga I. Though it serves this purpose very well, it is not quite appropriate. First of all there is no indication anywhere that these kings were of the Chōḷa stock, though they adopted Chōḷa names. Chōḷa officials and subordinates

<sup>1</sup> Madras Government Oriental Series, No. VI, pp. 3 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *ARSIE*, 1910, Nos. 147 and 148.

<sup>3</sup> *Contra* Foulkes, *Salem Manual*, p. 16: 'I have not met with anything in support of a conquest of Koṅgu by Chēra. The *Kēraḷōpatti* does not claim any such conquest nor does the Koṅgu chronicle contain any reference to one. On the other hand, the Koṅgu chronicle has repeated statements of conquests of Kēraja by Kongu'. He cites Śangunni Menon.

<sup>4</sup> The text reads *Gaṅgarājyaṇḍu kaṇṇarātnam Koṅgar-kōṭṭuk kuṇarṇḍu koḍuppa āṇṇa-aḍar-ṇṇai-p-pūrvarājar puṇar-ḍuṇḍu*. Above, Vol. XVII, p. 303.

<sup>5</sup> P. 10.

<sup>6</sup> *SII*, Vol. III, p. 221.

<sup>7</sup> *ARSIE*, 1906, para. 32.



assumed, or were given, names and surnames of ruling Chōḷa kings, and from the names alone one could say whose officials or subordinates they were. Such a practice is impossible in the case of the kings called Koṅgu-Chōḷas. Secondly, the term Koṅgu-Chōḷa might very naturally indicate that the members were of the Koṅgu country, and it will be shown presently that though these kings ruled over the Koṅgu country, they were not of that country but came from outside. It is worth noting that the two earliest kings had the name, surname or title Kalimūrka and the other called himself Kōnāṭṭān.<sup>1</sup> The earliest use of the title Kalimūrka is found in a record of the 5th year of Pallava Dantivarman found at Kuṇṇāṇḍārkōyil in the Kuḷattūr Taluk (Pudukkōṭṭai). In it, it is stated that a tank called Vāli-ēri was constructed by a chief named Vāli-Vaḍugaṇ *alias* Kalimūrka-Ḥavaraiaṇ, who calls himself a servant of Maṇṇiḍuvaṇār *alias* Pēraḍiyaiaṇ evidently of the Muttaraiaṇ family. From this inscription it is clear that Vāli-Vaḍugaṇ was of a family of local chiefs as indicated by the titular surname Kalimūrka-Ḥavaraiaṇ, and that he was the subordinate of one of the principal chiefs of the Pallava king Dantivarman. We note the distinction which the inscription makes between *Ḥavaraiaṇ* and *Pēraḍiyaiaṇ*. It is needless to say that almost the whole of the Kuḷattūr taluk was included in one or the other of the divisions of Kōnāḍu. We know that, after the revival of the Chōḷas, the Kōnāḍu chiefs, among others, transferred their allegiance to the Chōḷas, when Āditya I acquired the whole of the Pallava dominion, and adopted the titles and surnames of their new overlords. This subordinate family of Kōnāḍu, just like the main line of Iruṅgōvēḷs or Irukkuvēḷs, must be regarded as belonging to the Yādava stock. It will be better and more appropriate to call this family of rulers of Koṅgu by the name Koṅgu Kōnāṭṭār than by any other.

There is no need for examining the palaeography of the inscriptions to arrive at the time of the records, as we know for certain the date of Vikrama-Chōḷa of these epigraphs from his Tiṅgaḷūr inscription which combines his 40th regnal year with Śaka 967.<sup>2</sup> It is enough to say that the characters in which the inscription of Virasōḷa-Kalimūrka-Perumāḷ are engraved are almost similar to those of Kalimūrka-Vikrama-Chōḷa's epigraphs and therefore Virasōḷa-Kalimūrka must be either a predecessor or a successor of the other. And, though it is not quite easy to trace any marked differences in the characters of the epigraphs of the two kings, yet a close examination of the palaeography of the inscriptions of the former (Nos. II and III below) found at Piramiyam as compared with that of the latter (Nos. IV to VII) discovered in the same place seems to me to show that the former must be slightly earlier than the latter. Besides, the engraving on separate slabs, door posts, etc., of Virasōḷa-Kalimūrka's inscriptions also point to the same fact. Tentatively therefore we may assign Virasōḷa-Kalimūrka to the end of the tenth century A. D. and consider him to be the immediate predecessor of Kalimūrka-Vikrama-Chōḷa whose accession took place in 1005 A.D., and who reigned for at least 42 years, i.e., till 1047 A.D. At worst, Virasōḷa-Kalimūrka may be regarded as the immediate successor of Kalimūrka-Vikrama-Chōḷa. He is decidedly not later. This, it may be noted, is a positive proof afforded by the Vaṭṭeḷuttu and Tamil inscriptions occurring at Piramiyam which has happily preserved the records of five of their successors.<sup>3</sup> We have also to take note of the fact that 'Kalimūrka' occurring in the double names

<sup>1</sup> See for instance No. IV below which is a proclamation by the king himself and which commences with the words "Hail! I am Vikrama-Chōḷa, the Kōnāṭṭān. This is the 20th year of my reign".

<sup>2</sup> *ARSIE*, 1905, No. 614.

<sup>3</sup> (1) One of Abhimāna-Chōḷa Rājādhiraḷa dated in the 10th year of reign (No. 202), (2) two of Rājādhiraḷa Uttama-Chōḷa dated in the 8th and 17 + 1st years (Nos. 198 and 205), (3) one of Rājādhiraḷa Vira-Chōḷa dated in the 5 + 1st year (No. 192), (4) two of Kuḷōttuṅga-Chōḷa dated in the 9th and 11th years of reign (Nos. 201 and 194), (5) twelve of Virasōḷendra ranging in date between the 3rd and 19th years (Nos. 184/3rd, 186/5th, 197/6th, 193/7th, 188 and 199/8th, 200/13th, 182/14th, 191 and 206/19th, 195 and 205 date lost), and one of Parakēsarivarman Tiruchchirrambalam-uḍaiyāṇ Vikrama-Chōḷa dated in the 13th year (*ARSIE*, 1920, No. 196).



of the two kings under notice has come to denote a name rather than a title that it originally was, just as 'Rājādhirāja' a few years later. In the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1920, p. 109, it has been stated that Vira-Chōla-Kalimūrka was earlier in point of time than Parakēsarivarman Vira-Chōla 'who ruled the two Koṅṅus'. It has also been suggested that Vira-Chōla-Kalimūrka might have been the son of Rājādhirāja Vira-Chōla. But Parakēsarivarman Vira-Chōla 'who ruled the two Koṅṅus' was the successor of Rājakēsari Kulōttuṅga whose reign extended from 1149 to 1183 A.D. and the predecessor of Rājakēsari Virarājendra whose accession took place in 1207. A.D. As such, he must have reigned in the period 1183-1207 A.D., and his inscriptions are all in Tamil of the twelfth century A.D. The records of Virasōla-Kalimūrka-Perumāḷ are all in Vaṭṭeluttu characters of the 10th-11th centuries A.D. Neither could Virasōla-Kalimūrka be made the son of Rājādhirāja Vira-Chōla. His records and those of his father Abhimāna-Chōla Rājādhirāja are also definitely of the 12th century A.D. It may be noted that some of the records of Kalimūrka-Vikrama-Chōla-Kōṇāṭṭāṇ found in places other than Piramiyam are in Tamil, and his reign marks the transition period from Vaṭṭeluttu to Tamil.

Two of the inscriptions edited hereunder (Nos. VI and VII) contain the historical introduction (*meykkīrtti*) of the Kōṇāṭṭu chief Vikrama-Chōla. They present no differences in reading. They tell us that Vikrama-Chōla 'held his sceptre righteously, fertilized the country, removed the sufferings of the distressed, received only a sixth share (of produce as tax), punished the wicked, guarded his subjects from external ills, and protected them as a mother would her babe'. The description clearly points to the fact that the reign of Vikrama-Chōla was a peaceful one and that he was perfectly mindful of his duties as a just ruler. Inscriptions of Vikrama-Chōla Kōṇāṭṭāṇ are found at Aṇṇūr, Mūlaṇūr and Tiṅgaḷūr, besides Piramiyam. Of the four inscriptions found at Aṇṇūr, two are dated in the 2nd year<sup>1</sup>, one in the 4th<sup>2</sup> and the other in the 27th year<sup>3</sup> of the king's reign. The last one records the presentation of a metallic statue by a resident of Kavaiyanputtūr, i.e., Kōvilpālayam, of himself and his wife and registers also a gift of gold. The Mūlaṇūr epigraph<sup>4</sup> stops with the mention of the king's name and date. It bears the 27th year. The Tiṅgaḷūr inscription,<sup>5</sup> besides furnishing a Śaka date with regnal year, refers to the construction of the *mukha-maṇḍapa* of the temple of Pārśvanātha Jina, called Chandravasati, at the place.

Two others of the subjoined inscriptions (Nos. III and IV) reveal that the members of this branch of the Kōṇāṭṭu chiefs, like those of the original line,<sup>6</sup> had matrimonial relationship with the royal house of the Chōlas of the Vijayālaya line. No. III registers a gift by Nampirāṭṭiyār Vaḷavaṇ-Mādēviyār (*alias* Ittiy Muttār). She is very probably one of the queens of Virasōla-Kalimūrka-Perumāḷ, and Vaḷavaṇ-Mādēviyār occurring in the descriptive part of her name shows that she was a princess of the Chōla family. No. IV, which registers a royal proclamation and gift made by Kōṇāṭṭāṇ-Vikrama-Chōla on the occasion of the death of his daughter, tells us that she was one of the queens of the Chōla king Vikrama-Chōla. These marriage alliances clearly indicate the high status of this branch of the Kōṇāṭṭu family.

Names such as Madhurāntaka-vaḷāgam in No. III, Vikramaśōla-Pallavaraiyaṇ, Parakēsari-kāl, and Parakēsari-uḷakku in Nos. II and V might reflect their having been so named after Parakēsari Uttama-Chōla and Parakēsari Vikrama-Chōla, i.e., Rājendra-Chōla I, as the reigns of Virasōla-Kalimūrka-Perumāḷ and Kalimūrka-Vikrama-Chōla covered the latter half of the 10th and the first half of the 11th century A. D. as shown above.

<sup>1</sup> *ARSIE*, 1922, Nos. 591 and 597.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 593.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 594.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 1920, No. 215.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 1905, No. 614.

<sup>6</sup> The Kōṇāṭṭu chief Bhūti's mother Anupamā was a Chōla princess, and Bhūti's daughter Āditta-Piḍāri was the queen of Chōla Ariarāja.



Besides Virasāṅgāta-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, the following geographical items are mentioned :—

- (1) Vellakal-Vellāṇūr in Kāṅgaya-nāḍu.
- (2) Nārāyaṇūr-nāṭṭup-Parāntakapuram.
- (3) Villiyaṇūr.
- (4) Vaḍagarai Maḷa-nāṭṭu *brahmadēyam* Ayirūr.
- (5) Kōnāṭṭu Ollaiyūr-kūṟṟattu Maṇikaṇṭha-maṅgalam.

Of these, Kāṅgayaṁ, which has given its name to a subdivision, exists under the same name and is 18 miles north of Dhārāpuram.<sup>1</sup> Kāṅgaya-nāḍu forms the northern part of the Dharapuram Taluk lying between the Noyyal and Nelali. Vellakal is the modern village of Vellakōyil, 11 miles ESE of Kāṅgayaṁ and 18 miles NE of Dhārāpuram.<sup>2</sup> Vellāṇūr is a hamlet near it.

One of the inscriptions of Kōnāpuram in the Dharapuram Taluk mentions Parāntakapuram *alias* Rājarājapuram,<sup>3</sup> and another of the time of Kṛishṇadēva-mahārāja calls Rājarājapuram as the capital of Kōṅgu-maṇḍalam.<sup>4</sup> The place is evidently Dhārāpuram.

Villiyaṇūr is not traceable.

Ayirūr is one of the three places where the early Pāṇḍya king Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ defeated the Adigamāṇ of Tagaḍūr, the others being Puḷaiyūr and Āyiravēli. The subdivision of Maḷa-nāḍu had in it Māḡaṇikkūḍi and Māṅguḍi and its situation was to the north of the Kāvēri river.

As regards the villages mentioned in Ollaiyūr-kūṟṟam, see above Vol. XXV, p. 95. Maṇikaṇṭha-maṅgalam is not traceable.

#### I.—Koḍuvāy Inscription of the 14th year of Virasōḷa-Kalimūrkkap-Perumāḷ

The subjoined inscription<sup>5</sup> in Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters and Tamil language is engraved behind an image in the central shrine of the Viṇṇirāinda-Perumāḷ temple at Koḍuvāy. It is damaged, and relates to the construction of a well by a resident of Kōnāḍu.

#### TEXT<sup>6</sup>

1 Svasti śrī [  *]	10 [Kōnā]ṭṭ=iru-
2 Virasō-	11 ndu vāḷu[m]
3 ḷa-kkalimūr-	12 [Ā]ṭṭkōvaṇ [Ka]-
4 [kka*]-pperumā-	13 ṅuppaḷi
5 [r]kku=tti[ruve]u]	14 Mūtta-Āśā[r]-
6 tt-iṭṭu=ch-	15 choḥārtti-
7 chel[lāniṇra]	16 chochevvi(cheyvi) [ch-]
8 yāḍu padi-	17 cha kiṇṇa [  *]
9 nālāvaḍu [  *]	

<sup>1</sup> Sowell's List, Vol. I, p. 219.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 220.

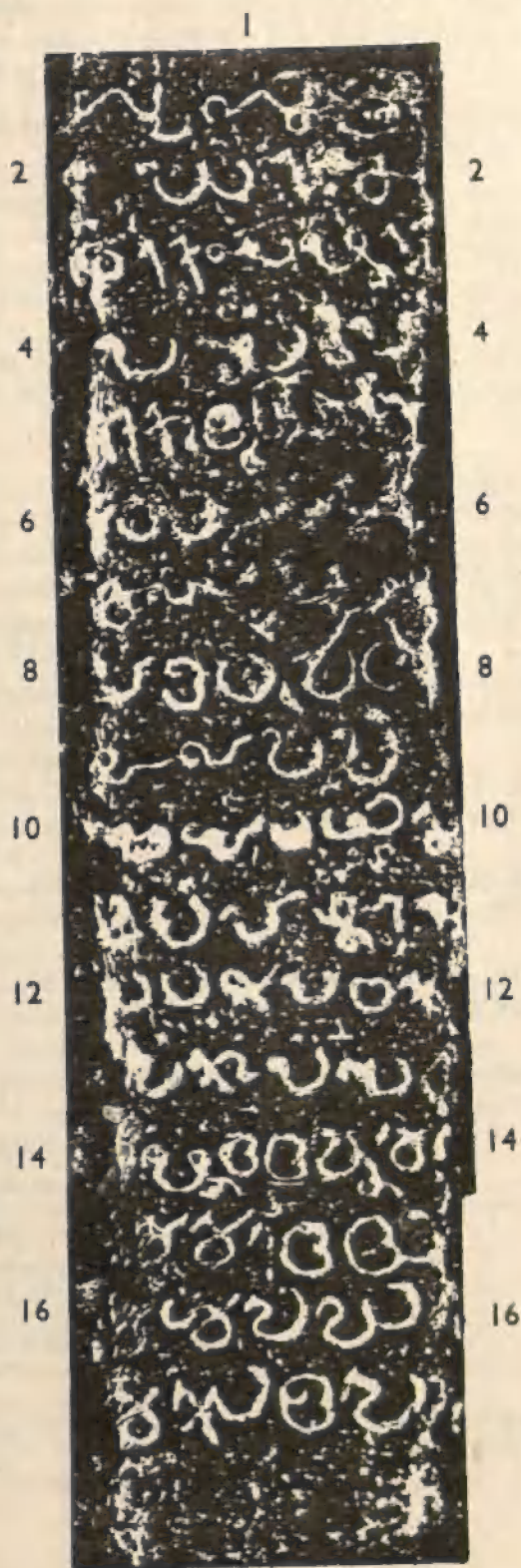
<sup>3</sup> *ARSIE*, 1920, No. 139.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., No. 213.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., No. 111.

<sup>6</sup> From impressions.

SEVEN VATTELUTTU INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE KONGU COUNTRY







## TRANSLATION

Hail ! Prosperity ! (*Issued*) with the royal signature affixed, in the fourteenth year, current, of Virasōḷa-Kalimūrkkap-Perumāṅār. This well had been caused to be made by Āṭkōvaṇ Kaṅguppai residing in [Kō]nāḍu, on behalf of Mūṭta-Āśār.

✓ II.—Piramiyam Inscription of the 17th year of king Virasōḷa-Kalimūrkkap-Perumāḷ

This inscription, in Vaṭṭeluttu alphabet and Tamil language, is engraved on the base of the south wall of the central shrine of the Tiruvalaṅjūlināthasvāmin temple at Piramiyam. It records a gift of land purchased from the wife of a certain Vikramaśōḷap-Pallavaraiyaṇ and Tirumāḍalaṇ Parāntakaṇ, residents of Villiyam, by Nārāyaṇaṇ-Māraṇ *alias* Āśārakānta-Brahmā-dhirāṇ of Ayirūr, a village in Vaḍagarai-Maḷa-nāḍu.

Grantha letters are used in writing *svasti śrī, brahma°, śrī, mahā°* and *sa* (1. 1) *°ndhi, abhishē°, brāhmaṇa, brahmādēya* and *brahmā°* in lines 2 and 6, and *brahmādhi°* (line 7).

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [[\*]Kō-Vira[śōḷ]a-Kalimūrkkap-Perumāḷuk[ku] tiruveḷutt-iṭṭu=[ch\*]chellāniṇra yāṇḍu paḍinēḷā<sup>2</sup>.....ḍu Teṅkarai-nāṭṭu brahmādēyam śrī-Virasaṅgāda-chchaturvēdimaṅgalattu Tiruvalaṅjūli-Mahādēvarkku niśadamum mūṇru-sa-
- 2 ndhiyum abhishēkam-śeyyum brāhmaṇaṇpukkum Ālvārkku tirumeyppuchchuch.....  
..[Va]ḍagarai-Maḷa-nāṭṭu brahmādēyam Ayirūr-kKavuniyaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ-Māraṇ-āṇa Āśārakānta-Brahmādirāśa[nē]ṇ i-vVirasaṅ-
- 3 gāda-chchaturvēdimaṅgalattil Vi[ll]iyatt-irundu vāḷum veḷḷāḷaṇ [śōḷ]ma .....kkiramaśōḷa-pPal[l\*]avaraiyaṇ maṇavāṭṭi..dināgai pakkal vilaikoṇḍa paṅg-iraṇḍum ivv-ūrt-Tirumāḍalaṇ
- 4 Parāntakaṇ...tti pakkal i-chchadukkattu vilaikoṇḍa paṅgu.<sup>3</sup> āga=ppaṇ<sup>4</sup>.....  
[pam baḍu kūrum] ava-derri<sup>5</sup>yum para-derri<sup>6</sup>ppērūm i-ppaṅgu suṭṭivanda nilam e....<sup>6</sup>  
paṭṭadum i-[t\*]-
- 5 Tiruvalaṅjūli-Mādēvarkku tirumeyppūchchu śandanakkāppukkum.....kkum-āga śandirādittaval niṅka śey[du]kuḍuttēṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ-Māra[n-ā]ṇa Āśārakānta....<sup>7</sup> śaṇṇē  
[ ] I-ppaṇ-
- 6 gu mūṇrukum vanda iraiyum=echchōṅṅukkūṇru- variyum iravum veṭṭive.....<sup>8</sup>  
[kaḍa-] mai eppērppaṭṭadukkum-āga Nārāyaṇaṇ-Māraṇ-āṇa Āśārakānta-Brahmādirā-śaṇḍai Parakē[sari-ka]llā(l)ṅ-ruḷai-niṅai
- 7 śem poṇ pa[ḍina]i[n-ka]ḷaṅju....<sup>9</sup> ḍuppicchhu kaikkoṇḍu iraiy-iḷichchu sa<sup>10</sup>.....ttōm  
ivv-ūr sabhaiyōm[ ][\*]=Idu śandirādittaval niṅka śeydukuḍuttēṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ-Māra[n]<sup>11</sup>..  
[Āśārakānta-Brahmādhiraśanē[n\*] [ ][\*]

<sup>1</sup> ARSIE, 1920, No. 189.

<sup>2</sup> The date which is in letters has been read as thirteen instead of seventeen in ARSIE.

The gap may be filled with the letters *vaḍu ivvāṇ*.

<sup>3</sup> The word *oṇru* required here seems to be indicated in figure.

<sup>4</sup> Some of the letters lost here are *°gu mūṇru*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *ḍatti*.

<sup>6</sup> The gap may be filled up with *°ppēr*.

<sup>7</sup> The *aksharas Brahmādirā°* may be supplied here as at the end of l. 7.

<sup>8</sup> The letters lost after *ve* cannot be determined.

<sup>9</sup> The dotted portion is not clear in the original, but may be filled up with the letters *poṇṇum kṇ°*.

<sup>10</sup> The gap may be filled up with *°ruvamāniyam=āga kuḍu* or *°ndirādittaval niṅka kuḍu°*.

<sup>11</sup> The letters *āṇa* may be supplied here.



## ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

Hail ! Prosperity ! (*Issued*) with the royal signature in the [seventeenth] year, current, of the reign of king Virasōla-Kalimūrkkap-Perumā. Kavuniyaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ-Māraṇ *alias* Āsarakānta-Brahmādhiraṇ of Ayirūr, a *brahmadēya* in Vaḍagarai-Maḷanāḍu purchased three shares of land in all,—two shares from . . . dināgai, the wife of the Vellāla Sōma . . . Vikramaśōla-Pallavaṇaiyaṇ of Villiyam residing in Virasaṅgāda-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, and one share from Tirumāḍalaṇ Parāntakaṇ,—and gave them as *svadatti* and *paradatti* for the *Brāhmaṇa* who performs, thrice daily, the bathing of the god in the temple of Tiruvalaṇḍuḷi-Mahādēva at Virasaṅgāda-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Teṅkarai-nāḍu, and for the sandal paste to be applied to the body of the Ālvār. The gift was to last as long as the moon and the sun endure.

For meeting the annual royal dues such as *irai*, *echchōrukkūrru-vari*, *iravu*, *kaḍamai*, etc., the assembly of the village demanded from the donor Nārāyaṇaṇ-Māraṇ *alias* Āsarakānta-Brahmādhiraṇ and obtained fifteen *kaḷaṇḍu*, as weighed by *Parakēsarikkal*, of fine gold (*coins*) having proper marks (i.e., impressions) and weight, and exempted the land from payment of taxes.

### III.—Piramiyam Inscription of the 24th year of Virasōla-Kalimūrkkap-Perumā

The following inscription,<sup>1</sup> in Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters and Tamil language, is engraved on a door post lying within the central shrine of the same temple. It is dated in the 24th year of the reign of king Virasōla-Kalimūrkkap-Perumā and registers a gift of land, as *tirumelukkuppuraṁ* (i.e., for washing the floor with cow-dung), made by queen Vaḷavaṇ-Mādēviyār. The queen is said to have purchased the land from the assembly (*sabhā*) of Virasaṅgāda-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. Mention is made of Madhurāntakavaḷāgam.

## TEXT

- |                                      |                                  |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 Svasti śrī* [  *] Kō-Vi            | 15 ṇḍu vaichcha būmi [  *] Madu- |
| 2 raśōla-kKalimūrkkap-               | 16 rāntaka-valāgattu Nāra-       |
| 3 Perumāḷukku=tti[ru]-               | 17 ṇaṇ-Madurāntaka...            |
| 4 veḷutt=iṭṭu=chchel[lā]             | 18 [māvi]...ten-mēlai o-         |
| 5 niṇṇa yāṇḍu 24                     | 19 ru-mā araikkāṇiyu-            |
| 6 ivv-āṇḍu Virasaṅ-                  | 20 m Virasaṅgādan                |
| 7 gāda-chcharuppēdimaṅ- <sup>2</sup> | 21 mōrtalaiy-aḍaiya=             |
| 8 galattu=t Tiruvalaṇḍu-             | 22 kkāṇi araikkā-                |
| 9 littēvarkku tirume-                | 23 ṇiyum-āga nila-               |
| 10 ḷukkuppuraṁ-āga sa-               | 24 m oru-māv-arai-               |
| 11 bhaiyār-pakkal nambirā-           | 25 yum tirume-                   |
| 12 ṭṭiyār Vaḷavaṇ-Mādē-              | 26 ḷukku iḍuvā-                  |
| 13 viyār-āṇa [Iṭṭiy]-                | 27 rukku [  *]                   |
| 14 [mū]ttār vi[lai]kku ko-           |                                  |

<sup>1</sup> *ARSIE*, 1920, No. 204.

<sup>2</sup> Written in *grantha* characters.

<sup>3</sup> Tamil variant of *chaturvēdī*.



SEVEN VATTELUTTU INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE KONGU COUNTRY

II

Left half



Right half



SCALE: ONE-FIFTH



## ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

Hail ! Prosperity ! (*Issued*) with the royal signature in the 24th year, current, of the reign of king Virasōla-Kalimūrkkap-Perumāl. In this year, queen (*nambirāṭṭiyār*) Vaḷavaṇ-Mādēviyār alias Itṭiyamūttār purchased from the members of the assembly and gave the following land as *tiru-meḷukkuppuram* (i.e., for the requirement of washing with cow-dung) to the temple of Tiruvalaṇ-julidēva at Virasaṅgāda-chaturvēdimaṅgalam :—

One *mā* and half a *kāṇi* of land in Madurāntakavalāgam on the south western side of the land of Nāraṇaṇ Madurāntaka . . . and one *kāṇi* and a half of land adjoining the land (*called*) Virasaṅgādaṇ-mērtalai,<sup>1</sup> in all one *mā* and a half of land was given for the requirement of persons that wash the temple with cow-dung.

## IV.—Piramiyam Inscription of the 20th year of Kōnāṭṭāṇ-Vikrama-Chōla

The subjoined inscription, in Vatteluttu characters and Tamil language, is engraved on the west wall of the central shrine of Tiruvalaṇjulināthasvāmin temple at Piramiyam. The peculiarity of this inscription consists in the fact that at the outset, immediately after the auspicious opening words 'Hail ! Prosperity !' the king himself proclaims his name, country and the year of his reign :— "I am Vikrama-Chōla of Kōnāḍu (Kōnāṭṭāṇ). (This is) the twentieth year of my (reign)". It then proceeds to say (using the first person plural) that he deposited 12 *kaḷaṇḍu* of gold, as weighed (or tested) by the *nagarak-kal*, with the *ūrār* of Vellakal-Vellāpūr in Kāṅgaya-nāḍu and enjoined that the *ūrār* should measure out annually 90 *nāḷi* or 45 *kāṇa-nāḷi* of oil (at the rate of one *uḷakku* of oil per day) to the assembly of Virasaṅgāda-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, and that, receiving this quantity of oil, the assembly should burn a perpetual light in the temple of Tiruvalaṇjuli-Mahādēva at Virasaṅgāda-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, for the merit of the king's daughter who was the Chōla queen (*Śōlamādēviyār*), wife of Vikrama-Chōla.

The whole record from the announcement of the king's name and country to the very end of the grant is a statement made by the king himself and the grant was made by him for the merit of his daughter. The statement of *ARSIE* for 1920<sup>2</sup> that 'the lamp was ordered to the temple by Vikramaśōlaṇ-Śōlamādēviyār' is therefore not correct. The occasion for the endowment is contained in the word *pramādikka*. Though the word *pramāda* is generally used in the sense of 'carelessness or blunder', it seems to indicate here some accident or calamity resulting in the death of the king's daughter who is stated to be the queen of Vikrama-Chōla. In this sense, the word is found used in an inscription of Vikrama-Chōla relating to the accidental death of a calf by the chariot of Manu-Chōla's son.<sup>3</sup> The word also occurs in another inscription edited here (No. VII, line 4).

It is gathered from this record that the year consisted of 360 days, that 4 *uḷakku* made one *nāḷi* and that a *kāṇa-nāḷi* had double the capacity of a *Parakēsari-nāḷi*.

As the 40th year of the reign of king Kalimūrkkap-Vikrama-Chōla of Kōnāḍu corresponded to Śaka 967 (1045 A.D.), the date of the present inscription i.e. the 20th year of reign must be 1025 A.D. The Chōla king at the time was Parakēsarivarman Rājendra-Chōla I. That he had the surname Vikrama-Chōla was known previously but that he had married the daughter of Kōnāṭṭāṇ Kalimūrkkap-Vikrama-Chōla was learnt only from this inscription which relates also her death.

The word Kōnāṭṭāṇ preceding the king's name clearly indicates that his original home was Kōnāḍu, one of the big districts of South India that had several subdivisions in it. It bordered

<sup>1</sup> This may also be rendered as on the western side of the land of Virasaṅgādaṇ.

<sup>2</sup> See remarks against No. 187 of App. C

<sup>3</sup> *SI*, Vol. V, No. 456.





SEVEN VATELUTTU INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE KONGU COUNTRY

IV

Left half



Right half



SCALE: ONE-FOURTH



## V.—Piramiyam Inscription of the 32nd year of Kalimūrka-Vikrama-Chōla

The following inscription<sup>1</sup> of king Kalimūrka śrī-Vikrama-Chōladēva is engraved in Vaṭṭe-luttu characters and Tamil language on the base of the south wall of the central shrine of Tiruvalaṅjulināthasvāmin temple at Piramiyam. It is dated in the 32nd year of reign of the king (1037 A.D.) and registers a gift of twelve *kaḷaṅju* of gold, as tested by *Parakēsarikkal* and having proper impress and weight, made by Aṇukkan Śēdan *alias* Eriyum Viṭaṅka-Chetṭi of Maṇikaṇṭha-maṅgalam in Ollaiyūr-Kūṛṅgam, a subdivision of Kōṇāḍu, for burning a perpetual lamp in the temple of Tiruvalaṅjuli-Paramēśvara at Virasaṅgāda-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* in Teṇkarai-nāḍu. This inscription evinces the interest taken by the people of Kōṇāḍu in the country under the rule of this king. Grantha letters are used in *svasti śrī*, *śrī-Vikrama-Chō* and *dē* (l. 1), *brahma* and *śrī-Vi* (l. 2), *Paramēśvara* and *Chandrādī* (l. 3), *sabhaiyā* (l. 4), *ōtra* and *sabhaiyā* (l. 5), *sabhai* (l. 6) and *i dharmma Panmāyēśva*, *rakshai* (l. 7). The peculiar use of *idaṇukku tiruviḷakkukku* for *i-ttīru* is noteworthy.

## TEXT

- 1 Svasti śrī [\*] Kō-Kalimūrka-śrī-Vikrama-Chōladēvarkku=  
ttiruveḷutt=iṭṭu=chohellāniṇṇa yāṇḍu 32 āvaḍu Kōṇāṭṭu  
O[\*]layūr-
- 2 kkūṛṅgattu-Maṇikaṇṭha-maṅgalamuḍaiyāṇ Aṇukkan  
Śēdan-āṇa [E] riyum Viṭaṅka-chChetṭiyē[n] Teṇkarai-  
nāṭṭu brahmadēyam-āṇa śrī-Vi-
- 3 rasaṅgāda-chchaturvēdimaṅgalattu Tiruvalaṅjuli-  
Paramēśvaraṅku [cha]ndrādittavaṅ śella vaitta tiru-  
nondāviḷakku oṇṇu [\*] idaṇukku (tiruviḷak)-
- 4 (kukku) i-vVirasaṅgāda-chchaturvēdimaṅgalattu  
sabhaiyār-vaśam eḍuttu=kkoḍutta poṇ Parakēsari-  
kkallāl tulaṇ-nirai-śempon 12 paṇṇiru=
- 5 kaḷaṅju(m)[\*]i=ppon 12 paṇṇiru-kaḷaṅjinālum  
śantrādittavaṅ i-ttirunondāviḷakk-oṇṇu i-  
Virasaṅgāda-chchaturvēdimaṅgalattu sabhaiyārē śe-
- 6 luttakkaḍavarāga i-ttirunondāviḷakku vaittēṇ  
Aṇukkan Śēdan-āṇa Eriyum Viṭaṅka-chChetṭiyēṇ=  
ippaḍi poṇ koṇḍu kal-veṭṭivittōm sabhai-
- 7 yōm [\*] i-dharma[m] panmāyēśvarar rakshai ||

## TRANSLATION

Hail! Prosperity! In the 32nd year of the reign of king Kalimūrka Vikrama-Chōladēva, I, Aṇukkan Śēdan *alias* Eriyum Viṭaṅka-Chetṭi of Maṇikaṇṭhamaṅgalam in Ollaiyūr-kūṛṅgam of Kōṇāḍu provided for the maintenance of one sacred perpetual lamp till the moon and the sun endure in the temple of Tiruvalaṅjuli-Paramēśvara at Śrī-Virasaṅgāda-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, a

<sup>1</sup> *ARSIE*, 1920, No. 190.



*brahmadēya* in Tenkarai-nāḍu. For this lamp, pure gold (*coins*), 12 (twelve) *kaḷaṅḷu* in weight as weighed by the *Parakēsarikkal*, and having the proper impress and weight, was given to the members of the assembly of the said Virasaṅgāda-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. That, with (*the income arising from*) this twelve *kaḷaṅḷu* of gold the members of the assembly of this Virasaṅgāda-chaturvēdimaṅgalam may maintain this one sacred perpetual lamp, as long as the moon and the sun endure, I Aṇukkan Śēndan *alias* Eriyum Viṭaṅka-Chetṭi provided for this sacred perpetual lamp. In this wise, the assembly having received the gold had it engraved on stone. The (*assembly*) of all Māhēśvaras shall protect this gift.

#### VI.—Piramiyam Inscription of the 41st year of Kalimūrka-Vikrama-Chōḷa

The subjoined inscription<sup>1</sup> is engraved on the north wall of the central shrine of the Tiruvalaṅḷuḷināthasvāmin temple of Piramiyam. It contains eight long lines of writing in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet. The language is Tamil. A few letters at the right end of each line are damaged but can be made out satisfactorily. The inscription is dated in the 41st year, expressed both in figures and letters, of the reign of king Kalimūrka śrī-Vikrama-Chōḷadēva and contains a short introduction in the Tamil *agaval* metre, the object of which is to say that Vikrama-Chōḷa was one of the best of kings, possessed all kingly virtues, governed the country with justice and effected agricultural improvements. The *prāśasti* writer describes in the words of the *Kuraḷ* that the king wielded his sceptre righteously, held up his silver-white parasol, made the lands of the country fertile, gave relief to the suffering inhabitants, received only his one-sixth share (of the produce of land), removed sins (or punished the wicked) and, seated on the royal throne (or sitting in council), afforded protection to his subjects from external evils and was as tenderly attached to them as the mother to the child she had given birth.

The *Kuraḷ* verses are cited below to enable the reader to compare the wording of the *prāśasti* with that of the *Kuraḷ* which it follows :—

*Koḍai-aḷi ſenkōḷ kuḍiy-ōmbal nāṅḡum*

*Uḍaiyāṇām Vēndark=koḷi* (ch. 39, v. 10) ;

*Kuḍi-puraṅkātt=ōmbi=kkuṟraṅ-kaḍidal*

*vaḍuv-aṇṇu vēndan=roḷil* (ch. 55, v. 9) ;

*Araṅ-ilukkād=allavai nīkki maraṅ-ilukkā*

*māṇam-uḍaiyaḍ=araṣu* (ch. 39, v. 4).

It will be noted that the phrase *allavai kaḍindu* of the inscription occurs in the form *allavai nīkki* in *Kuraḷ* 39, v. 4, and *kuṟraṅ-kaḍidal* in 55, v. 9. *Allavai* cannot mean remainder as noted on p. 108 of *ARSIE* for 1920. The juxtaposition of the phrases *āril-aṇṇu koṇḍu* (receiving onesixth of the produce as tax) and *allavai<sup>2</sup> kaḍindu* (punishing the wicked or removing sins), shows how the latter followed the former as cause and effect and reminds one of the *Smṛiti* text

अरक्ष्यमाणाः कुर्वन्ति यत्किञ्चित्किल्बिषं प्रजाः ।

तस्मान् नृपतेरधं यस्माद्गृह्णात्यसौ करान् ॥ *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, I. 337

<sup>1</sup> *ARSIE*, 1920, No. 183.

<sup>2</sup> *Parimēlaḷagar* commenting on this word equates it with *kolai kaḷavu* (murder, stealing) ; cf. *Kuraḷ*, ch. 39, v. 4.

*Nāḍu-vaḷampadutti*, i.e., 'making the lands of the country fertile', is one of the duties of a good ruler and we may also note the occurrence of *vaṇḍamīl-nāḍu vaḷampaduttu* in *Śēkkilār's Mūrti-Nāyaṇār Purāṇam* (verse 13). With the phrase *perṛa-kuḷavikkurra narṛāy pōl* of the inscription compare *Kuḷavi koḷbavarin oṃbumadi* (*Puram* 5, l. 7), and *Kuḷavi Koḷvārin-kuḷipuraṃ tandu* (*Paḍirrupattu*, 6th *Paḍigam*, l. 9) and *स्याद्राजा भृत्यवर्गेषु प्रजासु च यथा पिता* (*Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, I. 334).

It will be seen that in the reading and interpretation of this inscription as given here, 'Vēndi-nāḍu' and its conquest by Vikrama-Chōḷa noticed at p. 108 of *ARSIE* for 1920 find no place.

The object of the inscription is to register a gift of 55 *kaḷaṇḍu* of gold (coins) as weighed by (the stone weight) *Parakēsari-kal*—each coin bearing clear marks and having proper weight—made by Virasaṅgādan Śūṛriyadēvan-Vāṇavaṇ-Uttaramantri, a Nānādēsiya-nāṭṭu-Chetṭi of Nandiyanallūr in Vaḍagarai-Tirukkaḷumala-nāḍu. This quantity of gold was received by the members of the assembly (*sabhā*) of Virasaṅgāda-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* in Tenkarai-nāḍu who bound themselves to meet from the annual income of one hundred and ten *kalam* of paddy for *kār* and *paṣāṇam*, arising from the deposited amount, (1) the expenses of 90 *kalam* of paddy per year for feeding daily 3 *brāhmaṇas* at the rate of three *kuṛuṇi* calculated at one *kuṛuṇi* each,<sup>1</sup> (2) eighteen *kalam* and nine *kuṛuṇi* of paddy per year, at the rate of 5 *nāḷi* by the *parakēsari* measure per day, for the man who cooked the meals; and (3) one *kalam* and three *kuṛuṇi* for cloth to the latter.

In the phrase *Parakēsari-kallāl-tuḷai-nīrai-ṣempon aimbattaiṇ-kaḷaṇḍu*, the last term *aimbattaiṇ-kaḷaṇḍu* (55 *kaḷaṇḍu*) is qualified by two adjuncts *Parakēsari-kallāl* and *tuḷai nīrai ṣempon* of which the first denotes the stone called after *Parakēsari* for weighing gold; every one of the three words *tuḷai*, *nīrai* and *ṣempon* of which the second adjunct is composed indicates that the gift consisted of gold coins, *tuḷai* standing for the marks and impressions on the obverse of coin, *nīrai* for the proper weight of the coin, and *ṣempon* for the name of the gold coin, the whole meaning 'gold coins having proper weight and marks or impressions'.

*Grantha* letters are used in *svasti*, *śrī*, *śrī*, *Chōḷadēva* (l. 1), *brahmadēyam śrī*, *chaturvē*<sup>o</sup> and *sabhāiyō*<sup>o</sup> (l. 4), *Paramēśvara* and *brāhmaṇa* (l. 5), and *Chandrādityavat*, *sabhāiyō*<sup>o</sup>, *i-dharmam rakshai*, *śrīpādam* and *°n-māhēśva*<sup>o</sup> (l. 8).

## TEXT

- 1 Svasti śrī [\*] Kō-kKalimūrka Śrī-Vikkirama-Chōḷadēvaṛkku=  
ttiruveḷutt-iṭṭu=cheṇkōl=ōchchi vēḷḷi-veṇ-kuḍai miḷirav=  
ēndi nāḍu vaḷam-paḍuttu naiya<sup>2</sup> kuḍiy=ōmbi āṇil oṇṇu koṇ-
- 2 ḍ=allavai kaḍindu kō-vīṛr-irundu kuḍi-puraṇ-kāttu=pperrā-  
kuḷavikk=urra nar-rāy pōl=ttiru-migu-śirappir=chellā-  
niṇṇa tiru-nalli-yāṇḍu [41]nāṛpatt-[oṇṇā]vadu
- 3 vaḍagarai=tTirukkaḷumala-nāṭṭu Nandiyanallūr=uḍaiyāṇ  
Virasaṅgādan Śūṛriyadēvan Vāṇavaṇ=uttaramandiriy-āṇa  
Nānādēsiya-nāṭṭu-chChetṭi-pakkal Tenkarai-nāṭṭu bra-

<sup>1</sup> Besides three vegetable curries including *kummāyam*, each *Brāhmaṇa* had to be served daily with half a *kāpa nāḷi* of rice, one and a half *piḷi* of ghee, two areca nuts and five betel leaves.

<sup>2</sup> Read *naiyūm*. The ai sign of *nai* looks like e in the original.



- 4 hmadēyam Śrī-Vīrasaṅgāda-chaturvēdimangalattu sabhaiyōm  
ivar-pakkal koṇḍa poṇ Parakēsari-kkallāl tuḷai-nīrai-chochem-  
poṇ aiymbatt-aiyñ-kalañju [i\*] i-ppoṇ aimbatt-aiyñ-kalañ-
- 5 jiṇāl vanda aḷavay śela kār paśānam āṇḍ-eḍuttu nūṟṟ-  
orupadiṇ=kalamuñ=koṇḍu Tiruvalaṇḍuḷi-Paramēśvarar  
kōyililē Brāhmaṇarkku uṇṇa vaichecha kalam mūṇṟukku  
[niśadam] Pa-
- 6 rakēsari-kkālāl=kkuṟuṇiy-āga mūṇṟu-kalattukkum nichcham  
mūṇṟu-kuṟuṇiyāl nel āṇḍ-eḍuttu]=ttonṇūṟṟu-kkalamum nichcha[m]  
aḍum Brāhmaṇarkku nichcham Parakēsari aṇṇāḷi[yāl]  
[āṇḍ-eḍuttu padineṇ-kalanē i]-
- 7 ru-tūṇi-kkuṟuṇiyum āṭṭ-oru puḍavaikku nel=kkalanē mu-  
kkuṟuṇiyum=āga nel nūṟṟ-orupadiṇ-kalattālum, i-kkalam  
mūṇṟukku kummāyam=ullitṭu mūṇṟu kaṟiyum oru-  
kalattukku kāṇattāl=arai. . . . .
- 8 m oru-piḍi-arai neyyuñ=[kiḷānam]pērāl  
iraṇḍu pākkum aṇḍu verrilaiyum ippaḍi  
chandrādityavat nīrka mūṇṟu-kalamum  
ūṭṭuvadānōm sabhaiyōm Vāṇavaṇ-uttaramandariyārkkku [i\*] i-  
dharmmam rakshipṇā śrī-pādam en talai mē[lē] [i\*] idu  
pan-māhēśvara-rakshai [i\*]

#### ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

Hail! Prosperity! (*Issued*) with the affixture of royal signature, in the excessively growing prosperous year 41, forty one, current, of (*the reign of*) king Kalimūrka the glorious Vikrama-Chōḷadēva,—who wielded his righteous sceptre, held up his silver-white parasol with splendour, made (*the lands of*) the country fertile, relieved the sufferings (*of*) people,<sup>1</sup> received only one sixth (*of produce as tax*), removed sins (or punished the wicked, i.e. perpetrators of crimes), and who sitting in council (or on the royal throne), protected his subjects from external evils<sup>2</sup> with the intense love of a mother to the child born to her,—

We, (*the members of*) the assembly of the illustrious Vīrasaṅgāda-chaturvēdimangalam, a *brahmadēya* in Teṇkarai-nāḍu, received from Vīrasaṅgāḍaṇ Śūriyadēvan-Vāṇavaṇ-Uttaramantri, a Nānādēsiya-nāṭṭu-Chetṭi and resident of Nandiyanallūr in Vaḍagarai-Tirukkaḷumala-nāḍu, fifty five *kaḷaṇḍu*, as weighed by (*the stone weight called*) Parakēsarikaḷ of gold (*coins bearing clear marks (and having proper) weight*).

With the income of one hundred and ten *kalam* of paddy, arising, during *kār* and *paśāṇam* of every year, from these fiftyfive *kaḷaṇḍu* of gold (*coins*), we, (*the members of*) the assembly, bound ourselves on behalf of Vāṇavaṇ-Uttaramantri to give annually (1) ninety *kalam* of paddy as

<sup>1</sup> *Kuḍi-ōmbal*, according to Parimēlaḷagar, is done by not levying excessive taxation, receiving the due taxes when there is no distress and remitting them when necessary. Cf. *Kuraḷ*, 390.

<sup>2</sup> These refer to those arising from officials and enemies, according to Parimēlaḷagar (see under *Kuraḷ*, 387).

measured by the *Parakēsarikkal*,—(which is required) for feeding, as long as the moon and the sun endure, Brāhmaṇas in the temple of Tiruvalaṅjūli-Paramēśvara,—(calculated at the rate of) three *kuṟuṇi* of paddy per day for the three *kalam* at one *kuṟuṇi* for each *kalam* (dish) to be supplied with half a *kāṇa-nāli* of rice, one and a half *piḍi* of ghee, two areca-nuts, and five betel leaves, all these inclusive of *kummāyam* and three curries, i.e., vegetables; and (2) eighteen *kalam*, two *tūṇi* and one *kuṟuṇi* of paddy calculated at the rate of five *nāli* per day for the Brāhmaṇa who cooked meals, and one *kalam* and three *kuṟuṇi* of paddy to provide for his cloth.

The feet of the person who protects this charity shall rest on my head. This charity shall be under the protection of (the assembly of) *Paṇmāhēśvaras*.

#### VII.—Piramiyam Inscription of the 42nd year of Kalimūrka-Vikrama-Chōla

This inscription, also in Vatteluttu characters and Tamil language, is engraved on the west wall of the central shrine of the Tiruvalaṅjūlināthasvāmin temple at Piramiyam. It is dated in the 42nd year of the reign of king Kalimūrka śrī-Vikrama-Chōladēva, contains the same introduction as in the previous inscription and registers a gift of 15 *kaḷaṅju* of gold (coins) by Nakkaṇ-Viṭaṅkaṇ *alias* Vikramaśōla-Pallavadaraiyaṇ, one of the *araiyar* (chiefs) of the *perundanam* of the Perumāḷ, for burning a perpetual lamp in the temple of Tiruvalaṅjūli-Paramēśvara at Virasaṅgāda-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* in Teṅkarai-nāḍu for the merit of Emaḍi Nakkaṇ-Kuṇraṇ, who had met with an accidental death. The *sabhā* is said to have been entrusted by the donor with the gold so that they may maintain the lamp (as *aṇukka-viḷakku*). The *sabhā* having received the gold agreed to burn the lamp and had the gift engraved on stone.

*Grantha* letters used are *svasti śrī*, *śrī-Vikrama-chōladē*<sup>1</sup> (l. 1), *pramādi*<sup>2</sup> (l. 4), *brahmadēyam śrī*, *chchaturvē*<sup>2</sup>, *Paramēśva*<sup>2</sup> and *chandrādityavat* (l. 5), *sabhai* (l. 6), *chandrādityavat* and *sabhai* (l. 7) and *i dharmma Panmāhēśvara rakshai* (l. 8).

#### TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [I\*] Kō-kKalimūrka śrī-Vikrama-Chōladēvarkku=  
ttiruveḷutt-iṭṭu=chcheṇkōl=ōchchi
- 2 veḷli-veṇ-kuḍai miḷirav=ēndi nāḍu vaḷam-paḍuttu naiya-  
kuḍiy-ōmbi āḷil=onṇu koṇḍ=allavai
- 3 kaḍindu kō-viṇṇ-irundu kuḍi puṇaṅ-kāttu=pperra-  
kuḷavikk=urra naṅ-rāy pōl<sup>2</sup>=chchellā-niṇṇa tiru-nall-  
iyāṇḍu 42-vadu Perumāḷ perun
- 4 daṇatt-araiyarkaḷil Nakkaṇ-Viṭaṅkaṇ-āṇa Vikkīrama-  
śōla-pPallavadaraiyaṇēn Emaḍi Nakkaṇ-Kuṇraṇ  
vyāpiyā-pramāditamaiyil avanai-chchārtti=t Te
- 5 nkarai-nāṭṭu brahmadēyam śrī-Virasaṅgāda-  
chchaturvēdimaṅgalattu=tTiruvalaṅjūli-pParamēśvara  
[r]kku aṇukka-viḷakkāy cha[ndrā]dityavat niṇṇ=ōriya  
vaitta ti-

<sup>1</sup> *ARSIE*, 1920, No. 185.

<sup>2</sup> The expression *tirumigu-śiṟappil* has been omitted here.



- 6 runondāvilakk-onṛukkum vaichcha Parakēsari-  
kka[1]lā[1]=t tulaṭi-nīrai-ṣempon padinaṭi-kaḷaṇḷum  
sabhaiyār vaṣam eḍuttu=kkuḍuttēṇ Vikkirama[ṣṣ]-  
7 la-pPallavadaraiyanēṇ [i\*] ivariḍaiy-i-ppon koṇḍu  
i-vvilakk-onṛum chandrādityavat erippadāy kal-  
veṭṭi=kkuḍuttōm sabhaiyōm [i\*] Nakkaṇ-Ku-  
8 ṇṇanai=chchā[r\*]tti [i\*] i-dharmma[m\*]  
Panmāhēśvarar rakshai [i\*]

## TRANSLATION

Lines 1 to 3. From *Svasti śrī* to *yāṇḍu*, the wording is the same as in the previous inscription.

Ēmaḍi Nakkaṇ-Kuṇṇaṇ having met with a fatal accident, I, Nakkaṇ-Viṭaṇkaṇ *alias* Vikramaśōḷa-Pallavadaraiyaṇ, one of the chiefs (*araiyargal*) (*belonging to*) the *Perundanam* of the king, endowed for his merit, fifteen *kaḷaṇḷu* as weighed by (*the weight*) *Parakēsariṭkal*, of gold (*coins bearing clear*) impressions (*and having proper*) weight, for burning one perpetual lamp, till the moon and the sun endure, in the temple of Tiruvalaṇḷuḷi-Paramēśvara at Virasaṅgāda-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Teṇkarai-nāḍu. I, Vikramaśōḷa-Pallavadaraiyaṇ, gave these gold (*coins*) to (*the members of*) the assembly. Receiving these gold (*coins*) from him and agreeing to burn a lamp, as long as the moon and the sun endure, for the merit of Nakkaṇ-Kuṇṇaṇ, we, (*the members of*) the assembly, had this (*endowment*) engraved on stone. This charity shall be under the protection of (*the assembly of*) the *Panmāhēśvaras*.

## No. 20—NINGONDI GRANT OF PRABHANJANAVARMAN

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAB, OOTACAMUND

In or shortly before the year 1928, a set of three inscribed copper plates appears to have been discovered somewhere in the Parlakimedi Taluk of the Ganjam District, formerly in Madras but now in Orissa. The actual findspot of the inscription is unknown, nor have we any knowledge about the circumstances leading to its discovery. It seems, however, that soon after the discovery of the inscription, the seal-ring holding the three plates together was removed. Some time in the year 1928, information regarding the discovery of the epigraph reached the ears of the late Sri Lakshminarayan Harichandan Jagadeb, Raja of Tekkali. The late Raja Saheb, who used to take great interest in the study of epigraphic material, succeeded in tracing the three loose plates of the inscription in the village of Āḍabā in the Parlakimedi Taluk and that of Kānnāyāvalasā (also called Kānnēvalasā or Kānnaivalasā) about nine miles from Tekkali, now in the Srikakulam District of the Andhra State. The first and third of the three plates were found in the possession of a goldsmith of Āḍabā, while the second of them in that of a gentleman of Kānnāyāvalasā, named Patnaikuni Gopalakrishna Varma. The Raja Saheb then studied the inscription with the help of the original plates as well as a few sets of impressions of the record, which had been prepared by him. The plates were returned to their owners.



In 1930, the Raja Saheb of Tekkali published a paper on the above inscription in the June issue of the now defunct journal *Vaitaraṇī* (Vol. IV, 1930) which was published from Cuttack by Messrs. L. N. Sahu and B. Singh Deo. Unfortunately the paper (without any facsimile of the inscription) failed to attract the attention of scholars, which it so highly deserved. In spite, therefore, of the fact that the record in question reveals very valuable informations regarding the ancient royal family of the Mātharas of Kalinga, writers (including myself) on the early history of Kalinga, who published the results of their study during the last two decades, had to work in absolute ignorance of its existence.<sup>1</sup> My attention was recently drawn to the Raja Saheb's paper on the Āḍabā-Kānnāyāvalasā plates in the *Vaitaraṇī*, Vol. IV, June, 1930, pp. 293 ff., as well as to a few sets of impressions of the inscription lying in his possession. Unfortunately my attempts to trace the original plates were not crowned with success. Considering therefore the importance of the inscription as well as the fact that the Raja Saheb's paper on the subject is neither free from errors of reading and interpretation nor easily available to scholars, I am editing the record in the following pages from a set of impressions kindly supplied to me by the Raja Saheb,<sup>2</sup> a few months before his sad demise in August 1953.

The three plates, on which the inscription in question is incised, measure 7·1 inches by 2·15 inches each. Their thickness and weight are not recorded. Apparently, however, the thickness was not very considerable. All the plates have a hole about the left margin for the seal-ring to pass through; but, as said above, the ring with the seal was never traced. The first and third plates have writing only on the inner side, while the second plate is inscribed on both the sides. There are altogether sixteen lines of inscription, four lines on each one of the inscribed faces of the plates. The preservation of the first and third plates is not very satisfactory.

The characters employed in the record belong to the Southern Class of alphabets and may be assigned on palaeographical grounds to the fifth or sixth century A. D. They closely resemble those employed in other records of the same period coming from the ancient Kalinga region lying in the eastern coastal area of India, especially the inscriptions of the Mātharas and the Pitrībhaktas.<sup>3</sup> The language of the inscription under review is Sanskrit and, with the exception of three benedictory and imprecatory verses about the end of the charter, the entire record is written in prose. As in point of palaeography, so also in regard to language and orthography, our record resembles such other inscriptions indicated above as the Rāgōlu plates of Śaktivarman<sup>4</sup> and nothing calls for special mention. The date of the inscription under review is quoted in lines 15-16 as the twelfth *tithi* of the bright half of Kārttika without the usual reference to the regnal year of the issuer of the charter. The absence of the year seems to be due to the inadvertence of the scribe of the document or the engraver of the plates.

The charter begins with the word *svasti* and the reference to the victorious city of **Sirīhapura** whence it was issued. It then introduces the reigning monarch who was responsible for the issue of the grant as the illustrious **Mahārāja Prabhañjanavarman**. The king is described as the son of **Śaktivarman** and grandson of **Śaṅkaravarman**. **Mahārāja Prabhañjanavarman** was a devotee of **Bhagavat-svāmi-Nārāyaṇa**, i.e. the god Viṣṇu. He is also described as the increaser of the

<sup>1</sup> See *Suc. Śāt.*, 1939, pp. 74 ff.; *A New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, 1946, pp. 79 ff.; B. V. Krishna Rao, *Early Dynasties of Āndhradēśa*, 1942, pp. 384 ff., etc.

<sup>2</sup> After the preparation of this paper, I came to learn that the second of the three inscribed plates of the set, which contains only details regarding the grant, was received for examination by the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy from the Collector of Ganjam and was registered as C. P. No. 1 of 1928-29 (see *ARSIE*, 1928-29, pp. 4, 65). One of the impressions of the said plate, prepared by that officer and now preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, has been utilised in illustrating my paper.

<sup>3</sup> See above, Vols. IV, pp. 142 ff.; XII, pp. 1 ff.; XXIII, pp. 56 ff.; XXIV, pp. 47 ff., etc. For other references, see *A New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, pp. 76 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff.



fame of the **Māthara** family, the ornament of his own family and the lord of the entire Kalinga country. Neither his father Śaktivarman nor his grandfather Śaṅkaravarman is endowed with the title *Mahārāja*; but that Śaktivarman certainly and Śaṅkaravarman probably were ruling monarchs is indicated by an epithet saying that Śaktivarman (not called a *Mahārāja*) ruled the land lying between the rivers Kṛishṇavēnnā (Kṛishṇā) and Mahānadi as if the inhabitants of that region were his own offsprings. Śaktivarman moreover is none other than the ruler of that name who issued the Rāgōlu plates in the thirteenth year of his reign. His epithet referred to above is on a par with Prabhañjavarman's claim to have been the lord of the entire Kalinga country. In his own record, Śaktivarman also is described as the lord of Kalinga. The implication of Śaktivarman's epithet in the record under review is that Kalinga lay on the coast of the Bay of Bengal between the lower courses of the Kṛishṇā and Mahānadi rivers. As pointed out by me elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> such claims do not point to the actual position of the rulers in question but to the political ideal of the period which may not have been always realised in practice. It has also been pointed out that many of the Kalinga kings of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. called themselves *Kaliṅgādhipati* and a few even *sakala-Kaliṅgādhipati* (as in the case of *Mahārāja* Prabhañjanavarman in our record) and that the latter title at least points to the rule of most of the *Kaliṅgādhipatis* only over parts of the Kalinga country. This fact is clearly borne out by the known facts of history. We know that the Mātharas and their rivals holding sway over Central and Southern Kalinga had little to do with the Puri-Cuttack region of Northern Kalinga. It may also be noticed that not the Kṛishṇā but the Gōdāvarī was usually regarded as the southern boundary of Kalinga. The above *Kaliṅgādhipatis* had evidently not much to do with the land between the Kṛishṇā and the Gōdāvarī where the Śālaṅkāyanas and Vishṇukunḍins were ruling in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D.

The king's order regarding the grant of a piece of land was addressed to the cultivators assembled at the locality called Astihōṇa-Rāmagrāma. He made the grant of a locality called Niṅgōṇḍi which either abutted on or formed a part of Astihōṇa-Rāmagrāma and was bounded by Rukmapati on the north, Vyāghraprastara together with a mole-hill by a *Śālmali* tree on the west and the sea (Bay of Bengal) on the south. The eastern boundary is not mentioned unless it is believed that the word *pūrvēṇa* is inadvertently omitted before the reference to the *Śālmali* tree and the mole-hill mentioned in connection with the western boundary. The gift land was thus situated on the shore of the Bay of Bengal. The locality called Niṅgōṇḍi was made a permanent *agrahāra* by the king and granted in favour of some Brāhmaṇas belonging to different *gōtras* and *charaṇas*. Unfortunately, as in several other charters<sup>2</sup> of this kind, the names of the donees are not mentioned in the document. The cultivators are advised to attend on the donees according to the established custom and to offer them regularly the *mēga* (share of the produce) and *hiranya* (tax in cash). Future rulers are then requested to protect the grant and such protection of grants made by previous rulers is said to be the *sva-dharma* of kings. Three of the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses are next quoted as *Vyāsa-gīta-ślōkāḥ*. In line 15 reference is made to the annual rent fixed at two hundred *paṇas* probably of cowries. We know that 80 cowries made one *paṇa*. Thus 200 *paṇas* were equal to 16,000 cowries. This amount was apparently payable by the donees to the king every year in advance (cf. the word *agra* used in this connection) inspite of the fact that Niṅgōṇḍi was evidently given away free to the Brāhmaṇas as an *agrahāra*. Such *agrahāras* were usually revenue-free gifts. But we have many records among the early epigraphs of Orissa, which record gifts or gift-deeds entitled *kara-śāsanas* and specify the annual rent (usually much less than what the normal rent of the lands in question would be) payable by the donees to the king. I have elsewhere<sup>3</sup> discussed the nature of a large number of such documents.

<sup>1</sup> *New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above Vol. XXVII, p. 35 (text, lines 7-8).

<sup>3</sup> See *Itihāsa* (Bengali), Calcutta, Vol. II (B. S. 1358), pp. 115-20; *JRAS*, 1932, pp. 4-10.



In connection with the passage *sāmvatsarika-kara-paṇ-āgra-śatau(tē) dvau(dvē)* pointing to the annual cess or nominal rent fixed for the *agrahāra* granted by our record, reference may be made to a passage of exactly similar import occurring in the Bobbili plates of *Chañḍavarman* edited by Mr. R. K. Ghoshal.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, Mr. Ghoshal entirely missed the real meaning of the passage in question, while an editorial note thereon from the pen of the late Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu hardly went far to improve upon his reading and interpretation. The passage in question runs as follows: °*Chañḍavarmā Tiriṭṭhāṇagrāmē sarva-samavētān=kuṭumbinaḥ bhōjakāmś=cha samājñāpayaty=asty=ēshō(sha) grāmō-smābhir=ātmanah puṇy-āyur-yyaśasām=abhividdhayē ā-samudr-ādri(dri)-śasi(śi)-tārak-ārka-pratishṭham=agrahāram* kr̥tvā *sarva-karā-parihāraiś=cha parihṛitya shaṭtriṇśa(trimśa)d-agrahāra-sāmānyaṇ=ch=āgrahāra-pradēya[m\*] sām̐ba(sām̐va)tsarikaṁ sa(pa)ṇ-āgrām śata-bhu(dva)yaṇ=ch=ā[m\*]śam̐ ch=ōpanibandhyaḥ(dhya) Tiriṭṭhāṇa-vāṭak-āgrahāra[h\*] Brāhmaṇānām nānā-gā(gō)tra-sabrahmachāriṇām samprattaḥ*. The meaning of the passage is quite clear. It should be noticed that the number 36 has been used here in the sense of 'many' or 'all' as in expressions like [Bengali] *chhatris-jāt* ('the 36 castes',<sup>2</sup> i.e. all the castes or most of the castes), [Hindi] *Chattis-garh* (literally, 'the 36 forts', a name applied to an area originally consisting of 'many' forts), etc. It may be pointed out in this connection that a copper-plate grant<sup>3</sup> of the Sūryavamsī monarch Kapilēśvara (1435-70 A.D.) uses the passage *āvēdanāni shaṭtriṇśat-tyaktvā* in connection with a gift of land. The word *āvēdana* (found in the form *avadāna* or *āvadāna* in some Oriya records) no doubt indicates the royal dues, thirtysix kinds of which are vaguely referred to in the passage. The number 36 is used here evidently in the sense of 'all'. Similar significance of other numerical expressions such as 18 has been discussed in our paper on the Kanās plate of Lōkavigraha.<sup>4</sup> Thus the section *shaṭtriṇśad-agrahāra-sāmānyaṇ=ch=āgrahāra-pradēyaṁ sām̐catsarikaṁ paṇ-āgrām śata-dvayaṇ=ch=ām̐śam̐ ch=ōpanibandhya* would mean 'having registered the amount payable for the *agrahāra* in advance annually at 200 *paṇas* as in the case of all other *agrahāras*'. The same thing is no doubt indicated also by the passage *shaṭtriṇśad-agrahāra-sāmānyaṇ=kr̥tvā* occurring in line 6 of the Brihatprōshṭha grant<sup>5</sup> of Umavarman. Thus the usual custom referred to seems to have been the grant of *agrahāras* on a cess or nominal rent of 200 *paṇas* a year. As shown in my article on the *kara-sāsanas* referred to above, the amount fixed for annual payment was sometimes styled *kara* or rent; but often the grant was specifically declared to have been made rent-free and the payment was given the style *triṇ-ōḍaka* which was the name of a particular cess. The Bobbili plates refer to the grant of the *agrahāra* as rent-free and therefore mention the amount payable by the donees annually as the *agrahāra-pradēya am̐śa*.

The inadequately quoted date of the charter, already discussed above, comes in lines 15-16. The document ends with the mention of the *ājñapti* or executor of the grant, whose name seems to be Jyēshṭha. He is called a *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* (possibly, a police officer) who acted as a *dūta* (envoy or representative) of the *Mahāpratihāra* (officer in charge of the palace gate). The name of the *Mahāpratihāra* is not mentioned. But it appears that he was originally entrusted with the work of executing the king's grant, but that he did the work through another officer who may have been one of his subordinates.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 33-36.

<sup>2</sup> The *Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa*, Uttarakhaṇḍa, Chap. XIII, speaks of the number of the mixed castes, otherwise called *Sūdra*, specifically as 36, but gives a list in which no less than 40 such castes are enumerated. See R. P. Chanda, *The Indo-Aryan Races*, pp. 194-95.

<sup>3</sup> See *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, Vol. VI, p. 107 (text, line 173). Dr. K. B. Tripathi points out to me that the corresponding Oriya passage in line 188 of the same record, wrongly read by the editor of the inscription, actually reads *chhattis āvadānā madhyakari chhāṛi*.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 330.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., Vol. XII, p. 5.



I have elsewhere<sup>1</sup> discussed the history of the various dynasties that ruled in Kalinga during the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. There were several ruling families flourishing in different parts of the country. The three kings, named Umavarman, Chandavarman and Nanda-Prabhāñjanavarman, who are called *Pitribhakta* in the legend of their seals and are endowed with the title 'lord of Kalinga' or 'lord of the entire Kalinga', issued their charters from Simhapura as well as from Sunagara, Vardhamānapura and Sārapallikā. Of these Simhapura has been identified with modern Singupuram near Srikakulam. Of the Mātharas, who were contemporaries of the Pitribhaktas, only two kings, viz. Śaktivarman and Anantaśaktivarman, both called 'lord of Kalinga', were so long known to scholars from their own records. Their earlier records were issued from Pishṭapura, modern Pithapuram in the East Godavari District, while Simhapura was the place of issue of their later charters. The Mātharas thus appear to have originally had their capital at Pishṭapura in South Kalinga but removed their headquarters to Simhapura in Central Kalinga after having subdued the Pitribhaktas. It was known from the evidence of the records of the Māthara kings Śaktivarman and Anantaśaktivarman that the former was a near predecessor of the latter; but the relationship between the two was unknown. Anantaśaktivarman was usually regarded as the son or grandson of Śaktivarman, while there was also a view identifying Śaktivarman and Anantaśaktivarman. But the inscription under review shows that the above Śaktivarman was preceded on the Māthara throne by his father Śaṅkaravarman and was himself succeeded by his son Prabhañjanavarman. It now seems therefore that Anantaśaktivarman, who was a near successor of Śaktivarman according to the evidence referred to above, was the son of Prabhañjanavarman and grandson of Śaktivarman.<sup>2</sup> Closely associated with the Pitribhaktas and Mātharas were the Vāsishṭhas who originally ruled in Central Kalinga but later extended their power over the southern part of the country. The Vāsishṭha king Guṇavarman was the lord of Dēvarāshṭra which has been identified with the modern Yellamanchili Tāluk of the Visakhapatnam District. Guṇavarman's son and successor was Prabhañjanavarman who was himself succeeded by his son Anantavarman. The Vāsishṭha king Anantavarman, called 'the lord of Kalinga', issued one of his charters from Dēvapura (apparently in the Yellamanchili area) and another from Pishṭapura. Thus the Vāsishṭhas of Central Kalinga appear to have conquered South Kalinga from the Mātharas. Another ruler associated with the Pitribhaktas, Mātharas and Vāsishṭhas, was king Viśākharman who issued his charter from Śrīpura (modern Śrīpuram in the old Vāvilavalasa Zamindari of the Visakhapatnam District), although his exact relation with the rulers of the above dynasties cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. It will be seen from the above analysis that the history of Kalinga in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. was marked by the struggle between the royal houses of Central and Southern Kalinga for the supreme authority over the country. When these kings were thus struggling for supremacy, the Gaṅgas established themselves about the close of the fifth century at Kalinganagara, usually identified with modern Mukhalingam near Srikakulam, and gradually became the strongest power in Central Kalinga. In South Kalinga, we find at a slightly later date the throne of Pishṭapura under king Prithivīmahārāja who was the son of Vikramēndra and grandson of king Raṇadurjaya. This king or one of his immediate successors was overthrown by the Chālukya king Pulakēśin II of Bādāmi sometime before 634 A.D. But the relation of Prithivīmahārāja's line with the kings of the Māthara and Vāsishṭha families, who earlier ruled from the same city, cannot be determined.

Of the **geographical** names mentioned in the inscription, the identification of Kalinga and Simhapura has been indicated above while the Kṛishnavēnnā (Kṛishṇā) and Mahānadi are well-known rivers. I have not succeeded in locating Astihōṇa-Rāmagrāma and Niṅgōṇḍi. Astihōṇa-

<sup>1</sup> See *A New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, pp. 76 ff.

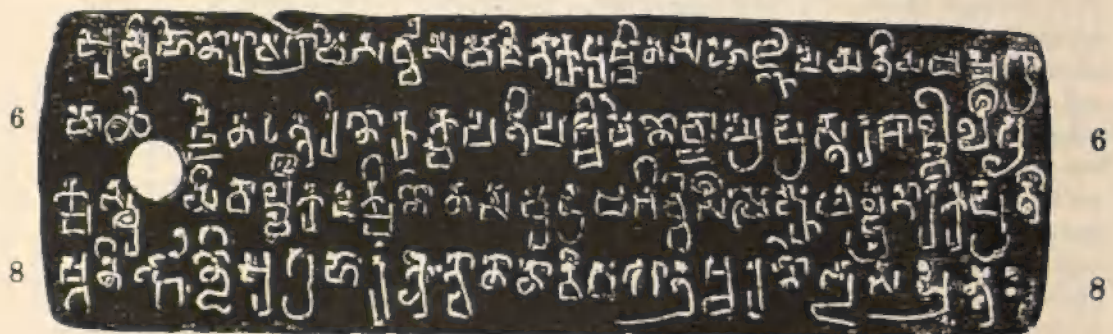
<sup>2</sup> That Anantaśaktivarman was a grandson of Śaktivarman is also suggested by the evidence of the former's Auhavaram plates, recently analysed by Mr. M. Venkataramayya. See above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 230-31.



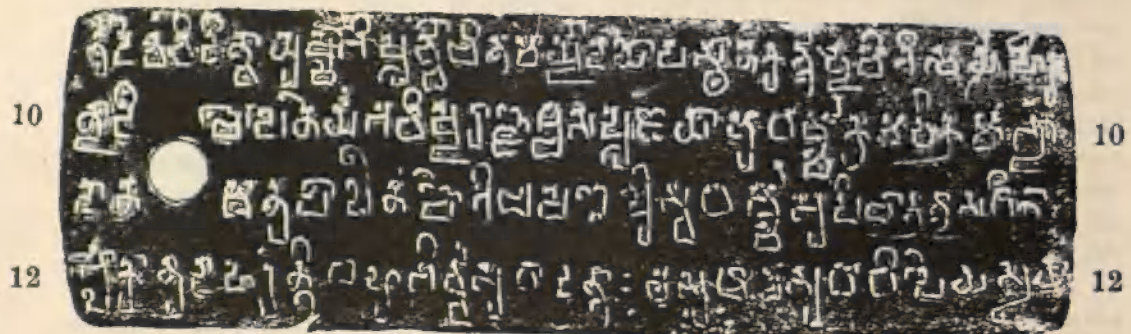




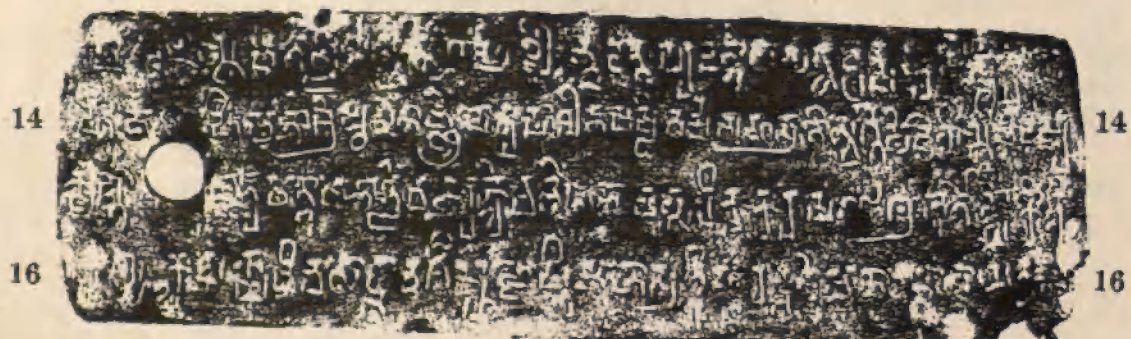
ii, a.



ii, b.



iii.





Rāmagrāma may actually be the joint name of two adjacent places called Astihōṇa and Rāmagrāma. With the name of Astihōṇa may be compared that of the village Astihavēra mentioned in the Tekkali plates of Umavarman.<sup>1</sup> The localities mentioned as lying on the boundaries of the gift land, except the sea or the Bay of Bengal, cannot be identified.

## TEXT\*

## First Plate

- 1 Svasti [||\*] Vijaya-Siṅha(Simha)purāt bhaga[va][t\*]-svāmi-Nārāyaṇa-pād-ānuddhyātaḥ  
Mā-
- 2 ṭhara-kula-kīrtti-varddhanakara[h] śrī-Śaṅkaravarmmaṇa[h\*] putra[h\*] Kṛishṇavēnnā-Ma-
- 3 hānady-antara[m]<sup>2</sup> sva-prajā-dharmmēṇ=[ā\*]nūsāsina[h\*] śrī-Śaktivarmmaṇa[h] pu[t]ra[h\*]  
sva-
- 4 kul-ālaṅkarishṇus-[sa]kala-Kaliṅg-ādhipati[h] śrī-mahārāja-Prabhañjanavarmma

## Second Plate, First Side

- 5 Astihōṇa-Rāmagrāmē sarvva-samavētā[u\*] kuṭumbina[h\*] samājñāpayati[|\*] ya ēsha grā-
- 6 m-āchhē(chchhē)dyēna uttarēṇa Rukmapati[h\*] paśchimēṇa(na) Vyāghraprastara-sālmaliṇṇi-
- 7 ksha-sthu(sthā)yi-vā(va)lmika(kaḥ) dakṣhiṇēṇa samudra 'ēbhīr-vvē sīmai ā-chandra-tāraka-
- 8 prati-  
prati-  
8 aḥṭha[m\*] Niṅgōṇḍi[h\*] agrahāraṇi kṛitvā<sup>3</sup> nānāvidha-gōttra-ścha(cha)raṇēbhya[h\*]<sup>4</sup> saṁ-
- pratta[h] ||

## Second Plate, Second Side

- 9 tad=ēvaṁ viditvā yushmābhi[h\*] pūrvv-ōchita-maryyāday-ōpasthānaṁ karttavayam-iti  
mēya-hira-
- 10 ny-ā(ṇy-ā)di ch-ōpanēyaṁ<sup>5</sup> bhavishya-rājñas-cha saṁpūjayā su-dharma-krama-vikra-
- mābhyāṁ
- 11 dānam=anupālanaṁ-ch-ēti<sup>6</sup> [||\*] ēsha khalu sva-dharma[h] [||\*] api ch-ātra Vyāsa-gītāḥ(tān)  
ya-
- 12 ślōkān=udāharanti [||\*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattāḥ(ttā) vasudhā<sup>7</sup> vasudh-ādhipati[h] [||\*] yasya

<sup>1</sup> See *ARSIE*, 1934-5, p. 52; above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 302. I am not in favour of treating *astī* in these names as a separate indeclinable word. The word *astī* here may be a corruption of Sanskrit *astin*; cf. *Ativarman-Hastivarman* (Suc. Sāl., p. 58).

<sup>2</sup> From the impressions kindly supplied by the late Raja Sahab of Tekkali.

<sup>3</sup> The reading may also be °*utara-śhā*[naḥ\*] *prajā* or *utara-śha-prajā*.

<sup>4</sup> The reading intended seems to be *ēbhīr=ēva sīmaiḥ avachchhiṇṇaḥ Niṅgōṇḍiḥ ā-chandra-tāraka-pratiśhṛm-agrahāraṇi kṛitvā*. The word *sīma* is found in inscriptions for *sīman* (see Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s. v.).

<sup>5</sup> The word *Brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ* has been carelessly dropped.

<sup>6</sup> The passage is defective. In other records we have *bhavishyatāt=cha rājñō vijñāpayāmi* (or °*payāti*); *dharma-krama-vikramāṇām=idaṁ dānam sad-dharmam=anupāśyadbhir-ēshō grahārō=anupāyaḥ*. Cf. above, Vol. XII, p. 3 (text, lines 8-10); XXVII, p. 35 (text, lines 10-13), etc.

<sup>7</sup> Read *bahudhā*.



## Third Plate

- 13 [sya yadā] bhūm[is]=tasya [tasya tadā] phala[m](lam ||) Sva-dattā[m] para-dattā[m] vā yatnād-  
raksha Yu[dhi]shthi[ra | ma]-
- 14 hīm mahimatām śrēshṭha dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanam(nam ||) Shashṭi-varsha-sahasrāgi  
svarggē mōdati bhumida[h [\*] ā-
- 15 kshēptā [ch=ā]numantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt | sā[m\*]vatsarika-kara-paṇ-āgra-śatau  
dv[au]' [[\*] Kārtti-
- 16 ka-śukla-paksha-divasō dvādaśi [[\*] āj[n]apti[h\*] mahāpratihāra-dūtō mahādanḍanāyaka-  
[Jyēshṭha][h ||\*]

## No. 21.—MUSANAGAR BRICK INSCRIPTION

## (I Plate)

A. S. ALTEKAR, PATNA

The brick tablet upon which the inscription published in this paper has been inscribed was lying for a long time with Sri Yadavendra Kumarji, Rajasaheb of Jaunpur, U. P. In 1945, he sent to me its inked impression, through the Maharajkumar of Santosh, for decipherment and I communicated to him the contents of the document. Later on in 1948, he was so good as to present the brick to the Museum of the Banaras Hindu University through the then Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Amarnath Jha. The brick is at present lying in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan Museum of the said University. It is an antiquarian piece of great interest being the earliest brick inscription recording the performance of an Aśvamedha sacrifice.

Though the brick was lying at Jaunpur before its acquisition by the Banaras Hindu University, it was not found originally in Oudh. It was recovered by the *janaka* (as distinguished from the adoptive) father of the present Maharajasaheb of Jaunpur in his Zamindari in the Kanpur District in a mound near the village of Musānagar. The village contains one of the numerous archaeological mounds of our country, awaiting the spade of the excavator. The Rajasaheb of Jaunpur informs me that coins as also burnt barley are occasionally found in the mound after the rainy season. Locally the mound is believed to belong to the time of Rājā Bali.

The fire-burnt brick in question is 19" long, 19" broad and 4" thick. Its dimensions are rather unusual, for we rarely come across such square bricks. It is interesting to note that the inscription is not inscribed on the square surface of the brick, but on one of its narrow sides, the other five faces being blank. It is not improbable that the brick was fixed in a structure, built in connection with the sacrifice it commemorates. This structure was most probably the ornamental platform round the sacrificial post or pillar (*yūpa*). In later centuries, we find Vedic sacrifices commemorated by inscribed stone *yūpas*.

The average height of the letters is one inch; but some letters like *a*, *k* and *śv* have a considerably greater height ranging from 1.5" to 1.9". The palaeography of the record would suggest its engraving during the century preceding or following the Christian era. The following peculiarities are worth noting. The length of the verticals of *v*, *n* and *s* is considerably shorter than that in the Aśokan script. The left and right verticals of *p* have equal height. *D* is still open to right

\* Read 'śatā dvē. Better read *karah* instead of *kara* in compound.



*ś* has developed a rounded back and its central limb is hanging down from its left curve. *M* has got a round base (cf. °*mita*), but in the case of *v* it is round in some cases (cf. *vātāyani*) and nearly triangular in others (cf. *Āśva*<sup>1</sup> and *āśvamedha*<sup>2</sup>). The lower portion of *t* is no longer angular as in the Aśoka inscriptions; it has become pronouncedly round as in the Pabhosā and Hāthigumphā inscriptions. Medial *ā* is shown by a straight stroke to right (cf. °*vātā*<sup>3</sup>); but medial *e* is indicated by a slanting stroke to the left of the letter (cf. °*medha*). Medial *i* is denoted by a straight upward stroke slightly bent at the base and attached to the top of the letters (cf. °*yani* and °*mita*). The palaeography of the inscription is nearest to that of the Pabhosā inscription, both the records belonging to the Allahabad region. We may therefore refer it to a date about the first century B. C.

The language of the record is Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit. There is a punctuation mark similar to the so-called Ujjain symbol at the right end of the record. It is therefore clear that it ended with its present last word. Two letters at the beginning are damaged and we cannot altogether rule out the possibility of the inscription having begun on another brick, not yet recovered. This possibility is, however, slight and it appears more probable that the inscription was a short record consisting of four words only.

Apart from the initial word, the record presents no difficulty in decipherment. It reads *Āśvavātāyaniputasa Devamītasā āśvamedha*.<sup>4</sup> There is a mark above *dha* which looks like a superscript *r*. Only the last two letters of the first word are clear; they read *beke*. The preceding letter is incomplete; it looks like a *cha* or *chā*. There was probably one more letter, which has been too badly destroyed to be deciphered. The first word ends in locative singular and probably denotes the name of the place where the sacrifice was performed. It ended with *beke*.

The inscription records an *Āśvamedha* sacrifice performed by *Devamitra*<sup>5</sup>, who is simply described as the son of *Āśvavātāyani*. The sacrificer's mother obviously belonged to the *Āśvavātāyana gotra* and was therefore known as *Āśvavātāyani* (Sanskrit *Āśvavātāyani*). The custom of naming the mother by her *gotra* name was quite common at the time of the record.

The only information which this record gives about *Devamitra*, who performed the *Āśvamedha* sacrifice, is that his mother's *gotra* was *Āśvavātāyana* and that the sacrifice was performed at . . . [cha]beka. It is remarkable that not a single royal title is associated with the sacrificer's name. If he had borne such a title, it would probably have preceded the expression *Āśvavātāyaniputasa*. But by no stretch of imagination can the extant first two letters be regarded as part of any royal title. It may be that *Devamitra* was either not even a king or that he did not care to put his title before his name, there being no space for it in the short space on the brick. The former alternative seems improbable; we are yet to get an instance of a commoner performing the horse-sacrifice. It may be noted that most of the kings of Ayodhyā, Kauśāmbī and Pañchāla content themselves with giving only their names on the coins, without prefixing any royal title to them. If, however, we assume that *Devamitra* was a king, we are not in a position to identify him with any known ruler of Madhyadeśa. A king named *Devamitra* flourished among the rulers of Ayodhyā, who issued coins of the Bull and Goose (or Cock) type; he is known from a solitary specimen in the Indian Museum.<sup>6</sup> It is tempting to identify him with the sacrificer mentioned in this record; the provenance of the coin and the inscription would support this view. But the palaeography of the legend on the coin is decidedly much later than that of the brick inscription. *V* on the coin is not only triangle-based but also broad-topped, and *m* has neither a round nor a

<sup>1</sup> [Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in the article.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> [See below p. 120, note 4.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> The *Gotrapravaramāñjarī* gives this name in the Viśvāmītra group.

<sup>4</sup> *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, Plate XIX, 18.



triangular base, but shows that form wherein we see two slanting lines meeting together on a horizontal base. This form of *m* is much later than its form in our record showing a graceful round base. Devamitra of the coin flourished at Ayodhyā probably not earlier than 200 A. D. There can be no doubt that Devamitra of our inscription ruled at least a couple of centuries earlier.

Cunningham refers to 394 coins found by him at Kauśāmbī, of which about 344 were of the early period.<sup>1</sup> Out of these about 30 were inscribed, of which sixteen bore the name of Bahasatimitra, two of Devamitra, one of Āsvaghosha and three of Jyeshthamitra. Unfortunately Cunningham neither described nor illustrated the coins of Devamitra. What happened to them we do not know; for the British Museum, which acquired the entire collection of Cunningham, does not have in its Kauśāmbī collection any coins of Devamitra. If Cunningham's reading is correct and there was really a king named Devamitra at Kauśāmbī, it is very likely that he is identical with Devamitra of our record. The kings known from Cunningham's coins flourished in the period 150 B. C. to 50 B. C. The palaeography of the present record places our Devamitra also about the same period. Ancient Indian history shows that there were rulers like Ikshvāku Śāntamūla I, Śālaṅkāyana Devavarman and Kadamba Kṛishṇavarman I, who performed the horse sacrifice, though they did not rule over big empires.

Before concluding this paper, I may take the opportunity to refer to the inscribed brick tablets discovered in 1953 by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran at Jagatgram in the Dehra Dun District, U. P., within two miles of Kalsi, famous for its Aśokan rock inscriptions. These tablets reveal that a hitherto unknown king named Śilavarman, who flourished in the latter half of the 3rd century A. D., as suggested by the palaeography of the records, performed four Āsvamedha sacrifices.

#### TEXT<sup>2</sup>

..... be<sup>3</sup>ke Āsvavātāyaniputasa Devamitasas<sup>4</sup> āsvamedha(dhaḥ)<sup>5</sup>

#### TRANSLATION

The horse-sacrifice of Devamitra, son of Āsvavātāyanī, (performed at) ..... beka.

### No. 22.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF GAURI

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

#### 1. Chhōṭī Sādrī Inscription, Year 547

In the course of my examination of the old estampages of inscriptions preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, I found one impression of an interesting stone inscription in October 1952. Nothing could be ascertained then as to the source from which the estampage was received in the office. The seventeen lines of writing in the epigraph were found to cover a space about 17½ inches by 11½ inches. But only the last five lines were completely readable on the impression, a large number of letters about the central portion of all the other lines being more

<sup>1</sup> ASI, Vol. X, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> From the original brick.

<sup>3</sup> [The reading of this letter is doubtful on the impression.—D. C. S.]

<sup>4</sup> [The reading is, *Devi*. The name of the performer of the Āsvamedha was therefore *Devamitra*.—D. C. S.]

<sup>5</sup> [The reading of the last *akṣara* seems to be *dhe* or *dham* which is followed by a cross symbol indicating the end of the writing.—D. C. S.]

MUSANAGAR BRICK INSCRIPTION



SCALE: ONE-HALF





or less effaced. The estampage gave the impression that the upper part of the inscribed stone was considerably rubbed out. The characters showed that the inscription must have been copied somewhere in Western India; but I was then entirely in the dark as regards the whereabouts of the original stone. No notice of the inscription could be traced in Bhandarkar's List. But the fact that the last few lines of the record, which were fully deciphered, contain very interesting information regarding the construction of a temple of the Mother-goddess by a king in the year 547, apparently of the Vikrama Samvat, encouraged me to secure the permission of the Government Epigraphist for India to edit it in the *Epigraphia Indica*. I noticed the document in a Bengali article published in the *Pravāsi* (Calcutta), Phālguna, B.S. 1359, pp. 559 ff. Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, then Government Epigraphist for India, also referred to it in a Hindi article published in the *Nāgarī Prachārīnī Patrikā* (Banaras), Vol. LVII, V.S. 2009, pp. 149 ff.

In July 1953, the Government Epigraphist for India received a report on the epigraphical acquisitions of the Victoria Hall Museum, Udaipur, for the year 1952-53 from Pandit A. K. Vyas, Superintendent, Archaeology and Museums, Udaipur Circle, Rajasthan. The report dealt with only one inscription which had been acquired for the said Museum during the period in question and was accompanied by two impressions of the epigraph. The inscription was discovered by Pandit Vyas on the 24th December 1952 in a niche above a ventilator in the left wall outside the sanctum of the Bhāwarmātā (Bhramaramātā) temple, about 2½ miles from the town of Chhōṭī Sādrī near the Neemuoh station on the Ajmer-Khandwa railway line. The letters of the inscription were found covered with oil grit as a result of continuous oiling in the past. Pandit Vyas brought the inscribed stone to the Museum where it was properly cleaned. From the impressions of the record received along with his report the whole inscription could be read without difficulty. It was indeed a pleasant surprise for both Dr. Chhabra and myself to find that the epigraph was no other than the one, on an unsatisfactory estampage of which we had been working.

Pandit Vyas also noted in his report that the same inscription had been noticed by the late Pandit G. H. Ojha in his *Rājputānēkā Itihās* (Hindi), Vol. II, 1932, pp. 1442 ff. Ojha's notice is, however, full of inaccuracies while the text of the epigraph quoted by him contains, besides errors, a large number of lacunae. His remarks about the worn out condition of the inscribed stone as well as the imperfect nature of his transcript suggest that the text was read from an unsatisfactory impression of the record like the one preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. Indeed it seems now very likely that the estampage of the inscription previously examined by me was received in the office from Ojha himself in or shortly after 1930 when, according to his work cited above, he visited the Bhāwarmātā temple near Chhōṭī Sādrī.

The characters of the inscription belong to the Western variety of the so-called Gupta alphabet as used in the Malwa-Rajputana region about the fifth century A. D. and resemble those employed in the inscriptions of the Aulikaras of Mandasor.<sup>1</sup> Some letters have different forms; e.g. *gh* (cf. *gaṇḍgha* in line 4 and *dirggha* in line 7), *ch* (cf. *chala* in line 1 and *chūā* in line 12), *h* (cf. *pravāhā* in line 1 and *my=aha* in line 3). Subscript *ch* resembles subscript *y* (cf. *yaś=ch=āri* in line 7; *tiś=cha* in line 9), while subscript *r* often resembles the medial sign of *ri* (cf. *drishṭi* in line 2). The vowel mark of *jā* (cf. *jātaḥ* in line 7, *prajānām* in line 11) is interesting to note. Medial *i* usually resembles a loop above the consonant; but a different form of the sign has been used in *ti* at the beginning of line 9. For the different types of medial *ū* employed in the record, see *bhrū* in line 2; *Pūnya* in line 5; *mūrtiḥ*, *pūṇṇ=endu*, *mayūkha*, *vibhūti* and *sūnu* in line 6; *pūnyam* in line 14. Some difference can also be noticed in the forms of medial *ē* in *dēvi* (line 1), *dēh=ā* (line 2), *prēmṇa*,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Mandasor and Biharkotra inscriptions of Naravarman, dated respectively V.S. 461 and 474 (above, Vol. XII, pp. 315 ff. and Plate; Vol. XXVI, pp. 130 ff. and Plate); Gangdhar inscription of Viśavarmā, dated V.S. 480 (*OII*, Vol. III, pp. 74 ff. and Plate); Mandasor inscription of Bandhuvarman, dated V.S. 529 (ibid., pp. 81 ff. and Plate); Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman, dated V.S. 589 (ibid., pp. 152 ff. and Plate), etc.



*snēhā* and *°m=ēva* (line 3), *°shēkaḥ* (line 6), etc. In some of the cases, the sign looks like a *prishṭha-mātrā* while in some it is a *tirō-mātrā*; cf. also the form of medial *ai* in *°ay=aisha* (line 10), etc.

The language of the record is Sanskrit. With the exception of the introductory benediction, *Siddham*, and two sentences in prose at the end, the document, which is a eulogy, is entirely written in verse. Among orthographical peculiarities of the record, attention may be drawn to some of the numerous errors of spelling. Besides the use of *siṅgha* for *siṃha* (line 1), *anśu* for *aṃśu* (line 1), *°mām* for *°mān* (line 5), *ujvala* for *ujjala* (lines 6, 12), etc., which are often noticed in epigraphic literature, we have in the record under discussion many cases of the confusion between *ṛi* and *ri* (cf. *drishṭi* in line 2, *adṛi* in line 13, etc.) as well as of the reduplication of the nasal sounds (cf. *bhrū-bhaṃga* in line 2, *maṃṇḍala* in line 6, etc.). Moreover it has to be pointed out that the author's style is weak as his knowledge of the Sanskrit language and skill in handling the metres were both very poor. The defects of the composition will be clear from the corrections inserted in the transcript of the inscription and the notes on the text; but some points may be briefly discussed here. In a number of cases, the author has employed *sāpeksha-samāsa* not only unnecessarily but even quite wrongly. He has often taken the syllable preceding a conjunct as short and used the word *yaśa* for *yaśas* and probably also *vaksha* for *vakshas* and *vapusha* for *vapus*. Passages like *tēṇ=ēśaḥ śaśi°* (correctly *tēn=aisha śaśi°*), *yaṭ-pūnyam iha* (correctly *yaṭ-pūnyam=iha*), etc., in verse 12 show how the author was struggling with his metre and was ready to sacrifice grammar to it.<sup>1</sup> The poverty of the author's style is demonstrated by the fact that he could have easily avoided a clash between his grammar and metre by writing instead, say, *tēn=āyam śaśi°*, *yaṭ-pūnyam tv=iha*, etc. There are numerous cases of similar attempts of a desperate and ludicrous nature to save the metre at the cost of grammar, although in a few places the metre has been sacrificed for the sake of grammar.

The date of the inscription is given in the last stanza (verse 13) as the tenth *tithi* of the bright half of the month of Māgha in the expired year 500 *plus 40 plus 7* (i.e. 547), no doubt of the Vikrama Samvat. The date falls in January 491 A.D.

The inscription begins with the word *siddham* and two stanzas (verses 1-2) in praise of the Dēvi (i.e. the goddess *par excellence*, the Mother-goddess) described as the consort of Hara (i.e. Śiva). The second of the two stanzas refers to the Ardhanārīśvara conception. In verse 3, the poet says that, after having bowed down to the goddess, he is willing to describe the glory of a family of Kshatriya rulers belonging to the *Mānavāyaṇi-kula* (probably *Mānavāyaṇi°*). The name of the *kula*, *Mānavāyaṇi* or *Mānavāyaṇi*, appears to refer to the *gōtra* claimed by the family. The word seems to be derived from the name of Manu through the expressions *Mānava* and *Mānavāyana*. The name reminds us of the similar *gōtra* called *Mānavya* which is often found to have been claimed by royal families<sup>2</sup> probably of non-Aryan extraction. When a family did not find an opportunity of claiming any of the recognized *gōtras*, it was indeed easy for it to declare its descent from Manu Svāyambhuva, the mythical progenitor of human beings. It may be pointed out here that Pandit G. H. Ojha, who succeeded in reading only *kul-ōdbhava-vaṃśa(vaṃśa)-gaurāḥ* out of the passage *Mānavāyaṇi-kul-ōdbhava-vaṃśa(vaṃśa)-yaurāḥ*, explained the above passage of the third verse of the inscription as indicating the existence of a clan of Kshatriyas (Rājputs), called Gaura.<sup>3</sup> We find it difficult to agree with this view. It seems that the expression *vaṃśa-gaura* merely means a person who purified his family by virtuous acts or was himself illustrious owing to his birth in the family in question.

<sup>1</sup> Such cases remind us of Mallinātha's remarks on the *Raghuvamśa*, XIX, 23 : *atra nib-antasy=āpi dūṣ-śab-dasya cchandaḥ-bhaṅga-bhayād-dhṛasvatvam kṛtam "api māśam māśam kuryāc=cchandaḥ-bhaṅgam tyajēd-gīrām"*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 222; *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, pp. 278, 337, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 1443-44. Ojha also wrongly read *Gauriḥ* in verse 11 (line 14) of the record as *Gaurāḥ* and took it to be the dynastic appellation of Yaśagupta (Yaśōgupta) described in verses 7-8 (lines 8-10). This view was partly due to Ojha's inability to make out even a word of verses 9-10 and a portion of verse 11.



Verse 4 introduces **Puṇyasōma** (wrongly read by Ojha as *Dhānyasōma*) described as the first king in the family of the **Mānavāyaṇis** or **Mānavāyanis**. King **Puṇyasōma**'s son and successor was **Rājyavarddhana** whose valour is described in verse 5. The following stanza (verse 6) mentions **Rāshṭra** who was the son of **Rājyavarddhana**. The next two stanzas (verses 7-8) describe **Rāshṭra**'s son and successor **Yaśagupta** (**Yaśōgupta**). There is little historical importance in the description of the above rulers. Verses 9 ff. deal with the achievements of the son and successor of **Yaśagupta** (**Yaśōgupta**). The name of this king, called *Mahārāja*, is given in verse 11 as **Gauri**.

The main subject of the eulogy is found in verse 12 which says that king **Gauri** built a great temple for the **Dēvī** very probably for the merit of himself and his parents. The language of the stanza, as it stands, suggests that the king made the temple for the merit of the poet who composed the eulogy as well as of the latter's parents. But this is apparently unnatural and the confusion should better be attributed to the author's want of control over his language and metre. The last stanza (verse 13) of the inscription says how the said temple of the Mother-goddess was consecrated on **Māgha-sudi 10** in the expired year 547 apparently of the **Vikrama Samvat**.

The first of the two sentences in prose, with which the record ends, gives the name of the poet who composed the eulogy in thirteen stanzas. He was **Bhramarasōma**, son of **Mitrasōma** and grandson of **Jivaddharaṇa**.<sup>1</sup> Our interpretation of the sentence in question suggesting that **Jivaddharaṇa** was the grandfather of the poet **Bhramarasōma** involves a case of *sāpekṣa-samāsa* which is, however, quite common in the inscription under study. The sentence as it stands would suggest that **Bhramarasōma** was begotten by **Jivaddharaṇa** but was the son (apparently an adopted son in that case) of **Mitrasōma**. But we are in favour of the first of the two alternative interpretations as that appears to be more natural. **Bhramarasōma** seems to have been the court poet of king **Gauri**. The **Bhāwarmātā** temple is a modern structure believed to be built on the ruins of an old shrine to which its sanctum is attributed. The inscription under study is naturally believed to have belonged to this old temple. Under the circumstances, it is not impossible to think that the name of the poet (**Bhramarasōma**), who composed the *praśasti* on the construction and consecration of the original shrine of the **Dēvī** by king **Gauri**, has in course of time somehow come to be associated with that of the goddess (**Bhramaramātā**).

The last sentence of the inscription says that the *pūrvā* was written (*likhitā*) by **Aparājita** who meditated on (or, was favoured by) the feet of prince (*Rājaputra*) **Gōbhaṭa**. The word *pūrvā* essentially means 'the above' (i.e. the above-quoted or above-mentioned thing in the feminine gender). But it is often found used with special reference to the words *tithi* (date) and *praśasti* (eulogy), although it has been suggested that the word has been used here as well as in similar other instances as a synonym of the word *praśasti*.<sup>2</sup> The word *likhitā* here does not appear to have been used in the sense of 'engraved'. **Aparājita** very probably wrote down the eulogy on the piece of stone with some material for facilitating the work of engraving. This practice was often followed to ensure the correctness and beauty of the work of the engraver.<sup>3</sup> **Aparājita** was apparently an officer serving under prince **Gōbhaṭa**. The relation of the prince with king **Gauri** has not been stated. But it is very probable that **Gōbhaṭa** was a son of the **Mānavāyaṇi** (**Mānavāyani**) king.

The importance of the inscription under discussion lies in the fact that it reveals, for the first time, the existence of a new line of rulers who flourished about the second half of the fifth century and ruled over an area about the borders between **Rajputana** and **Malwa**. The relation

<sup>1</sup> The name reminds us of that of king **Jivadharaṇa** of **Samatata**, who flourished in the seventh century A. D. Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 221 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See *Nāgarī Prachārīnī Patrikā*, Vol. LVII, pp. 559 ff.



of the Mānavāyaṇis (Mānavāyanis) with the contemporary ruling family of the Aulikaras of Daśapura (modern Mandasor) in the same area will be discussed in connection with the second inscription of king Gauri edited below.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

[Metres : verses 1-10, 13 *Vasantatilaka* ; verse 11 *Sragdharō* ; verse 12 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.]

- 1 Siddham [||\*] Dēvi jayaty-asura-dāraṇa-tikṣṇa-sūlāḥ [<sup>2</sup> prōdgīrṇa-ratna-makṣ-āśu-  
(t-āśu)-chala-pravāhā [||\*] siṅgh-ō(sinh-ō)gra-yukta-ratham<sup>3</sup>=āsthita<sup>4</sup>-chaṇḍa-vēgāḥ [<sup>5</sup>
- 2 bhrūbham(bha)ṅga-dri(dpi)sṭi-vinipāta-nivishṭa-rōshāḥ(shā) [|| 1\*] Bhūyō=pi sā jayati yā  
śāśisēkharasya dē[h-ā]rddham=udvahati bhaktatayā Harasya |
- 3 yā bhakta-vatsalatayā prabibhartti lōkān māt=ēva<sup>6</sup> [svā]kya<sup>7</sup>-suta-prēmpa<sup>8</sup>-vivri(vri)ddha-  
snēhā [|| 2\*] Tasyām<sup>9</sup> prapamya<sup>10</sup> prakarōmy=aham=ēva jasraṁ<sup>11</sup>
- 4 kirttim(rttim) śubhām guṇa-gaṇ-ō(ṇ-au)ghamayin=prīpānām(ṇām) | yā Mānavāyapi<sup>12</sup>-kul-  
ōdbhava-vamūśa(śa)-gaurāḥ kshātrē padē satata-dīkṣita-yuddha-śaṇḍāḥ [|| 3\*] Tāshām-  
ayam
- 5 kshapita<sup>13</sup>-kshatra-gaṇ-āri-pakṣa[h\*] grīmām<sup>14</sup> yaś-augha<sup>15</sup>-suvibhūshita-chāra-akṣhaḥ  
(kshāḥ) [||\*] prāk Pūnyasōma<sup>16</sup> iti<sup>17</sup> kshatra-gaṇasya maddhyē yō rāja-śabda-kri(kri)ta-  
mūrdhni<sup>18</sup> ghaṭi(t-ā)bhi-
- 6 shēkaḥ [|| 4\*] Tasy=āvabaddha-makṣ-ōjva(jjva)la-dīpta-mūrttiḥ pūrṇa-ēndu-mam(ma)ṇḍala-  
mayūkha-vibhūti-vakraḥ [||\*] sū<sup>19</sup>nur=bbabhūva kila rājya-jita-pratāpō<sup>20</sup> yō Rājyavard-  
dhana<sup>21</sup>
- 7 guṇaiḥ kri(kri)ta-nāmadhēyā(yaḥ) [|| 5\*] | Tēṇ=āpi<sup>22</sup> ch=ōrjjita-jit-āri-jayamnta<sup>23</sup>-pakṣhaḥ  
(kshō) jātaḥ sutō(taḥ) kari-kar-āyata-dīrggha<sup>24</sup>-bāhuḥ [||\*] yaś=ch=āri-rāshṭra-mathan-  
ōdyata-dīpta-chakraḥ(krō)

<sup>1</sup> From estampages.

<sup>2</sup> Read *sūlā* and omit the mark of punctuation which is represented by a slightly curved horizontal stroke. This stroke has been often used in the record as a mark of punctuation at the end of the feet of the stanzas.

<sup>3</sup> Better *rath-āsthita* ; but *somāsa* has been avoided for the sake of the metre.

<sup>4</sup> There appears to be an unnecessary *anuvāra* above *ta*. But the mark may be due to a flaw in the stone. A few other cases of this type occurring elsewhere in the record have been ignored by us.

<sup>5</sup> Read *vēgā* and omit the mark of punctuation as in foot-note 2 above.

<sup>6</sup> The reading of this expression was suggested to me by Dr. Chhabra.

<sup>7</sup> The word, evidently derived from *svaka*, has been used in the sense of *svakiya*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *prēmpī* or better *prēma*<sup>o</sup>. The syllables preceding *prē* here and *enē* in *snēhā* have been taken to be short.

<sup>9</sup> Read *tasyāḥ* or better *tasyai*.

<sup>10</sup> For the shortness of the syllable *mya*, Cf. note 8 above.

<sup>11</sup> The word *jasraṁ* has been used in the sense opposite to that of *ajasraṁ*.

<sup>12</sup> Possibly *Mānavāyani*.

<sup>13</sup> Note that the syllable *ta* before *kṣha* has been regarded as short.

<sup>14</sup> Read *śrīmām*.

<sup>15</sup> The word *yaśas* has been used as *yaśa*.

<sup>16</sup> Read *Punya*<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> Note that the syllable *ti* preceding *kṣha* has been regarded as short.

<sup>18</sup> Better read *mūrdhā*<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> An unnecessary *ā-mātrā* is noticed with *sū*.

<sup>20</sup> The word *jita* seems to have been used in the sense of *jaya*.

<sup>21</sup> Read *varddhana*<sup>o</sup> or better *varddhanō*, although the latter does not suit the metre.

<sup>22</sup> Read *tēn=āpi* or better *tasy=āpi*.

<sup>23</sup> Read *jayamnta*. The author seems to have used the word in the sense of *jayat*. The usage may be supported by expressions like *jayanīa-patra* used in the sense of *jaya-patra*.

<sup>24</sup> To avoid *punar-ukti-dōṣa*, *āyata* has to be taken in the sense of 'big' and not in that of 'long' (*dīrggha*).



## TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF GAURI

I. CHHOTI SADRI STONE INSCRIPTION ; YEAR 547

[illegible]



## 2. MANDASOR FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION



- 8 nāmā sa Rāshṭra iti prōddhata-punya(nya)-kirttiḥ [|| 6\*] Tta(Ta)sy=āpi ddha(dha)rmma-suta<sup>1</sup>-śānta-svabhāva-mūrttiḥ<sup>2</sup> yajña-kriyā-satata-dīkshita-dāna-dakṣaḥ [||\*] āhvāna-śaṅkita-surādhipa-
- 9 tiś=cha yasya lēbhē na śarmma punar-āgamanāya Śa[kra]ḥ<sup>3</sup> [|| 7\*] Sō=yam(yam) yaś-ābharaṇa<sup>4</sup>-bhūshita-sarvva-gātraḥ prōtphulla-paṅkaja-sam-āyata-chāru-nētraḥ [||\*] dakṣhō dayātur=iha
- 10 śāsita-śatru-pakṣaḥ kṣhmā-śāsita sa Yaśagupta<sup>5</sup> iti<sup>6</sup> nrip-ēnduḥ [|| 8\*] Tta(Ta)sy=aisha<sup>7</sup> āhava-gajēndra-sa(su)darppa-harttā<sup>8</sup> |<sup>9</sup> matt-ēbha-dam(da)nta-vinipāta-vibhinna-vak-ṣaḥ<sup>10</sup> [||\*] [vyu(vyū)h]ēshu ya[sya]
- 11 mada-ni[ḥ\*]sri(sri)ta-bhinna-gaṇḍāḥ(ṇḍā) ārttā drutaṁ śara-nipāta-hatā vrajaṁ(ja)nti [|| 9\*] Śaḥ<sup>11</sup> ssa(sa)rvva-satva(ttva)-[vi]tat-ārtthibhi<sup>12</sup> nitya-dātā dīn-ānukam(ka)mpana-rataḥ satataṁ prajānām |
- 12 yaśya<sup>13</sup> sarassu ka(ku)mud-ōjva(jjva)latām niśā(śa)mya śatru-s[t]riyō(yaḥ) sishichur-amnsru-bhi<sup>14</sup> vaktra-padmān<sup>15</sup> [|| 10\*] Tēn=ēyam bhūtadhātṛ kratubhir=iha chitā yūva(pa)śri-(śri)ṅgi(ṅg=ē)va bhāti |<sup>16</sup> prā[sā]-
- 13 dair=adpi(dri)-tuṅgaiḥ śaśikara-vapushai<sup>17</sup> sthāpitair=bhūshitā ścha(cha) [||\*] nānā-dān-ēn[d]u-śubhrai[r]=dviija-vara-bhavanair=yyēna lakṣmī[r]=vvibhaktā<sup>18</sup> sa[t]-putraḥ sō=timānī sita-yaśa-vapushaḥ<sup>19</sup>
- 14 śri-mahārāja-Gauriḥ [|| 11\*] Tēn=ē(n=ai)shaḥ<sup>20</sup> śaśi-hāra-kunda-dhavalāḥ śail-ēndra-śri(śri)ṅg-ōnnata[ḥ\*] prāsādō=dbhuta-darīśanaḥ<sup>21</sup> kṛitam<sup>22</sup>=ayam(yam) dēvyāḥ prasād-ārtthinā | yat-pūnyam<sup>23</sup> i-

<sup>1</sup> The author seems to have used the expression *dharmma-suta* in the sense of 'virtuous son', although he may have had the comparison with 'Dharmma's son' (i.e. Yudhishtira) in his mind. If the expression is taken in the latter sense, a word meaning 'son' has to be added in the stanza. Cf. verse 9 below.

<sup>2</sup> Read *mūrttir=yajña*.

<sup>3</sup> In *kra*, *k* is imperfectly formed.

<sup>4</sup> The word *yaśas* has been used as *yaśa*. The reading is probably not *yaśś-bharaṇa*.

<sup>5</sup> The correct form of the name is *Yaśōgupta* which, however, does not suit the metre.

<sup>6</sup> The word *iti* is written as *itī* to satisfy the requirement of the metre. *Kṣhīṇdraḥ* instead of *nripēnduḥ* would have served the author's purpose.

<sup>7</sup> A word having the sense of 'son' has to be added in the stanza to complete the sense. The author apparently thought that the use of the expression *sat-putraḥ* in verse 11 (line 13) below would serve the purpose.

<sup>8</sup> The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

<sup>9</sup> Properly *vakṣaḥ*. But the passage seems to refer to the enemy's elephants injured by the king's own elephants. In that case, *vakṣhaṣaḥ* is required, although it does not suit the metre. Probably the word *vakṣhaḥ* was taken by the author as *vakṣha* exactly as in the case of *yaśa*. See verse 4 in line 5 above.

<sup>10</sup> The *visarga* has been wrongly retained for the sake of the metre.

<sup>11</sup> Read *ārtthiḥ*; *ārtthibhiḥ* would not suit the metre.

<sup>12</sup> The metre requires a long syllable in the place of *sya*.

<sup>13</sup> The reading intended seems to be *śr-śrubhir=va*; but this does not suit the metre.

<sup>14</sup> Properly *padmānī*; but better read *padmam* to suit the metre.

<sup>15</sup> This is a double *daṇḍa* of the type often found in inscriptions. The first of the two *daṇḍas* has its head considerably curved towards the left.

<sup>16</sup> In the expression *vapushaiḥ*, the word *vapusha* may have been used in the sense of 'handsome'. But it is more probable that the author read the word *vapus* as *vapusha* and followed here a course altogether different from the case of *yaśas=yaśa*, because the correct form *vapuribhiḥ* would not suit the metre.

<sup>17</sup> There is an unnecessary dot here probably used as a mark of punctuation.

<sup>18</sup> As in the earlier half in the stanza, the word seems to be *vapusha* (with the first case-ending) and not *vapus* with the sixth case-ending. Here also *yaśa* has been used for *yaśas*.

<sup>19</sup> The *visarga* is wrongly retained for the sake of the metre.

<sup>20</sup> Read *darīśanaḥ*.

<sup>21</sup> Correctly *kṛitō=ya*; but *kṛitam* has been wrongly used for *kṛitāḥ* for the sake of the metre.

<sup>22</sup> Correctly *pūnyam=ā*; but the final *m* of *pūnyam* has been wrongly changed to *anusvāra* for the sake of the metre.



- 15 ha nyapyatē<sup>1</sup> dvijavaraiḥ śās[t]rēshu yach=ch=ōchyatē tat=sarvvaṃ mama<sup>2</sup> akshayaṃ bhavatu naḥ<sup>3</sup> mātā-pitri(tri)bhyām=idam(dam) || 12\* Yātēshu pañchasa śatēshv =atha vatsarāṇām |<sup>4</sup>
- 16 dvē viśā(viśā)ti<sup>5</sup> samadhikēshu sa-saptakēshu [\*] Māghasya śukla-divasē sagamat<sup>6</sup>=pratiṣṭā(śhṭhā)m prōtphulla-kunda-ddha(dha)val-ōjva(jjva)litē daśamyām || 13\* Jivaddharaṇa-samutpannasya
- 17 Mitrasōma-sūnō<sup>7</sup> Bhramarasōmasya kri(kri)tiḥ ||<sup>8</sup> likhitā ch=ēyaṃ pūrvvā Aparājitēna |<sup>4</sup> rājaputra-Gōbhaṭa-pād-ānuddhyātēna ||<sup>9</sup>

## TRANSLATION

(Line 1) (*Let there be*) success !

(Verse 1) Victorious is the Goddess (i.e. the Mother-goddess) who bears a sharp spear that tears asunder the demons (or, the demon Mahishāsura) ; the lustre emitted from whose jewelled crown makes a tremulous flow ; whose rapidity is impetuous owing to her being seated on a chariot attached to a fierce lion (or, fierce lions) ; (and) whose anger is concentrated in her frowning glance.

(Verse 2) Victorious again is she who, out of her devotedness (*to the god*), assumes half of the body of the moon-crested Hara (and) who, out of her kindness to the devotees, sustains the worlds just like a mother full of tenderness arising from her affection for her own children.

(Verse 3) After having bowed down to her, I am dealing, just a little, with the bright glory of the kings ;—(*the glory*) that is made of a mass of good qualities ;—(*the kings*) who were born in the Mānavāyaṇi (Mānavāyani) family (and) made their race pure (*by their deeds*) ; who dedicated themselves permanently to the dignity of the Kshatra (Kshatriya) status (and) were skilled in war.

(Verse 4) Amongst them, in the first place, was one named Puṇyasōma who was the extirpator of the enemy's partisans among the Kshatras (Kshatriyas) ; who was prosperous ; whose beautiful chest was well adorned with a mass of fame ; who, in the midst of (*all*) the Kshatras (Kshatriyas), enjoyed the anointment of his head with (*the waters of the auspicious*) jar, accomplished (*as it were*) by his title ' King ' (*which he had acquired by his valour*).

(Verse 5) His son was [Rājyavarddhana] whose figure was beautiful and radiant owing to the crown attached (*to his head*) ; whose face enjoyed the splendour of the rays of the circle of the full moon ; whose valour (*showed itself*) in conquering kingdoms (*of the enemies*) ; whose name indeed was so coined owing to his qualities that were (*responsible for*) increasing his sovereignty (or, kingdom).

(Verse 6) To him was born a son who was named Rāshṭra ; who conquered the victorious partisans of the enemies by his prowess ; whose arms were big and long like the trunk of an elephant ; whose excited army was active in destroying the kingdoms of enemies ; (and) whose pure fame rose high.

<sup>1</sup> An expression like *khyāpyatē* is apparently intended ; but it does not suit the metre.

<sup>2</sup> The rules of *Sandhi* have been ignored here. Note also the abrupt change from the Third Person (the king) to the First (the poet). But this may have been forced on the author by the requirement of the metre and was probably not his real intention.

<sup>3</sup> Read *nō* ; but this word in the plural does not suit the context in which *mama* is used in the singular. One may suggest *mā*.

<sup>4</sup> The mark of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>5</sup> Properly *vimśati-dvaya-samadhikēshu* as the author no doubt means 'exceeded by two scores' ; but *samāsa* has been avoided to satisfy the requirement of the metre.

<sup>6</sup> Read *te-āgamat*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *Mitrasōma-sūnōr-Bhramara*, or better *Mitrasōmasya sūnōr-Bhramara*.

<sup>8</sup> This is an ordinary double *daṇḍa*. It is preceded in the original by two concentric circles.

<sup>9</sup> There is here the ornamental design of a creeper to indicate the end of the record.



(Verse 7) His virtuous son had an undisturbed temperament and contented appearance ; (*the son*) who was always engaged in sacrificial rites and was prompt in charities ; whose call Śakra, the lord of the gods, feared and did not feel happy at (*the possibility of*) coming again (*to the earth from his heavenly abode*) ;

(Verse 8) this was he who was by name Yaśagupta (Yaśōgupta), the very moon among kings ; whose whole body was decorated with ornaments that were his fame ; whose eyes were big and beautiful like full-blown lotuses ; who was honest (*and*) kind ; who punished the partisans of the enemies on the earth ; (*and*) who was the ruler of the world.

(Verse 9) This is his [virtuous son] who humbled the great arrogance of the best of war-elephants ; whose rutting elephants tore asunder by the strokes of their tusks the chests (*of the war-elephants of the enemies*) ; the temples (*of the enemies' elephants*) were split open for the exudation of ichor, (*and*) they, when struck by the fall of arrows (*discharged by Yaśōgupta and his men*), became distressed (*and*) returned to the battle-arrays (*of the enemies*).

(Verse 10) He was always liberal to the supplicants among all living beings ; (*he*) always delighted in being compassionate to the destitute among his subjects ; having noticed the splendour of the water-lilies in his tanks, the wives of his enemies drenched their lotus-like faces with tears.

(Verse 11) This earth, being covered by him with sacrificial rites, shines here as if it has horns in (*the shape of*) sacrificial posts ; (*the earth*) has also been adorned (*by him*) with palatial buildings which have been set up (*by him*), which are as lofty as mountains (*and*) have their structure (*as white as*) moon-light ; by him wealth has been distributed by means of houses (*made over to*) the best of Brāhmanas ;—(*the houses*) which are radiant like the moon owing to the various gifts (*offered by the king to the Brāhmanas*). He, the virtuous son (*of Yaśōgupta*), is the illustrious Mahārāja Gauri who is highly respected (*and*) has his body adorned with bright fame.

(Verse 12) By him, desirous of the grace of the Goddess (i.e. the Mother-goddess), has been built this palatial building (i.e. temple of the Goddess) of marvellous view, which is as bright as the moon, necklaces and *kunda* flowers (*and*) is as lofty as the peaks of the lord of mountains (i.e. the Himālayas). Whatever merit (*for the construction of the temple*) is declared by the best of the Brāhmanas and is stated in the scriptures—may all that inexhaustively belong to me<sup>1</sup> (*and also*) to our<sup>2</sup> parents.

(Verse 13) When five hundreds of the years, exceeded by two scores together with seven, had well passed away, (*the said temple*) was consecrated during the tenth *tīthi* on the bright day (i.e. day of the bright half), which was white and bright like the full-blown *kuada* flowers, of the month of Māgha.

(Lines 16-17) (*This is*) the composition of Bhramarasōma who is the son of Mitrasōma begotten by Jivaddharaṇa. And this above-quoted (*eulogy*) has been written<sup>3</sup> by Aparājita who meditates on (or, is favoured by) Rājaputra (prince) Gōbhaṭa.

## 2. Mandasōr Fragmentary Inscription

In the rainy season of the year 1946, heavy floods of the river Shivrā washed the town of Mandasōr, headquarters of a District of that name in Madhya Bhārat. As a result of this washing, an inscribed slab of stone came into view in a field belonging to a Muhammadan gentleman named Mirza Naim Beg. A farmer took the stone slab away and kept it for some time in the compound of his cottage standing near the field. While lying there, the slab attracted the attention of a local

<sup>1</sup> The intention of the poet seems to have been 'him' (i.e. the king) and not 'me' (i.e. the poet himself).

<sup>2</sup> The intention of the poet seems to have been 'their' or 'his' (i.e. the king's) and not 'our' or 'my' (i.e. the poet's own).

<sup>3</sup> This writing was meant for facilitating the work of engraving.



goldsmith named Harirām N. Sonī who takes interest in the antiquities of the area. A few years later, the news of the discovery of the inscription reached the ears of Mr. M. C. Chaubey soon after he had come to join the Government Intermediate College at Mandasōr as Lecturer in History. Mr. Chaubey took photographs of the inscription and sent them for examination to a few students of Indian history known to him. The inscription was next brought by Mr. Chaubey to the College premises where a small museum was started under the guidance of Mr. N. S. Purandare, Principal of the College. About the middle of 1954, one of Mr. Chaubey's photographs of the inscription reached the office of the Government Epigraphist for India through Dr. S. L. Katare, then Professor of the Jabalpur Mahāvidyālaya. In January 1955 I visited Mandasōr and copied the inscription.

The inscribed space on the stone slab covers an area about 10 inches in breadth and about 9 inches in height. The inscription is **fragmentary**. Some letters have broken away from both the left and right sides while the concluding lines of the original record, probably containing a date and the names of the scribe and engraver, are also lost. The extant portion of the inscription contains only eleven lines of writing; but just a few letters of the eleventh line are now visible. Originally a line of the epigraph contained about twentyfour *akṣaras*. Each *akṣara* measures about  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch or more in height. In spite of its fragmentary nature, the record, when studied along with the Chhōṭī Sādṛī inscription edited above, throws some light on a rather dark period of the history of Daśapura which stood on the site of present Mandasōr.

The **characters** closely resemble those of the Chhōṭī Sādṛī inscription (491 A. D.) and the record has to be assigned to a date about the end of the fifth century A.D., not only on palaeographical considerations but also for the fact that both the epigraphs were incised during the reign of the same ruler. The signs of medial *u* and *ū* (cf. *satputra* in line 4, *Harisūr=ṛti* in line 6, *anuttama* in line 7, *kūpās=cha* in line 8, etc.) and subscript *ḍ* in *maṇḍapās=cha* (line 8) are interesting to note. The end of the second and fourth feet of a stanza is often indicated by a slightly curved horizontal stroke. The ordinary double *daṇḍa* has, however, been placed at the end of verses 1-2, while at the end of a half stanza, apparently treated by the author as a full verse, in line 5, we have a *daṇḍa* with its upper part curved towards the left. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is written in verse, the metre of the extant stanzas being *Anuṣṭubh*. There is, however, not a single stanza which is fully preserved. The beauty of the composition of this small fragmentary poem in the simplest of Sanskrit metres is marred by a number of **orthographical** and grammatical errors as well as by the weakness of the author's style. Although such defects are more marked in the Chhōṭī Sādṛī inscription, which is a much longer record composed in several classical metres, it is possible to suspect that it was the same poet who was responsible for the composition of both the records. As regards orthographical and grammatical errors in the present inscription, attention may be drawn to *garutma-ratha* for *garutmad-ratha* (line 1), *saṁkkhē* for *saṁkhyē* (line 2), *varddhaṇa* for *varddhana* (twice in line 4), *putraḥ* for *putrō* (line 4) and *īdam* for *ayam* (line 9). Mistakes like *datvā* for *dattvā* (line 7) and *satva* for *sattva* (line 10) are of course of common occurrence in early Indian epigraphs while *tapa* for *tapas* (line 7) is not unknown to Sanskrit lexicons. The following stylistic defects in the author's composition may also be noticed in this connection. The use of the seventh case-ending (*bhāvē saptamī*) in verse 2 in lines 2-3 suggests that the author is going to describe an event that happened during the reign of a ruling king mentioned in it. The event in question, however, is referred to in a stanza in lines 9-10 about the end of the epigraph and the intervening stanzas deal with facts which relate to the ancestors of the person responsible for the said event and mostly happened before the reign of the ruler referred to in verse 2. Then again, in line 5, a ruler is mentioned with the third case-ending suggesting that the author was going to describe some of his activities. But this expected description of his deeds is found only after two complete stanzas referring to facts that relate to the maternal grandfather and mother of the said ruler. As will be seen below, the first



of these two cases is responsible for some doubt regarding the interpretation of the evidence of the inscription under study, although the same style of introducing a subject is also noticed in some other inscriptions.

In the first half of verse 1 in line 1 we have the expression *Garutma[d\*]-ratha-yāyinā*, preceded by the expression *tēna*, and the *aksharas vatā* which stand at the beginning of the line and appear to represent the latter part of the expression *bhagavatā*. *Garutmad-ratha-yāyin* means 'one who moves in a chariot that is Garutmat (Garuḍa)' and therefore refers to the god Viṣṇu. The *aksharas pāyinā* in the second half of the same stanza stand at the beginning of line 2 and suggest the word originally engraved to have been *Chakrapāyinā*, *Chakrapāṇi* (literally, 'one holding the discus in his hand') being a well-known epithet or name of Viṣṇu. There is thus little doubt that the stanza in question, with which the record begins, contained an adoration of *Bhagavat* Viṣṇu. The lost verb to go with the name and epithets of the god in the third case-ending (*anuktē kartari tritīyā*) seems to have been *jitam* as in the *maṅgala* at the beginning of numerous epigraphic records.<sup>1</sup>

Verse 2 runs :

*Jitvā ripu-balaṁ saṁkkhē(khyē) ramyaṁ pura[m\*] daś-ādi[kam ]*

..... [na]ra-vyāgghrē narēndr-Ādityavardhanē ||

The lost word at the beginning of the second half of the stanza seems to be something like *pālayati* or *praśāsati*. Thus the verse means : " When king **Ādityavardhana**, the best among men, is protecting the city with (*its name having the word*) *daśa* at the beginning, after having routed the enemy's army in a battle." This no doubt looks like a clause introducing the description of an event that happened during the reign of king **Ādityavardhana** of *Daśapura* (i.e. old Mandasōr). But, as has been already indicated above, the mention of this event, viz. the excavation of a tank by *Mahārāja Gauri*, comes about the end of the record and the intervening stanzas deal with Gauri's ancestry.

Verse 3 states how there was (*āsīt*) something called *Māna*... and how king **Yaśōgupta**, the worthy son of **Rāshṭravardhana**, was the *vardhana* (i.e. bestower of prosperity) to that thing. There is no doubt that the letters *māna* represent the first part of the name of the royal family to which king Yaśōgupta belonged. The Chhōṭī Sādṛī inscription gives the name of this family as *Mānavāyaṇi*, although it is difficult to determine the actual form of the name given in the present record from the traces of the *aksharas* following *māna*. Both Yaśōgupta and his father are mentioned in the Chhōṭī Sādṛī inscription ; but it gives the name of **Rāshṭravardhana** as **Rāshṭra** who is represented as the son of **Rājyavardhana** and grandson of **Puṇyasōma**. The next stanza (verse 4 which is actually half of a stanza) mentions *Mahārāja Gauri*, also known from the Chhōṭī Sādṛī inscription, as the son of Yaśōgupta. The name of Gauri is given in the third case-ending (*anuktē kartari tritīyā*) as the performer of a deed, although, as noted above, the said deed (viz. the excavation of a tank) is referred to in a stanza (verse 8) which comes after the intervening description of Gauri's maternal grandfather and mother as well as certain other activities of the king. This abrupt introduction (in parenthesis as it were) of the king's mother as the daughter of his maternal grandfather is due to the fact that the tank in question was apparently excavated for the merit of the queen mother who was then dead.

<sup>1</sup> For the expression *jitam bhagavatā* as an introductory *maṅgala* in inscriptions, cf. *The Successors of the Śātavāhanas*, pp. 197, 205, 294, 309. The Hebbata grant of Kadamba Viṣṇuvarman I begins with the following verse :

*Jitam bhagavatā tēna Viṣṇuṇā yasya vakshasi |*

*Śrī-svayam bhāti dēvās-ccha nabhi-padme Pītamaḥ ||* (ibid., p. 292).



Verse 5 speaks of Gauri's maternal grandfather whose name is lost but may have ended with the *akshara nta* and gives the name of his mother as Harisūrā. The next stanza (verse 6) says that, after attaining something (the name of which is lost but which may be widowhood or old age) or reaching something like a place, the lady (queen mother Harisūrā) performed penances, gave gifts to Brāhmanas and ultimately went to heaven.

Verse 7 takes up the thread from verse 4 and the sentence is continued in the following stanza (verse 8). The two verses 7-8 run :

*Yēna kūpās=taṣākāni maṇḍapās=cha maṇḍha[rāḥ | ]*

*.....vriḍḍhyartha[m] grāmēshu nagarēshu cha || [7\*]*

*Tēn=ēdam(n=āyam) nagar-ābhyā[sē] .....vriḍḍhayē |*

*khānītam(ta)s=sa[rova-satvā(ttvā)nām] sukha-pē[yō ja]lā[śayaḥ ||] [8\*]*

The most probable restoration of the lost *aksharas* at the beginning of the third foot of verse 7 and of the second foot of verse 8, considering the context discussed above, appears to be *kāritāḥ puṇya*<sup>1</sup> and *mātuḥ puṇy-ābhi*<sup>2</sup> respectively. The stanzas therefore state as follows with reference to Gauri mentioned in verse 5 : " By whom wells, tanks and beautiful buildings [were made] in the villages and towns, for the increase [of his fame], by him has this tank, (with waters) to be drunk by all creatures with pleasure, been excavated in the vicinity of the city (Daśapura) for the increase [of his mother's merit]. " Of the next stanza (verse 9), only a few letters are visible and its purport is not clear.

It will be seen from the contents of the inscription analysed above that *Mahārāja* Gauri excavated a tank in the suburbs of Daśapura for the merit of his deceased mother, when *narēndra* Āḍityavardhana had his headquarters there. This would suggest that the latter was the overlord of the former who excavated the tank at his overlord's capital at a considerable distance from his own residence. As it was the custom to excavate a tank where the funeral pile of the deceased person stood,<sup>1</sup> it is possible to think that the mother of *Mahārāja* Gauri died at the capital of her son's overlord. The language of verses 7-8 saying that king Gauri, who made wells, tanks and *maṇḍapas* in various villages and towns apparently in his own kingdom, excavated the particular tank in the neighbourhood of the city (meaning Daśapura) may, however, suggest that Daśapura was his own capital. In that case, Āḍityavardhana was just another name of Gauri, although the unsatisfactory composition of the document, already discussed above, does not make this point clear at all. The second of the two interpretations suggested here may perhaps be supported by the fact that the more elaborate *praśasti* of Gauri in his other record from Chhōṭī Sādṛī (about 32 miles from Mandasōr), which lay within his own territory, does not speak of his overlord, while the names of his grandfather and great-grandfather, viz. Rāshṭravardhana and Rājyavardhana, render it possible that he had also a similar name ending in *vardhana*. Other possibilities will be discussed below in connection with the history of Daśapura in the period in question.

Although Daśapura is mentioned as a holy place of pilgrimage in an inscription<sup>2</sup> of the second century A. D., the city became famous as the capital of the Aulikara dynasty which flourished in West Mālwa after the country had passed to the Guptas when Chandragupta II Vikramāditya (376-414 A. D.) extirpated Śaka rule from West India about the close of the fourth century.<sup>3</sup> The early Aulikaras owed allegiance to the Gupta emperors who tolerated their use of the Mālava era in preference to the era of their own (i.e. the Gupta era). The extirpation of the Śakas by a Gupta Vikramāditya and the patronage of the Aulikaras of Mālava origin and of the Mālava era by

<sup>1</sup> *JAHS* Vol. XIX, p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> *Select Inscriptions*, p. 161.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, pp. xxxvii-xxxix.



the Gupta kings styled *Vikramāditya* led to the growth of the Śākāri Vikramāditya saga and to the tradition ascribing the foundation of the Mālava era to the Vikramāditya of Indian folklore.<sup>1</sup> The inscriptions<sup>2</sup> of the Aulikara king Naravarman (described as a follower or subordinate of Simhaviṣṇu identified with Chandragupta II, styled Simhaviṣṇu), son of Jayavarman and grandson of Simhavarman, are dated in the Mālava years 461 (404 A. D.) and 474 (417 A. D.). His son Viśvarman is known from an inscription<sup>3</sup> of the Mālava year 480 (423 A. D.), while both Viśvarman and his son and successor Bandhuvarman are mentioned as feudatories of the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I (414-55 A. D.) in an inscription<sup>4</sup> recording the construction of and repairs to a temple at Daśapura respectively in the Mālava years 493 (436 A. D.) and 529 (473 A. D.). King Prabhākara, mentioned in another record<sup>5</sup> of the Mālava year 524 (467 A. D.), seems to have belonged to the same family and to have been a successor of Bandhuvarman. While all these rulers appear to have owed allegiance to the Imperial Guptas, the only known Aulikara king of a later date, viz. Yaśōdharman Viṣṇuvardhana, one of whose records is dated in the Mālava year 589 (532 A. D.)<sup>6</sup> was an independent ruler. This monarch claims to have ruled over territories that even the Hūṇas and the Guptas failed to conquer. This shows that Western Mālwa passed from the Guptas to the Hūṇas and from the Hūṇas to Yaśōdharman. King Yaśōdharman also claims to have subdued the famous Hūṇa king Mihirakula. That the whole of Mālwa passed from the Guptas to the Hūṇas about the close of the fifth century seems to be suggested also by the fact that a ruler of Airikīṇa (Eran in the Saugor District, Madhya Pradesh) acknowledged the supremacy of Budhagupta (477-95 A. D.) in the Gupta year 165 (484 A. D.) while his younger brother and successor acknowledged the suzerainty of the Hūṇa king Tōramāṇa, an inscription of whose son Mihirakula was found at Gwalior.<sup>7</sup>

The question is : what happened to the Aulikaras of Daśapura, who were the feudatories of the Guptas, when Gupta suzerainty was extirpated from Mālwa by the Hūṇas ? As the Eran inscription of the time of Tōramāṇa is dated in his first regnal year and Mihirakula's Gwalior inscription is dated in his fifteenth regnal year, Hūṇa occupation of Mālwa must have lasted at least for more than a decade and a half. This period has to be placed between 484 and 532 A. D. It is interesting to note that the Mānavāyani king Gauri was ruling over the district around Chhōṭī Sādri in 491 A. D. falling exactly in this period of the Hūṇa occupation of Mālwa. He therefore may have been a feudatory of the Hūṇas and not of a king of Daśapura, although the use of the Mālava era in the Chhōṭī Sādri inscription may point to his Mālava origin or association. As *Ādityavardhana* does not appear to be a secondary name of the Hūṇa monarchs Tōramāṇa and Mihirakula who moreover may not have their residence at Daśapura, it is possible to think that it was a second name of Gauri himself and that the Aulikaras were ousted from Daśapura and the Mānavāyanis established there as a result of the extirpation of Gupta suzerainty and the establishment of Hūṇa supremacy in West Mālwa. Another possibility is that *Ādityavardhana* was a hitherto unknown Aulikara king of Daśapura, of whom Gauri was a relation or feudatory. In this connection, the secondary name of Yaśōdharman, viz. *Viṣṇuvardhana*, which is rather peculiar for the Aulikara family, is interesting to note. Did he get it from his association with the Mānavāyanis ? Since, however, his principal name, viz. *Yaśōdharman*, is also equally peculiar for the earlier Aulikaras with names ending in *varman*, it is not possible to be definite on this point.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 165.

<sup>2</sup> *Select Inscriptions*, p. 377 ; above, Vol. XXVI, p. 131.

<sup>3</sup> *Sel. Ins.*, p. 379.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 288 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Bhandarkar's List, No. 7 ; above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 12 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 386 ff. Some scholars suggest that Yaśōdharman and Viṣṇuvardhana were different persons and that the latter was a feudatory of the former. But cf. op. cit., p. 386, note.

<sup>7</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 326 f., 296 f., 400 f.



Among geographical names, the fragmentary record under study mentions only *daś-ādika pura*, i.e. *Daśapura* which was the ancient name of modern Mandasor.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 .....[vatā<sup>2</sup> tē]na garutma-ratha<sup>3</sup>-yāyinā |<sup>4</sup> trailōky-ām[a]....<sup>5</sup>  
 2 .....pāṇinā<sup>6</sup> ||<sup>7</sup> [1\*] Jitvā ripu-balaṁ saṁkṣhē(khyē) ramaṇ purā[m\*] daś-ādi....<sup>8</sup>  
 3 .....<sup>9</sup> [na]ra-vyāgghrē narēndr-**Ādityavarddhanē** ||<sup>7</sup> [2\*] Āsin=Māna.....<sup>10</sup>  
 4 ....<sup>11</sup> varddhaṇaḥ(naḥ) | **Rāshṭravarddhaṇa**(na)-sat-putraḥ(trō) **Yaśōguptō** nar-ā....<sup>12</sup> [3\*]  
 5 ....<sup>13</sup> [nū]jēna śrī-mahārāja-**Gauriṇā** ||<sup>14</sup> [4\*] Yasya mātāmahaḥ śr[i]....<sup>15</sup>  
 6 ...<sup>16</sup>[pratā]pavān<sup>17</sup> [|\*] Hariś[ū]r-ēti vikṣyātā janani cha pativra[t]ā ||<sup>18</sup> [5\*]  
 7 ....<sup>19</sup> samāsādyā taptvā tapam=anuttamaṁ(mam |) datvā(ttvā) dānaṁ dvijēbhya[h] ..<sup>20</sup>  
 8 ....<sup>21</sup> divaṇ=gatā ||<sup>22</sup> [6\*] Yēna k[ū]pās=taṭākāni maṇḍapās=cha maṇō[harāḥ] ||<sup>23</sup>  
 9 ....<sup>24</sup>vṛiddhyartha[m] grāmēshu nagarēshu cha ||<sup>25</sup> [7\*] Tēn=ēdaṁ<sup>26</sup> nagar-ābhya[sē]  
 10 ....<sup>27</sup>vṛiddhayē ||<sup>28</sup> khānitaṁ(ta)s=sa[rvva-satvā(ttvā)nām] sukha-pē[yō ja]lā....<sup>29</sup> [8\*]  
 11 ..... prada .... t=ēva mātā-pitrō .....

<sup>1</sup> From impressions.

<sup>2</sup> Read *Jitām bhagavatā*. There was probably the *Sidham* symbol at the beginning of the record before *Jitam*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *garutmad-ratha*.

<sup>4</sup> This stop is indicated by a slightly curved horizontal stroke.

<sup>5</sup> About four *aksharas* are damaged here.

<sup>6</sup> We may suggest *Vishnunā chakrapāṇinā*.

<sup>7</sup> This stop is indicated by a double *daṇḍa*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *daś-ādikaṁ* ||

<sup>9</sup> We may suggest *pāṇyati* or *prāsāsati*.

<sup>10</sup> The reference is to the family name given as *Mānavāyāni* in the Chhoti Sādrī inscription. But the reading *Mānavāyānīnām*, although tempting, does not appear to be supported by the traces of the damaged *aksharas*. The reading intended may have been *Mānava-gōtrasya*.

<sup>11</sup> The *akshara* before *va* may be *śya*.

<sup>12</sup> Read *nar-ādhipaḥ* ||

<sup>13</sup> We may suggest something like *tasy=ānēna lanūjēna*.

<sup>14</sup> This stop is indicated by a *daṇḍa* with its upper part curved towards the left.

<sup>15</sup> The word seems to be *śrīmān*.

<sup>16</sup> The letters of the name of king Gauri's maternal grandfather are lost with the exception of traces of the last *akshara* which may be *ṇaḥ*.

<sup>17</sup> The half *n* is incised above the line.

<sup>18</sup> This stop is indicated by a slightly curved horizontal stroke.

<sup>19</sup> May we suggest a word like *vaidhavyaṇ=cha* or *vārdhavyaṇ=cha* ?

<sup>20</sup> One *akshara* (*sā* ?) seems to be lost here.

<sup>21</sup> About four *aksharas* are lost here.

<sup>22</sup> This stop is indicated by a slightly curved horizontal stroke.

<sup>23</sup> We may suggest *kāritā puṇya-vṛiddhy-arthaṁ*.

<sup>24</sup> Read *tēn=āyaṁ*.

<sup>25</sup> We may suggest *mātuḥ puṇy-abhivṛiddhayē*.

<sup>26</sup> Read *jalāśayaḥ* ||

## No. 23.—DEVAPRAYAG BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS

(2 Plates)

B. CH. CHHABRA, NEW DELHI

In May 1948, I toured in those parts of the Himālayas that go by the name of Uttarākhaṇḍa. Owing to the difficulties of transport, I got stranded, so to say, at **Dēvaprayāg**. Every cloud, they say, has a silver lining. In the case of my enforced stay at the said holy place the silver lining appeared in the shape of a chance discovery of quite a number of short inscriptions in early characters, crowding a small area on a rugged rock, very centrally located.

The village of Dēvaprayāg is within the former Tehri State, 'situated in 30°10' N and 78°37' E, at the confluence of the Alakānandā and Bhāgīrathī rivers, the combined stream being then called the Ganges; elevation 1,550 feet. The point of junction forms one of the five sacred confluences in the hills, and is annually visited by many devout pilgrims. The village stands 100 feet above the water's edge on the scarped side of a mountain, which rises behind it to a height of 800 feet.' The accompanying sketch map will show the position of Dēvaprayāg in relation to some of the well-known land marks such as Badrināth and Kādarnāth in the north-east, Dehradun in the north-west, and Hardwār in the south-west.

The rock bearing the inscriptions is situated behind the famous temple of Raghunāth, which is comparatively of recent origin. The rock forms the back wall of the rectangular courtyard of the temple. It contains about 40 inscriptions in characters of three different types: Brāhmī, ornamental Brāhmī and Dēvanāgarī. The inscriptions of the last type are very few. One of them is pretty long and is dated Samvat 1736. Those of the second type are more or less equal in number to those of the first type. In this article I deal only with the Brāhmī inscriptions. At the end I have given one of the inscriptions of the ornamental type as a sample. This seems to read *Bhaddrabalaḥ*. The characteristic feature of the ornamental type of the script represented here is the use of a 'cone' placed on the top of some of the letters, as may be seen in the present instance on the letters *ba* and *la*. I intend to deal with these ornamental inscriptions in a separate paper. Likewise, the later inscriptions will be dealt with separately.

The **Brāhmī script** represented in the inscriptions discussed here is of a period ranging from the 2nd to the 5th century A.D. The earliest variety is represented by the inscriptions Nos. XIV and XVIII. In the last mentioned inscription, the subscript *y* may be observed to retain its tripartite form, which is an indication of its being early. The flat and angular bases of *d*, *p*, *m*, *v* and *h*, etc., in some of the inscriptions also indicate an early period. The inscriptions Nos. XV and XVI illustrate what is known as the nail-headed or acute-angled variety of the late Brāhmī script. According to J. F. Fleet, the script represented in all these inscriptions will be 'a variety, with southern characteristics, of the Central Indian alphabet' of about the 4th century A.D.<sup>1</sup> The letters *m*, *s* and *h* here are throughout of the so called southern type. Since these inscriptions are in the north, we need not call the script as peculiar to Central India alone. The treatment of the *mātrās* in some of the inscriptions is worth noticing. Medial *ā* in the syllable *mā* in Nos. I, II and III is differently indicated. In No. I it rises from the left limb of the consonant and ends in a flourish. In No. II it is placed on the right limb and is bent downwards. In No. III it is attached to the right side of the consonant, not on the top, but a little below. The same *mātrā* in *dā* of No. IV is again different, bending like a hook. Medial *i* where its use is superfluous in No. III is ornamentally treated, while its normal form is seen in Nos. V, IX, X and XVI

<sup>1</sup> *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, Vol. XXVI, *British Garhwal*, compiled by H. D. Walton, 1921, p. 214. The name of the village is more commonly spelt as Deoprayag.

<sup>2</sup> *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 18.



Medial *ī* is plainly visible in the word *śrī* in No. VIII. It is open to the left. The same *mātrā* is also seen on the letter *h* in No. XI where, correctly speaking, it should be *ē* and not *ī*. The form of medial *ī*, open to the right, is to be seen in the word *śrī* in No. XIII. The form of medial *u* differs, as is well-known, in combination with different consonants. The examples of this sign found in these inscriptions are as follows: a straight downward stroke in *tu* (No. VI), a curved downward stroke in *gu* (Nos. IX, XI and XII) and *ru* (Nos. XIII and XVI), and a curved upward stroke in *tu* (No. XVIII). In the case of the medial *u* in *gu* of No. IX, it looks almost like the medial *u* in modern Nāgarī, but in reality the curved stroke which appears to be a continuation of the *u mātrā* is not joined with the *u* stroke. The form of the medial *ī* is to be seen in Nos. II, and XVI. In No. II, it ends in a loop; it is partly mixed up with an ornamental letter below. In No. XVI, it looks as it is in the modern Nāgarī script; but here some flaw in the stone is responsible for its modern look. In fact, it is more or less of the same type as is found in No. II, its curl descending from the right side of *v* and ending in a loop.

## TEXTS

I Mānaparvvataḥ	XI Guhiśvaradattaḥ
II Mātridattaḥ	XII [Śrīmad-Gu]hēśvaradatta[ś]ya
III Mātri (tri)chēṭasya	XIII Śrī-Rudravarm[m]aṇaḥ
IV Īśvaradāsaḥ	XIV Skandadattaḥ
V Hiraṇya	XV Skandadattaḥ
VI Kaṭukattam[bha]	XVI Rudravṛddhiḥ
VII Yajña	XVII [A]ḍhishṭhāṇa
VIII Śrī-Guhavarmmaḥ	XVIII Chaturvy[ū]haḥ
IX Guhavarm[m]a Ādityava[rmma]	XIX Bhaddrabalaḥ
X Ādiya	

These short inscriptions contain only proper names and were possibly engraved on the rock by pilgrims who visited the holy place in olden days. Most of the names are typical of the Gupta period. Hence their importance. The first in our list, *Mānaparvata*, obviously refers to the Māna mountain or Māna pass which, as may be seen on the accompanying map, lies higher up in the Himalayan range, beyond Badrināth. The occurrence of the name on the rock in question, however, tends to indicate that the range of hills behind the confluence of the Alakānandā and Bhāgīrathī at Dēvaprayāg was also known as *Māna*. The personal name *Mātrichēṭa*

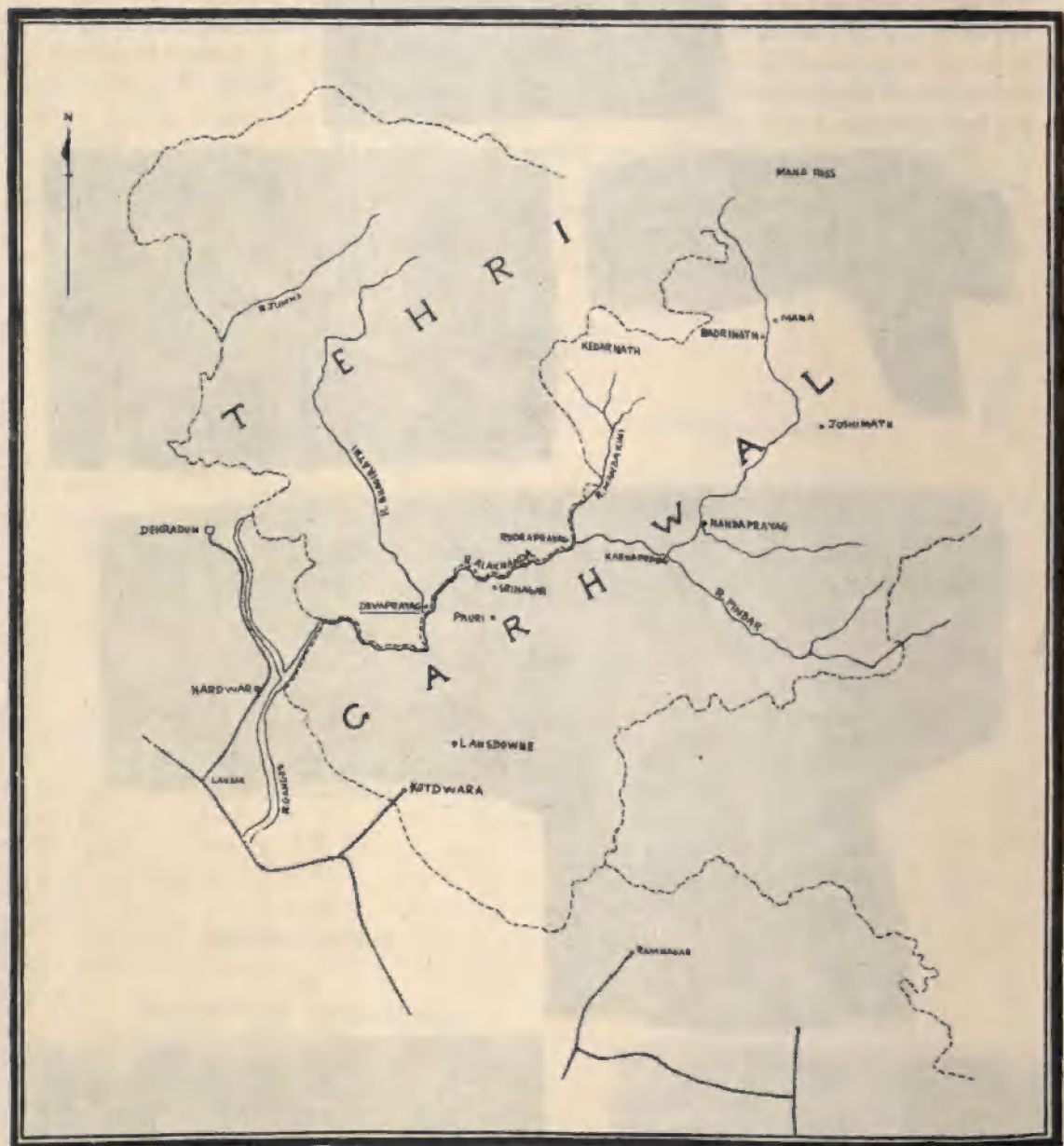
DEVAPRAYAG BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS (I)



(From a Photograph)



# SKETCH MAP SHOWING THE POSITION OF DEVAPRAYAG



BOUNDARIES - - - - -  
 RIVERS - - - - -  
 RAILWAY - - - - -

reminds us of the early Buddhist author of that name, sometimes identified with Aśvaghōṣa.<sup>1</sup> Many of the remaining names show that their bearers were followers either of Śaivism or of Vaiṣṇavism. Some of them are rather quaint as personal names, *Adhiṣṭhāna*, for instance. It may, however, be observed that *Adhiṣṭhāna* is known as one of the thousand names of Viṣṇu :

*Apāṃnidhir=Adhiṣṭhānam=Apramattaḥ Pratishṭhitaḥ*<sup>2</sup>.

Similarly the words *yajña* and *chaturvyūha* also figure among the thousand appellations of Viṣṇu :

*Yajña Ijyō Mahājyotiḥ=cha Kratuḥ Sattraṃ Satāṃgatiḥ*<sup>3</sup>

and

*Yajñō Yajñapatiḥ Yajvā Yajñāṅgō Yajñavāhanaḥ*<sup>4</sup>

and

*Chaturātmā Chaturvyūhaḥ=Chaturdaśaśṛiṅgāḥ=Chaturbhujah*<sup>5</sup>

and

*Chaturmūrtiḥ=Chaturbāhuḥ=Chaturvyūhaḥ=Chaturgatiḥ*<sup>6</sup>

The four *vyūhas* hinted at in the name *Chaturvyūha* are *Vāsudēva*, *Saṃkarṣaṇa*, *Pradyumna* and *Aniruddha*, the significance of which is explained in the *āgamas* such as the *Ahīrbudhnya Saṃhitā*.

It may be noted here that the name *Chaturvyūha* is engraved, not on the rock behind the Raghunāth temple, but lower down, at a distance, on a boulder along the steps leading to the water's edge where the pilgrims now take bath at the confluence of the two rivers. There is no other engraving on this boulder.

It may further be observed that the rock behind the Raghunāth temple, near the point where the name *Mānaparvataḥ* is engraved, has a vertical portion rubbed smooth as if by the constant flow of water. Again, at this very point, at the foot of the rock, the stone has been hollowed out into a shallow basin, so to say, likewise rubbed smooth. All this indicates that in olden days there was a waterfall at this place and that it was equally a sacred spot frequented by pilgrims.

## No. 24.—BANDA PLATES OF PARACHAKRASALYA, SAMVAT 56

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

About the end of November 1950, I visited Russelkonda, headquarters of the Ghumsur Sub-division of the Ganjam District, Orissa. There I met Mr. D. P. Tripathi, then Revenue Divisional Officer of Ghumsur, who kindly gave me the information that he had once seen a set of inscribed copper plates in the possession of Mr. B. S. Mahanti, then Secretary of the Revenue Department, Government of Orissa, Cuttack. I at once wrote to Mr. Mahanti requesting him to be so good as to lend me the plates for a few weeks for examination. Mr. Mahanti kindly responded to my

<sup>1</sup> See A. Berriedale Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> *Viṣṇusahasranāma*, 50.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 119.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 97.



request and the inscription reached me at Ootacamund about the middle of March 1951. After examination, the plates were duly returned to Mr. Mahanti. As to the question how the inscription was acquired by him, Mr. Mahanti was good enough to write to me, "The plates were given to me by an old man who was an inhabitant of **Banda**, a village in the Bargarh Subdivision of the Sambalpur District. I have forgotten his name; but he put in a claim to be appointed as village watchman of the said village when I was Sub-Divisional Officer at Bargarh. He produced the plates with the belief that the inscription supported his claim to the post. I told him that it contained nothing of the kind and that it was of no help in deciding the case. The old man lost his case. He then said that I could keep the inscription as it was of no use to him, and it is with me since. The village of Banda lies three miles off from Bargarh which is the headquarters of the Subdivision of that name in the Sambalpur District, Orissa." My thanks are due to Mr. Mahanti for his kindness in lending me the inscription for examination and publication as well as for the above information.

The inscription is engraved on a set of **three** thin plates which measure about 9 inches by 3.1 inches each. They are strung together on a ring (about 2.2 inches in diameter and .2 inch in thickness) to which a small figure of Garuḍa (1.6 inches in height) is fixed instead of a seal of the usual type. The figure shows only the upper part of Garuḍa's body with folded palms and with a crown on the head as well as two outstretched wings on the back. The first plate has writing only on the inner side; but the second and third plates are inscribed on both the sides. There are altogether 23 lines of writing on the plates. The reverse of the third plate has only 3 lines while the other inscribed faces of the plates have 5 lines each. The incision of the letters is fairly deep and the preservation of the plates is satisfactory with the exception of the reverse of the third plate, which exhibits effects of corrosion. A few letters on the second side of the third plate are badly damaged. The weight of the three plates together is 66 *tolas*, while that of the ring with the Garuḍa emblem is 7½ *tolas*.

The **characters** are very indifferently incised and often the same letter has a variety of forms, while in some cases different letters have the same form. The letters *p* and *śh* are usually undistinguishable, whereas, in some cases, *y* also closely resembles them; see, e.g. °*gat-āsēsha-pañcha* in lines 3-4, *turya* in line 5, etc.; for slight variation in the form of *p*, see *dappaṇa* in line 8 and *paṭi* in line 9. For different forms of *r*, cf. *para*° (line 2), *māhēśvara* (line 3), *raṇḍo* and °*rāṭi* (line 5), *Rāshṭra* (line 6) and *Rāṇaka* (line 10). For similar variants of *k*, see *kulā-tilaka* (line 6), °*ika* and *rāṇaka* (line 10), *rāṇaka* (line 12) and *sākhika* (lines 20-21). The letters *t*, *l* and *s* also have several forms; cf. °*sira* (line 1), *samadhī*° (line 3) *kulā-tilaka* (line 6); *suta* (lines 11 and 11-12) and °*gasti* (lines 14-15). The medial sign of *ā* is usually of the *daṇḍa* type; but it is found in modified forms in *ṭā* (lines 2, 6), *gō*° (lines 9, 13, 21), *ñchā* (line 13), *shā* (line 19) and *tvā* (line 19). Medial *ē* is of the Bengali-Oriya type, although rarely the Dēvanāgarī type of the sign has been used (cf. *Llātālōra* in line 7). The double *daṇḍa* at the end of the inscription is preceded by a *visarga*-like sign which forms a part of the mark of interpunctuation as in numerous other inscriptions. From the palaeographical point of view, the inscription resembles such other Orissan records of about the **twelfth century A.D.** as the Mahada<sup>1</sup> plates of the Telugu-Chōḍa king Sōmēśvaradēvavarman, the Kelga plates<sup>2</sup> of the Sōmayamśi *Kumāra* Sōmēśvara, the Baud plates<sup>3</sup> of Salōṇabhañja, and others.<sup>4</sup> The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit mixed with the local dialect. Its **orthography** is greatly influenced by local pronunciation. The rules of *sandhi* have often been neglected.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 283 ff.; cf. Vol. XII, pp. 218 ff. and Plates.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, pp. 321 ff.; cf. Vol. XII, pp. 239 ff. and Plates.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXVI, pp. 276 ff. and Plates. The Bhañjas of Baud were probably feudatories of the Sōmayamśis and raised their head on the decline of the latter, but were subdued by the Telugu-Chōḍas of Kōsala.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Vol. XIX, pp. 97 ff. and Plates, etc.



The date of the document is given in lines 1-2 as *Samata 56 Mūyasira-vadā 4 vāra Vihapāi*, i.e. *Samvat 56 Mārgasira-vadi 4 vārē Brihaspatau*. The date is thus Thursday, Mārgasira-badi 4, year 56. It is of course not impossible to regard the year 56 in the date of the charter under discussion as the regnal year of its issuer; but the internal evidence of the record, as will be shown below, would suggest that the year should better be referred to the Chālukya-Vikrama Samvat, the first year of which corresponds to Śaka (current) 999=1076-77 A. D.<sup>1</sup> In that case the date of our record, viz. Chālukya-Vikrama Samvat (current) 56, Amānta-Mārgasīrsha-badi 4, Thursday would correspond to **Thursday, the 20th November, 1130 A. D.**

The charter was issued from *Vāgharākōṭṭa* by *Rāṇaka Parachakraśalya* who was the son of Dhamśaka (possibly Sanskrit *Dhvaṃśaka*) and grandson of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Mahāmāṇḍa-lika Rāṇaka Chamaravigraha*. The issuer of the charter and his grandfather have been endowed with feudatory titles only. The name of the issuer's father goes without any royal epithet possibly because he predeceased his father and Parachakraśalya directly succeeded his grandfather.

The charter records the grant of a village called *Salēdāgrāma* in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named *Brihaspati* who belonged to the *Vatsa gōtra* and the *pañch-ārshēya pravara* and was the son of *Āgasti* and grandson of *Chāikara*. It is interesting to note that the donee's grandfather is represented as belonging to the *Kavaṇḍilla gōtra*. *Kavaṇḍilla* seems to be a mistake for *Kauṇḍilya* or *Kauṇḍinya* and the donee of the charter under review may have actually been a *dvyāmushyā-yaṇa*. The *Vatsa gōtra* has five *pravaras* (viz. *Bhārgava*, *Chyavana*, *Āpnuvat*, *Aurva* and *Jāmadagnya*), while the *Kauṇḍilya* or *Kauṇḍinya gōtra* has three *pravaras*, viz. *Āngirasa*, *Bārhaspatya* and *Bhāradvāja*. The donee's *pañch-ārshēya pravara* seems to refer to the *Vatsa gōtra*. A Brāhmaṇa named *Priyaka* seems to be mentioned in the document as a witness while *Mahāpātra Gōvin-dasāi* was the *dūtaka* or executor of the grant. The plates appear to have been engraved by two persons named *Dhōllajā* and *Gābhuruja*.

There is a group of epithets seemingly applied to the name of *Chamaravigraha*, although, considering the corrupt language of the document, they may be actually meant for *Parachakraśalya* who issued the charter. The first of these epithets is *parama-māhēśvara* which shows that the rulers in question were devotees of Śiva in spite of the fact that the charter under discussion bears the Vaishṇava emblem of *Garuḍa* which, as will be shown below, was probably borrowed from their ancestors. The second epithet, viz. *samadhigat-āśēsha-pañcha-mahāśabd-āvali-vandita*, points to the feudatory status of the rulers, also indicated by their titles, *Rāṇaka*, etc. The other epithets, which are of outstanding importance, are (1) *kanaka-ḍamaru-trivali-rav-ōttrāsīt-ārāti-chakra*, (2) *Rāshṭrakūṭ-āmala-kula-tilaka*, (3) *Llātalōra-vinirggata*, (4) *śvēta-chehhatra*, (5) *pīta-chā-mara*, (6) *Garuḍa-darpaṇa-dhvaja* and (7) *ashṭādāśa-ghaṭṭa-gōṇḍram-ādhipati*. These epithets show that *Rāṇaka Parachakraśalya* claimed to have belonged to the *Rāshṭrakūṭa* royal family and that his family hailed from the *Kannaḍa* area although he was ruling in the *Sambalpur* region of *Orissa* far away from the original home of his forefathers.

The word *rāshṭrakūṭa*, as an official designation probably meaning 'the head of a *rāshṭra* (a small division of a kingdom)' (cf. *grāma-kūṭa* meaning 'the head of a village'), is often found in the copperplate charters of certain rulers, generally of *Kannaḍa* origin, in the usual list of officials and others, to whom the royal order concerning a gift was issued.<sup>2</sup> In ancient and medieval India, such official designations are known to have very often become stereotyped as family names. Out of hundreds of such cases, a few, viz. *Dēsai* (Sanskrit *Dēśādhipati* or *krīta*), *Mahāpātra*, *Niyōgin*, *Rājaguru*, *Sēnāpati*, *Majumdār* (from *Macmuadār*), *Mīrbahar*, etc., may be quoted here by way of illustration. It is also well known that *Pēshwā* was originally the official designation of a minister of the *Marāṭhā* rulers of *Śivājī's* house, but that it gradually became stereotyped as a family name

<sup>1</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 446.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 169; Vol. XXV, p. 30, etc.



and that the Peshwās did not give it up even when they became independent or even imperial rulers. An ancient Indian instance of exactly the same kind is that of the wellknown Pratihāra emperors whose dynastic name was apparently derived from the official designation *pratihāra* meaning 'guardian of the palace gate'. The designation *rāshtrakūṭa* was also similarly stereotyped and a number of Rāshtrakūṭa royal families, later called Rāṣhōḍ (through Prakrit *raṣṭhaṇḍa*) in some cases, are known to have ruled in different parts of India. There is no reason to believe that all these families were branches of a single dynasty; but all of them appear to have been essentially of Kannaḍa origin although it is difficult to trace their original southern characteristic in some of the North Indian Rāshtrakūṭas. So long no Rāshtrakūṭa royal family was traced in Orissa. The inscription under discussion proves for the first time the existence of a line of Rāshtrakūṭa rulers in the Sambalpur region of Orissa. An interesting epithet of the ruler who issued the charter (or, of his grandfather) is *Llātālōra-vinirgata* which shows that the family claimed to have hailed from a locality called Llātālōra. There is no doubt that the locality referred to is the same as Lattalūra (otherwise called Lattalūr, Lattanūr, Latalaura, etc.) which was the traditional home of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Southern India and has been identified with modern Lātūr in the Osmanabad District of Hyderabad. We know that the imperial Rāshtrakūṭas often called themselves *Lattalūra-pura-paramēśvara*<sup>1</sup> and the Raṭṭa chieftains of Saundatti usually described themselves as *Lattalūr-pura-var-ēśvara* or *Lattanūr-pura-var-ēśvara*,<sup>2</sup> while Mahāsāmanta Dhādībhaḍaka of the Mahā-Rāshtrakūṭa family, who was a feudatory of the Western Chālukya emperor Vikramāditya VI (1076-1127 A. D.), is described as 'emigrated from Latalaura',<sup>3</sup> exactly as the king in the inscription under review. The advent of these Rāshtrakūṭas of Kannaḍa origin in Orissa, like that of the Kanarese Sēnas in Bengal, of the Karnāṭaka dynasty of Nānyadēva in Mithilā and of the Telugu-Chōḍas in Chattisgarh and Orissa, seems to have been the result of the eastern expeditions led by Chālukya Vikramāditya VI some time before 1068 A. D.<sup>4</sup> It seems that Parachakrasālya acknowledged, however nominally, the supremacy of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. The establishment of the Kannaḍa royal houses in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa is a very interesting fact of South Indian history. The Kannaḍigas of Bengal and North Bihar have left their mark on the culture of the lands of their adoption; but those of Orissa were politically insignificant.

The Rāshtrakūṭas of Southern India had the *Pāli-dhvaja*, *Ōka-kṛtu* and *Garuḍa-lāñchhana*,<sup>5</sup> while the Orissan Rāshtrakūṭas are described in our record as having the *Garuḍa-darpaṇa-dhvaja*. The fact that the former were heralded in public by the sound of a musical instrument named *ṭivīḷi* (variously called *trivale*, *trivālī* or *trivālī* in the records of the Raṭṭas of Saundatti) explains the occurrence of the epithet *kanaka-ḍamaru-trivālī-tūrya-rav-ōṭtrāsīt-ārāti-chakra*, applied to the Rāshtrakūṭa kings mentioned in the record under discussion. The Orissan Rāshtrakūṭas are further said to have enjoyed the *śvēta-chchhatra* (white umbrella) and *pīta-chāmara* (yellow fly-whisk).

From what has been said above about the epithets of the Rāshtrakūṭa rulers mentioned in the inscription under review, it may be suspected whether they had anything really to do with Orissa. Such a doubt is, however, set completely at rest by the epithet *aṣṭādaśa-ghaṭṭa-gōndram-ādhipati*, 'lord of the eighteen *ghaṭṭas* and Gōndramas'. The word *ghaṭṭa* is not found in similar context in Orissan epigraphs and may have been used to mean 'a pass' or 'hill range' in the Kannaḍa sense of the word. The word *gōndrama* is, however, found in many early copperplate grants of Orissa in royal epithets claiming lordship over 'all the Gōndramas' or 'the eighteen Gōndramas' although the meaning of the word *gōndrama* and its origin are both unknown. Whether it is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 220.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 185, 249.

<sup>3</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, op. cit., p. 384, note 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 442.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 387.



i

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34 36 38 40 42 44 46 48 50 52 54 56 58 60 62 64 66 68 70 72 74 76 78 80 82 84 86 88 90 92 94 96 98 100

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

ii a

6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34 36 38 40 42 44 46 48 50 52 54 56 58 60 62 64 66 68 70 72 74 76 78 80 82 84 86 88 90 92 94 96 98 100

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

ii, b

12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34 36 38 40 42 44 46 48 50 52 54 56 58 60 62 64 66 68 70 72 74 76 78 80 82 84 86 88 90 92 94 96 98 100

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100





connected with the Telugu word *koṇḍa*, meaning 'hill', is uncertain. The eighteen Gōndramas are sometimes supposed to indicate the same thing as the Oriya *aṭhara-gaḍa-jāta*, vaguely referring to the Native States now merged in the State of Orissa. The earliest reference to 'the eighteen States' of this area seems to be found in the Kanās plate<sup>1</sup> of Lōkavigraha dated in the Gupta year 280 (599-600 A.D.), which speaks of the Tōsali kingdom (Balasore-Cuttack-Puri-Ganjam region) as consisting of 'eighteen forest kingdoms (*aṭavi-rājya*)'. The association with *ghaṭṭa* may possibly suggest that *gōndrama* indicated 'a hill-fort' or 'a State with its headquarters in a hill-fort'.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, *Vāgharā-kōṭṭa* seems to have been a hill-fort that was the capital of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Orissa (cf. *kōṭṭa*, 'a fort'). Whether it was the old name of the present Bargarh in the Sambalpur District cannot be determined with certainty. The gift village is called *Salēḍāgrāma* without mentioning the name of the *vishaya* or district in which it was situated. This is probably because it was lying near the headquarters of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Vāgharākōṭṭa. It may, however, be pointed out that the usual passage referring to the royal order regarding the grant, addressed to the king's officials, subordinates and others, seems to be wanting in our record owing to the inadvertence of the scribe or the engraver and that the reference to the *vishaya* in which the gift village was situated may have been lost along with it.

### TEXT\*

#### First Plate

- 1 Siddham<sup>2</sup> [Om] svasta(sti ||) Samata<sup>3</sup> 56 Muyasira-vadā(di)<sup>4</sup> 4
- 2 vāra Vihapai<sup>5</sup> śri-Vāgharākōṭṭāta(tṭāt) para-
- 3 mamāhēsva(śva)ra-samadhigatāsēśhapa-
- 4 ṇchamāhāsavdalivandita<sup>7</sup>-kanakaḍa-
- 5 marutṛi(tri)valitu(tū)ryaravō[t\*]trāsītārātī(ti)-

#### Second Plate, First Side

- 6 chakra-Rāshtrakūṭāmālakulātīlaka<sup>8</sup>·
- 7 Llātalōravinirg[ḡ]ata-śvētachha(chchha)tra-pīta-
- 8 chāmara-Garuḍadappa(rppa)ṇadhvaja-āsh[t]ā-
- 9 dasa<sup>9</sup>ghaṭṭagōndramādhipatī(ti)-māhā<sup>10</sup>ma-
- 10 ṇḍalēsvara-māhā<sup>10</sup>māṇḍalī(li)ka-Rāṇaka-

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 328 ff.

<sup>2</sup> From the original plates and their impressions.

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>4</sup> Read *Samvat*.

<sup>5</sup> Sanskrit *Mārgasīra* or *Mārgasīrsha*. The engraver had *vadī* in mind but formed *dī* in such a way as to resemble *dā*.

<sup>6</sup> Sanskrit *vārē Brihaspatay*.

<sup>7</sup> Sanskrit *mahāsabā-āvali-vandita*.

<sup>8</sup> Sanskrit *Rāshtrakūṭāmāla-kulātilaka*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *dhvaj-āshṭadāsa*.

<sup>10</sup> Sanskrit *mohā*.



*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 11 śrī-Chamaravigrahasya suta<sup>1</sup>-Dharmśaka-su-  
 12 ta-Rāpaka-śrī-Parachakrasalla<sup>2</sup>-pādā<sup>3</sup> 4Vachha-  
 13 syagōtrāya pañch-ārishaya<sup>4</sup> -p[r]avarā-  
 14 ya Kavaṇḍilla<sup>5</sup>-gōtra-Chaikarasuta<sup>6</sup>-Āga-  
 15 sti-pa(pu)tra-śrī-Vṛihaspatī sāsanīkṛitvā<sup>7</sup> Sa-

*Third Plate, First Side*

- 16 lēḍā-grāmō=ya[m\*] pradatō(ttō)=smābbhi(bhiḥ |) ja gōna  
 17 haratī hārayatī narakē pīṭribhī<sup>8</sup> saha  
 18 pachyatē [|\*] tathā cha [|\*] sadatamī jō<sup>9</sup> da(ha)rēta  
 19 vasu[m\*]dharā[m |\*] sa <sup>10</sup>vish[t]āyyā kṛimī bhutvā pītvi-  
 20 bhi<sup>10</sup> saha pachyatē [|\*] Vavana-Piśka sākhi-

*Third Plate, Second Side*

- 21 ka<sup>11</sup>[|\*] dūta[kō=tra mā(ma)hāpā]tra-Gōinda<sup>12</sup>-sā-  
 22 i [|\*] śrī-Dhō[lla]jā-nāma Gābhuruja-  
 23 nānā(ma?) likhana tikala<sup>13</sup> ||<sup>14</sup>

No. 25.—FURTHER NOTE ON DHULEV PLATE OF MAHARAJA BHETTI,  
 YEAR 73

V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR

I have read with great interest Dr. D. C. Sircar's Note on the Dhulēv plate of *Mahārāja Bhētti*,<sup>15</sup> in which he criticises my interpretation of the grant and its date. I shall deal here briefly with the points raised by him.

<sup>1</sup> Better read °*vigraha-suta*.

<sup>2</sup> Sanskrit °*śalya*°.

<sup>3</sup> Here a passage referring to the king's order regarding the grant, addressed to his officials, subordinates and others, seems to have been inadvertently omitted.

<sup>4</sup> Sanskrit *Vātsya-sagōtrāya pañch-ārshēya*°.

<sup>5</sup> Sanskrit *Kaṇḍīlya*°.

<sup>6</sup> Read °*sut-Āgasti*.

<sup>7</sup> Sanskrit *Bṛihaspatayē sāsanīkṛitya*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *yaḥ kaḥchit haratī hārayatī narakē pīṭribhīḥ*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō*.

<sup>10</sup> Read *vishphāyām kṛimī-bhūtā pīṭribhīḥ*.

<sup>11</sup> The intended reading seems to be *Brāhmaṇa-Priyakaḥ sākshikaḥ*.

<sup>12</sup> The first part of the name is no doubt Sanskrit *Gōvinda*.

<sup>13</sup> The intended reading may be *śrī-Dhōllajā-nāmnā Gābhuruja-nāmnā cha likhitā triphalī*. The word *triphali* is found in the records of the Sōmavamsīs in the sense of a charter engraved on a set of three copper plates.

<sup>14</sup> The double *daṇḍa* is preceded by a *visarga*-like sign which forms a part of the mark of interpunctuation and apparently indicates here a fullstop. Such marks are found in many other records, e.g., the Madras Museum plates of the time of Narēndradhavalā (above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 44 ff.).

<sup>15</sup> Above, pp. 5 ff.

While admitting that the interpretation of the grant proposed by Dr. Sircar with the emendation of *mahārāja-bappadattiḥ* into *mahārāja-bappa-dattau* is possible, I would point out that the interpretation offered by me is not impossible. It may be mentioned in this connection that Gaurisankar H. Ojha, who first noticed the record in the *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum* for 1932-33, p. 2, also took Bappadatti as a personal name. Bappa is not always used in the sense of a father. It is sometimes noticed as a personal name also.<sup>1</sup> We have names ending in *datta* such as Virapurushadatta and Kumāraravadatta. There is therefore no reason why we should not find some others ending in *datti* as we have those ending in *prasāda*,<sup>2</sup> since *datti* and *prasāda* have the same meaning of a gift. So the predecessor of *Mahārāja* Bhētti may have borne the name of Bappadatti.

The main importance of the inscription lies, however, not in the mention of the name of *Mahārāja* Bhētti's father, but in that of the year 73 in which it is dated. Dr. Sircar has unnecessarily argued at length to prove what is not disputed, viz. that the year 73 is not the regnal year of *Mahārāja* Bhētti.<sup>3</sup> The question, however, is, 'To what era does it belong?' I hold that the use of *pratipatti* in *rājya-pratipatti-varshē tri-saptatitāmē*<sup>4</sup> is significant. It seems to indicate that the seventy-third year was counted from the acquisition (or foundation) of the kingdom, of course, by an ancestor of *Mahārāja* Bhētti. It is noteworthy that no such expression is known to occur when the years of eras founded by imperial families are cited in the records of their feudatories.<sup>5</sup>

I wonder how Dr. Sircar believes that the Dhulēv grant was made in the *first* regnal year of *Mahārāja* Bhētti. Had that been the case, we would have had an expression like *rājya-pratipatti-varshē prathamē* and the word *varshē* would have been repeated with *tri-saptatitāmē* even as the word *saṁvatsarē* has been repeated in the Mathura inscription of Chandragupta II cited by Dr. Sircar.<sup>6</sup> In the absence of such an expression we have no means to find out whether the grant was made by *Mahārāja* Bhētti in his first regnal year or some time afterwards.

That the era to which the year 73 refers may have been founded by a king named Bhētti is a tentative conjecture suggested by its identity, shown by independent evidence, with the Bhāṭika era mentioned in two inscriptions found at Jaisalmer. It is supported by the general belief current in Rajputana that the Bhāṭika era was founded by a king named Bhaṭṭi or Bhaṭṭika<sup>7</sup> and there is no philological impossibility in equating this name with Bhētti.<sup>8</sup> Dr. Sircar's suggestion that the Bhāṭika era was a later modification of the Hijrī era cannot be accepted; for such an era could not have begun in 624 A. D. The Hijrī year was a lunar year of 354 days. It was shorter than the year of the Christian era and the luni-solar years of the different eras current in India. When the Hijrī era was started in 622 A. D., the difference between its year and the corresponding year of the Christian era was 621. This difference continued to diminish as the era advanced. In all Indian eras based on the Hijrī era such as the Suhūr and Fasli eras the difference between their dates

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the names of the Guhila chief Bappa and of the officer Bappa in Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 583 and 1362.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Bālaprasāda* in Bhandarkar's List, No. 94, etc. [Such names are not known to have been popular in the 7th century.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> [This is a matter of opinion.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> The original has *rājya-pratimattā-varshaiḥ tri-saptatibhiḥ* which is evidently a mistake for *rājya-pratipatti-varshē tri-saptatitāmē*.

<sup>5</sup> A similar expression *rājya-bhukti* no doubt occurs in the records of the Parivrājaka Mahārājas, but it is explicitly stated there that the *rājya-bhukti* (enjoyment of sovereignty) was of the Gupta kings.

<sup>6</sup> [The original has *rājya-pratimattā* which has been emended to *rājya-pratipatti*<sup>6</sup> although *rājya-pratipattau* seems to be a better emendation. But even *rājya-pratipatti-varshē* may be understood to mean *rājya-pratipatty-ankita-varshē*.—Ed.]

<sup>7</sup> Ojha, *Prāchīna-lipi-mālā*, p. 178.

<sup>8</sup> [The authority of a philologist should better have been quoted in support of the contention.—Ed.]



and those of the Christian era was less than six hundred when they started.<sup>1</sup> This difference went on diminishing in course of time. As the difference between the corresponding years of the Bhāṭika and Christian eras in the fifteenth century A.D. was 624, the former could not have been a modification of the Hijri era.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Sircar's other suggestion also, viz. that the year 73 of the Dhulēv plate refers to the Harsha era does not bear scrutiny. There is no evidence to show that Harsha ever extended his empire to Rajputana or even brought that country within 'the sphere of his influence'. Even supposing that the country round Dhulēv was included in the sphere of his influence, his era need not have been current there as it was not current even in Kathiawad, the ruler of which he had actually defeated.<sup>3</sup>

There is not much point in Dr. Sircar's criticism of my view that there was a large empire flourishing in Rajputana in the seventh century A.D. Hiuen Tsang no doubt makes no mention of it, but he does not also suggest that the country was included in the sphere of Harsha's influence. As for the objection that we have no other dates of this Bhāṭika era before the fifteenth century A.D., I have already pointed out that in view of this date of the Dhulēv plate, the dates of some other early inscriptions from Rajputana such as the year 48 of the Kot inscription, the year 182 of the Tasāi inscription and the year 207 of the Udaipur Museum inscription may also have been recorded in the same era. These dates will have to be examined carefully to find out whether they contain any details useful for verification. This will be possible only when these inscriptions are properly edited and published. Bhētti as well as his father, no doubt, bears the humble title of *Mahārāja*, but that does not *per se* prove that they were feudatories of some other imperial power. All emperors did not assume grandiloquent titles in ancient times. The great Kalachuri emperors Kṛishṇarāja, Śaṅkaragaṇa and Buddharāja did not use even this humble title in their grants, though they ruled over a large empire comprising Malwa, Gujarat, Koṅkan and Mahārāshṭra including Vidarbha. There is thus no valid objection against my thesis that there was a large empire in Rajputana in the seventh century A.D.<sup>4</sup>

The important question thus to be determined is, 'To what era does the year 73 of the Dhulēv plate refer?' In this connection we must attach due importance to the statement in the grant that the year was the Āśvayuja-saṁvatsara, evidently, of the twelve-year cycle of Jupiter. Such details useful for verification rarely occur in early inscriptions and must therefore be utilised fully. It is well known that S. B. Dikshit determined the epoch of the Gupta era by utilising the references to Jovian years occurring in the inscriptions of that era. I have already shown in my article that if we refer the year 73 mentioned in the Dhulēv plate to the Bhāṭika era of 624 A.D., the mention of the Āśvayuja-saṁvatsara coupled with it can be satisfactorily explained. On the other hand, if we refer that year to the Harsha era of 606 A.D., we find that the Jovian year current in (606+73=) 679 A.D. was Jyēshṭha, not Āśvayuja. Dr. Sircar says that my calculations do not preclude the possibility of the Harsha era being used in the Dhulēv plate. I wish he had been explicit on this point and shown us wherein my calculations were wrong and how he would reconcile the mention of the Āśvayuja-saṁvatsara with the year 73 of the Harsha era. In a foot-note he refers us to his article entitled 'The Astrologer at the Village and the Court',<sup>5</sup> in which he attributes the irregularities in the dates of epigraphic records to 'mistakes in

<sup>1</sup> The Suhūr era was started in 1344 A.D., when the Hijri year was 745. So the difference between the two years was 599. The Fasli era was started by Akbar in 1556 when the Hijri year was 963. So the difference between the two years was 593.

<sup>2</sup> [See above, p. 7, note 4.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> [The known facts of the spread of Indian eras do not go against the views expressed above, p. 7.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> [Unlike the Dhulēv plate, the Kalachuri inscriptions do not suppress the fact that the kings in question were imperial rulers.—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 342 ff.



the calculations of the astrologers who were often certainly not quite competent astronomers and to the erroneous method followed in the calculation.' Dr. Sircar apparently attributes the irregularity in the date of the Dhulēv plate (if taken as recorded in the Harsha era) to the wrong calculation of the astrologer at the court of *Mahārāja Bhētti*. This indeed is a veritable cutting of the Gordian knot. He considers the recent attempts to fix the epochs of the Kalachuri and Gaṅga eras as futile; for 'in a large number of cases the dates are irregular'. I think that Dr. Sircar is here overshooting the mark. The number of irregular dates is not so large as he thinks if the proper epoch of the particular era has been fixed. For instance, out of the forty dates of the Kalachuri era containing details useful for computation which I have examined, only three or four have been found slightly irregular.<sup>1</sup> Almost all the dates of the Gaṅga era appear quite regular according to the epoch fixed by me.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Kielhorn examined numerous dates of the Vikrama, Śaka and other eras. He also found that the number of irregular dates was very small.<sup>3</sup> Again, the irregularity in many cases is of a single day, not of four years as it would be if the date of the Dhulēv plate is referred to the Harsha era.<sup>4</sup>

I do not think it would be correct to say that the astrologers attached to royal courts were often not quite competent astronomers. Had that been the case, the number of irregular dates would have been much larger. Realising the importance of ascertaining the correct position of heavenly bodies for religious and astrological purposes, astronomers verified their calculations by actual observation (*drik-pratyaya*) and composed new *karāṇa* works from time to time to eliminate all mistakes. Some kings like Bhōja and Jayasinha took personal interest in such work. The works of astronomers must have been utilised by the authors of *pañchāṅgas* and astrologers attached to royal courts. It would not therefore be wise to reject the valuable evidence afforded by the calculation of dates, which makes our knowledge precise. It would be like refusing to study and publish inscriptions because some of them are found to be spurious.<sup>5</sup>

## No. 26.—TWO PRATIHARA GRANTS FROM KURETHA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

Two copper-plate grants issued by rulers belonging to a branch line of the celebrated Pratihāra family were discovered nearly forty years ago from the village of *Kursthā* in the Śivapurī District of the old Gwalior State now merged in Madhya Bhārat. The inscriptions were noticed in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Western Circle, 1915-16, p. 59, and the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department*, Gwalior State, Samvat 1972, Nos. 64-65. The summaries of these notices also appeared in Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, Nos. 475 and 541, and H. N. Dvivedi's *Gwalior Rājyake Abhilekh* (Hindī), Nos. 97 and 110. But the text of

<sup>1</sup> *ABORI*, Vol. XXVII, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 326 ff.; Vol. XXVII, p. 192; Vol. XXVIII, pp. 171 ff.; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 271 f.

<sup>3</sup> In the case of the Vikrama era, for instance, he found that out of the 200 dates that he calculated, only twenty appeared as wholly or partly faulty (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 410).

<sup>4</sup> [It is wrong to think that the number of irregular dates is small, although attempts are often made to represent as regular what is actually an irregular date. Out of 265 inscriptions examined by us in 1951-52 and noticed in the Report for the year, 62 only contain verifiable dates. Out of these 62 dates, 35 are found to be strictly regular and 27 irregular. This shows the very high percentage of irregular dates noticed in Indian inscriptions.—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> [See note 4 above.—Ed.]



neither of the two records has ever been published. Sometime ago a fragmentary stone inscription (found somewhere in the Kotah District of Rājasthān) of king Malayavarman, who issued one of the two Kurēṭhā charters, was published in the pages of this journal<sup>1</sup> by Dr. A. S. Altekar who rightly pointed out the desirability of the publication of the Pratihāra grants discovered at Kurēṭhā many years ago. I edit the Kurēṭhā inscriptions in the following pages from their impressions preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India.

A. Plate of Malayavarman, V. S. 1277

This is a **single** plate having twentyfour lines of writing on one side only. The plate has its corners rounded off and measures about 13.95 inches in length and 10.35 inches in height. There is a hole (about .25 inch in diameter) about the middle of line 1 of the record. The writing is neat and its preservation is satisfactory.

The **characters** belong to the ornamental variety of the Nāgarī alphabet of the thirteenth century, sometimes noticed in stone inscriptions. The top *mūlā* of the *aksharas* has often a downward stroke attached to its left end. The **language** is Sanskrit. The record is written in verse with a few sentences in prose in lines 12, 16-20. There are altogether twentytwo stanzas in the record, the first eleven of which have their respective numbers engraved at the end. In regard to palaeography and **orthography**, the inscription resembles such other contemporary epigraphs of the same area as the fragmentary stone inscription of Malayavarman referred to above and the records of the Jajapēlla or Yajvapāla kings of Nalapura (Narwar), some of which will be published in this journal. It has to be said to the credit of the author and the engraver of the inscription that the number of errors that have crept into the text is small. The **date** of the charter is quoted in lines 11-12 both in words and figures. It is **V.S. 1277, Jyēshṭha-badi 15, Sunday**, when a **solar eclipse** is stated to have taken place. It has been suggested that the date corresponds to Sunday, May 3, 1220 A.D.<sup>2</sup> But, in the year in question, solar eclipse occurred not on May 3, but on June 2 which was, however, a Tuesday and not a Sunday as given in the inscription. It is therefore possible to think that the solar eclipse referred to in the record is the one that took place on **Sunday, May 23, 1221 A.D.**

The inscription begins with a variety of the *Siddham* symbol and the *Pranava* followed by a salutation to *Dharma*, apparently meaning 'religious merit'. Next follow twelve stanzas, the first of which is in adoration to *Dharma* which is stated to be caused by charity. Considering the fact that the document records a donation, this appears to be a quite suitable introduction, although invocation to *Dharma* is not usually found at the beginning of such records. Verse 2 purports to be a prayer to the goddess *Āmralōhitā* for the protection of king **Malaya** who issued the charter. The deity was no doubt held by the king in special veneration and may have been the tutelary goddess of his family. She was apparently a local form of the Mother-goddess. Whether *āmra* (Prakrit *amba*) in the name *Āmralōhitā* (literally, 'mango-red') is the Sanskrit word meaning 'mango' or a modification of the word *amba* or *amma* meaning 'mother' cannot be determined; but it is noteworthy that a similar confusion is noticed in connection with the Jain goddess *Ambikā*.<sup>4</sup> Verse 3 introduces the **Pratihāra** family and a king named **Naṭula** born in it. The next stanza (verse 4) mentions **Naṭula's** son **Pratāpasimha** who is called a *nripa* or king. The following four stanzas (verses 5-8) describe king **Vigraha**, who was the son of **Pratāpasimha**, and **Vigraha's** queen

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 279 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Bhandarkar's List, No. 475.

<sup>3</sup> The name may also mean '*Lōhitā* (literally, 'the goddess red with anger'), fond of mangoes'.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *JBORS*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 201: "She stands... under the *āmra* or mango tree, holds a bunch of mangoes in her hand, and is therefore also called *Āmrā* (Prakrit *Āmbā*, *Āmbī*)". For the Jain *Ambikā's* association with mango, see op. cit., pp. 201 ff.



**Ālhanādēvi**, daughter of king Kēlhaṇa. This Kēlhaṇa, father-in-law of the Pratihāra king Vīgraha, has been identified with the homonymous Chāhamāna king of Nāṭṭol (Mārwār), the dates of whose records range between V.S. 1220 (1163 A.D.) and 1249 (1192 A.D.).<sup>1</sup> The name of the queen, who is represented in the record as of a highly religious disposition, was, however, wrongly read as *Lālhanādēvi*. An interesting information regarding Vīgraha's exploits is supplied by verse 5 which says that he killed a leader (or, leaders) of the armies of a *Mlēchchha* king. The expression *mlēchchha* has apparently been used to indicate the Turkish Musalmans who extended their power over wide areas of Northern India about the close of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century when Pratihāra Vīgraha apparently flourished. As will be seen below, the other Kurēṭhā plate (verse 4) also vaguely refers to certain military achievements of Vīgraha. The relations of these Pratihāras with Muslims will be treated in a subsequent section. The same stanza (verse 5) of the present record further states that king Vīgraha was very liberal to good poets.

Verses 9-11 of our record describe the exploits of king **Malayavarman** who was the son of Vīgraha from Ālhanādēvi. This Pratihāra ruler is wellknown to the students of Indian history from his coins found at Gwalior, Narwar and Jhansi and bearing dates ranging from V. S. 1230 (1223 A.D.) to 1290 (1233 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> The present inscription bearing a date in 1220 or 1221 A.D. shows that he ascended the throne some time before the earliest date found on his coins. In the other Kurēṭhā plate (verse 6), edited below, king Malayavarman is described as *Gōpātri-chāmāra*, i.e. 'the moon of Gōpātri (Gwalior)'. This suggests that he had his capital at Gwalior. But, as will be seen below, verse 11 of the present record speaks of the capture of Gōpāgiri (Gwalior) by Malayavarman. This seems to indicate that his predecessors were not rulers of Gwalior and that it was he who conquered Gwalior and made it his capital. Of course it may be suggested that one of his ancestors lost Gwalior to some adversary and Malayavarman merely recovered it. But the language of the verse in question, as will be seen below, does not appear to support such a contention.

Verse 9 says that, on the occasion or in the context of the crushing of *Amḍārya*'s valour, the first of the pictures which were drawn by the people to illustrate that great event was that of king Malayavarman. This seems to suggest that several rulers including Malayavarman attempted to crush *Amḍārya* but that Malayavarman's success against him was the most spectacular. Unfortunately no person named *Amḍārya* who may have been a contemporary of Malayavarman is known to us. This fact and that the tenor of the language of the stanza in question seems to refer to certain general qualities of a king may tempt one to suggest the emendation *audārya-śaurya-gaṇan-āvasarē* for *Amḍārya-śaurya-malan-āvasarē* occurring in the record. But it is rather difficult to favour such an emendation in view of the carefulness of the engraver noticed in the record. Verse 11, which describes another achievement of the Pratihāra king, says that, on one occasion, when Malayavarman was out merely on a hunting excursion and was not really ready for a trial of strength, he succeeded miraculously in capturing Gōpāgiri (Gwalior) as a result of his victory in a battle. The passage *nihatya prakharāṁ saṁkhyē yō Gōpāgirim-agrahāt* occurring in the description of this exploit may be differently interpreted. If the verb *ni-han* is understood in the sense of striking, Malayavarman may be taken to have hit hard at the Gwalior fortress in course of a battle and succeeded in capturing it. But in case the author used the verb in the sense of killing, it is possibly to be suggested that Malayavarman fought with a ruler named *Prakhara* (*Prakharāditya* ?) whom he killed and, as a result of this victory, obtained the mastery over Gwalior. In view of the fact that no person named *Prakhara* is known to have been ruling over Gwalior about the time of Malayavarman, the first alternative may be considered preferable in the present state of our knowledge. It has, however, to be admitted that the tenor of the language of the verse seems to support the second alternative.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 475, and p. 382.

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India*, pp. 89-91; *ASIR*, Vol. II, p. 314. The dates read on the coins are V.S. 1280, 1282, 1283 and 1290. But Altekar speaks only of the dates V. S. 1280 and 1283 on Malayavarman's coins.



Verse 12 gives the date on which, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, a grant was made by Malayavarman. This date, already discussed above, is also quoted in figures in a prose passage, which follows the stanza. Verse 13, which follows the short passage in prose says that, on the said date, the king took a bath in the waters of the *Charmavati* (Chambal) and worshipped the gods, Brāhmaṇas and elders, in order to make a grant for the merit of himself and his parents with the consent of his minister and priest (or, ministers and priests). The following two stanzas (verses 14-15) describe the family of the donees. It is stated that there was a Brāhmaṇa family called Bhērāṇḍa which belonged to the Vāsala *gōtra*. It may be observed here that the Vāsala *gōtra* is not known from the old works on *gōtras* and *pravaras*. In the Bhērāṇḍa family was born Bhōlēka who had a son named Gaṅgādharma whose son was Rajapālaka. Verse 16 says that king Malayavarman granted by a charter a village called Kudavaṭhē in favour of the Brāhmaṇas, Vatsa and Haripāla, who were the sons of the said Rajapālaka.

The above part of the inscription is followed by a prose section which says that the said village of Kudavaṭhē, having all its four boundaries accurate and the land below the surface pure, was granted together with the grazing ground (*sa-gōprachāra*), the salt pits (*sa-lavaṇākara*), the mango and Madhūka trees and the things under the ground and above it (*ākāśa-pātāl-ōtpatti-sahita*), but without the lands previously granted in favour of gods and Brāhmaṇas (*dēva-Brāhmaṇa-bhukti-varja*). The king also informed the village elders (*mahattama-jānapadān*) that the village had been granted by him by a charter in favour of the Brāhmaṇas, Vatsa and Haripāla. The villagers were asked to pay the two Brāhmaṇas whatever was payable as *bhāga* (customary share of the produce), *bhōga* (periodical supply of fruits, etc.) and other dues from the date of the grant. The king also said that there should be no obstruction to the enjoyment of the village by the donees from the members of the royal family or any one else.

The details of the donation quoted above are followed by four imprecatory and benedictory stanzas stated to be sayings of the *Smṛitikāras*. The record ends with two stanzas (verses 21-22), the first of which says that the document was composed by Vishṇu, son of the poet Dharma and grandson of the scholar Hari. The last verse states that it was written by the learned Vāghadēva, son of the venerable Vishṇu, who belonged to a Kāyastha family of the Māthura clan. It seems that Vāghadēva wrote the document on the plate to facilitate the work of the engraver and was not himself the engraver of the inscription.

We have seen that Pratihāra Malayavarman captured the fortress of Gwalior where he was ruling at least from about 1220 to 1233 A.D. This fortress is known to have been under the Gurjara-Pratihāra emperors of Kanauj in the ninth and tenth centuries<sup>1</sup> and then under a branch of the Kachchhapaghāta family from the middle of the tenth century to at least the beginning of the twelfth.<sup>2</sup> Lakshmaṇa (*circa* 950-75 A.D.), the first king of this house, is stated to have defeated the king of Gādhinagara (apparently a Pratihāra king of Kanauj) and captured Gōpādri which may have been then under a Pratihāra viceroy. The Sasbahu temple inscription<sup>3</sup> of Kachchhapaghāta Mahipāla, dated V. S. 1150 (1093 A.D.), shows that Lakshmaṇa's descendants were still holding Gwalior. There were two other branches of the Kachchhapaghāta family in the Gwalior region, one ruling in the Dubkund area in the period *circa* 1000-1100 A.D.<sup>4</sup> and the other in the Narwar area in *circa* 1075-1125 A.D.<sup>5</sup> Of these, the Kachchhapaghātas of Dubkund are known to have owed allegiance to the Chandēllas whose suzerainty may have also been acknowledged by the other branches of the family flourishing in the Gwalior region at least for some time. Epigraphic

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 35-36.

<sup>2</sup> Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 822 ff., 835; Bhandarkar's List, No. 169.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, pp. 33 ff. There is another inscription of this family at Gwalior, which bears a date in V. S. 1161 (1104 A.D.). See Bhandarkar's List, No. 169.

<sup>4</sup> Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 829 ff., 835.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 833 ff.



and numismatic evidence shows that, in the thirteenth century, a branch of the Pratihāra family was ruling at Gwalior and rulers of a dynasty called Jajapēlla or Yajvapāla were holding sway over Narwar.<sup>1</sup> The history of the Gwalior region between the fall of the Kachchhapaghātas and the rise of the Pratihāras and Jajapēllas is obscure. According to the bardic traditions of the Rājputs, the last Kachhwāha (Kachchhapaghāta) king of Gwalior was Tej Karan, otherwise called Dulha Rai, who left his capital about 1128 A.D., and Parmal Deo or Paramardidēva, nephew of Tej Karan, founded the Parihār (Pratihāra) dynasty of Gwalior, which ruled for 103 years until the capture of the fortress by the Turkish Musalmans in 1232 A.D. from Sārang Deo, the seventh and last prince of the line.<sup>2</sup> But we have seen that it was Pratihāra Malayavarman who was ruling Gwalior about the year 1232 A.D. At least some of the details of the Rājput traditions must therefore be regarded as wrong.

According to some Muslim chroniclers, Sultān Mahmūd invaded the territories of Nandā (sic. Vidā, i.e. Chandēlla Vidyādhara, circa 1015-40 A.D.) for a second time in 1022 A.D.<sup>3</sup> In the course of this expedition he laid siege to the fortress of Gwalior; but, finding it too strong, he permitted the *hākīm* or governor of the fort (apparently a Kachchhapaghāta feudatory of the Chandēlla king) to compound for a formal submission by a gift of thirty-five elephants. About the end of 1196 A.D., Muizuddīn Muḥammad bin Sām, accompanied by Quṭbuddīn, advanced against Gwalior and besieged it; but 'he found the fortress too strong to be taken by a *coup de main* and he could not spare the time for a regular siege; but the Rājā was prepared to purchase immunity for himself and his dominions, and in consideration of a promise to pay tribute and the immediate payment of a first instalment he was permitted to retain possession of his state and his fortress'.<sup>4</sup> The fief of Gwalior was allotted to Iltutmish. The name of the king of Gwalior who opposed the Muslim armies under Muizuddīn is given by the *Tājul Ma'asir* as Rai Solankh Pal. Cunningham<sup>5</sup> identifies him with Lohang Deo, one of the seven Parihār kings of the bardic list, the authenticity of which is, however, doubtful. The fortress of Gwalior apparently assumed independence shortly afterwards and, about the beginning of 1232 A.D., Iltutmish came back to subdue it permanently. The fortress was occupied by Iltutmish after a protracted siege lasting for eleven months.<sup>6</sup> The *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* gives the name of the king of Gwalior defeated by Iltutmish as Milak Deo, son of Basil. Some writers propose to read the name as Mangal Bhava Deo, son of Mal Deo or Birbal Deo.<sup>7</sup> But the difficulties of reading correctly an Indian proper name given in the Perso-Arabic script are wellknown; cf. the name of Chandēlla Trailōkyavarmadēva given in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* as *Dalkī wa Malkī* (apparently for *Tilkiwama Deo*).<sup>8</sup> The known facts of the history of Gwalior, discussed above, make it clear now that the names intended by the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* in the present case were Malaiwama Deo, son of Bigarh Deo, i.e. Malayavarmadēva, son of Vighradēva.

The Muslim authors appear to suggest that Gwalior remained a fief under Iltutmish from the time of its nominal conquest by Muizuddīn and Quṭbuddīn about the end of 1196 A.D. till the death of Quṭubuddīn in 1210 A.D.<sup>9</sup> But they do not speak of the extirpation of Hindu rule from Gwalior. It appears therefore that the Hindu king of Gwalior paid tribute to the Musalmans during the above period. Malayavarman thus seems to have conquered Gwalior not from the Musalmans but from

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVII, pp. 241 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. II, pp. 370 ff.; Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 828-29.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 692; *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 44, 51-52; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. II, pp. 227-28.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 378-79, note.

<sup>6</sup> Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, pp. 327-28.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p. 216.

<sup>8</sup> See Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 929-30.

<sup>9</sup> *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 55, 533.



one of their Hindu feudatories.<sup>1</sup> If Malayavarman conquered Gwalior shortly after Quṭbuddin's death, his accession probably took place sometime earlier. With the material at our disposal, his reign may be tentatively assigned to the period 1205-35 A.D. His father Vighraha seems to have flourished in the period *circa* 1185-1205 A.D. It appears that Malayavarman and his predecessors were feudatories of the kings of Gwalior, whose subservience to the Musalmans was one of the causes that led to the extirpation of their rule from Gwalior by Malayavarman. His father Vighraha thus seems to have killed some leader or leaders of the Mlāchchha or Muslim armies that besieged Gwalior about the end of 1196 A.D. when he was fighting on behalf of his overlord, the king of Gwalior (Rai Solankh Pal of the *Tājul Ma'asir*). It may be noticed that the occupation of the Gwalior fortress by Iltutmish in 1232 A.D. did not mean the end of Malayavarman's rule. The *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* says that Milak Deo (i.e. Malayavarmadēva) succeeded in escaping from the besieged fortress. That he continued to rule over some parts of the Gwalior region seems to be suggested by the other Kurēṭhā plate, edited below, which was issued by his successor in V.S. 1304 (1247 A.D.). For some time after 1232 A.D. the Musalmans were probably holding sway only over a small area around the fortress of Gwalior which, however, could not be recovered by the Hindus for many years to come.<sup>2</sup> The relations of Malayavarman, after his escape from the fortress of Gwalior, with the Muslim occupants of the fortress are unknown. The fall of the Pratihāra house of Gwalior probably led to the rise of the Jajapēllas of Nalapura (Narwar), who may have originally been feudatories of the king of Gwalior.<sup>3</sup>

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Gōpādri is of course modern Gwalior while Charmaṇvatī is the river Chambal, the well-known tributary of the Yamunā. Kudavaṭhē, the gift village, has been identified with Kurēṭhā which is the findspot of the record.

#### TEXT\*

[Metres: verses 1, 12, 13, 15 *Āryā*; verses 2-4, 10-11, 16-22 *Anuṣṭubh*; verses 5-6, 9 *Vasantatilakā*; verse 7 *Upajāti*; verse 8 *Indravamśā*; verse 14 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.]

1 Siddham<sup>4</sup> || Ōm<sup>5</sup> namō Dharmamāya || Dēśē kālē pātrē śraddhāvat-sātvi(ttvi)kēna bhāvēna |  
dānam yasya nidānam sa jayati Dharmaḥ satām

2 sēvyah ||[\*] 1 ||[\*] Vṛindārak-āsura-gaṇair=archchit-āmhri-yug-āmvu(bu)jā | dēvi Malaya-  
bhūpālām sā pāyād-Āmrālōhitā ||2 ||[\*] Nishkalanika-Pratihāra-

<sup>1</sup> Bhandarkar thinks that Malayavarman's capture of Gwalior refers to the recovery of the fort by the Hindus from the Muhammadans in the confusion caused by Quṭbuddin's death in 1210 A.D. (*PRASI*, WC, 1915-16, p. 59). But the Muslim historians do not say that in 1196 A.D. Gwalior was occupied by the Musalmans and a Muslim officer was placed in charge of the fortress. Altekar's statement that 'the Kurēṭhā plate of Malayavarman claims that this fort (Gwalior) was recaptured by the king from the Muslims' (above, Vol. XXVI, p. 281) is wrong. On the basis of the reference to Malayavarman's victory over a powerful enemy in line 8 of the fragmentary inscription, he further suggests, "It would appear that the Muslim general, who was in charge of Gwalior, died fighting when he lost the fort to king Malayavarman" (loc. cit.). But we know that no Muslim officer was placed in charge of the Gwalior fortress in 1196 A.D. Moreover Malayavarman is now known to have fought also with other enemies besides the ruler of Gwalior.

<sup>2</sup> Hindu rule was re-established at Gwalior by the Tōmaras (1398-1516 A.D.).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol III, p. 68; Elliot and Dowson, op. cit., pp. 351, 363-69; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVII, pp. 24 ff. The Jajapēlla king Chāhāḍa who captured the fortress of Narwar and made it his capital is known from epigraphic and numismatic records with dates ranging between V.S. 1294 (?) and 1311 (i.e. between 1237 and 1254 A.D.). About the end of 1251 A.D., during the reign of Sultān Nāṣiruddīn of Delhi, Ghīyāsuddīn Balban led an expedition against Chāhāḍa who was then regarded as the most powerful Hindu king in that part of the country. Chāhāḍa was defeated, but his descendants continued to rule till the end of the thirteenth century probably as feudatories of the Musalmans.

<sup>4</sup> From impressions.

<sup>5</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>\*</sup> It is a symbolical representation of the *Prasava*.







७०॥ सुजि॥ अ नमो रगत ते वा सुदे वाय॥ स्त्री ऊ॥  
 २ विस्त्रा निरुत्साति विनमलि सुधम नस्मि विभक्तु लेना काष्ठा मात्रं गृही ताप न रुस्त्रि मलस द्यं त्ववक्के मशो रं  
 ४ दधे भूत्रिय दी पा वि तन रुस स नि र्ह य सी सु त्र ति वः॥ देशे काले पात्रे श्र द्ध वसा त्रि के तं गे वे तं दा तं य स  
 ६ ति दा नं स जं य ति ध र्मः स तं ज्ञे यः॥ श्री मत्पु ती ला न कु ला म ले दो दि गे कृ नो त्रं ति त प्र ण की र्तोः श्री मत्पु ता  
 ८ पा द ऊ ति ष पु त्रः स्मि ती श्र व को ति ग र्हा ज ना मा॥ रू स्या स्य का ण्ड क न वा ल न वो पु वा हं दे वे त ये न ज न जो  
 १० ङ्गि त ग ङ्गि ते ता नि र्वा पि तेः सक ल ए व न ले नि पू णो क्ष न ज ले श्चि दु र्वा कृ त्स्मि तः प्र ता पः॥ त स्याः भु जो  
 १२ म ल य व र्म न पः प्र पे दे सिं हा स नं पि तु न वं प्र श्चि त प्र त्प वः॥ प द्वा ल्लि त लु बि म ही व ल ये स मे स्त्रे रो ङः सु त्वं  
 १४ वि न म नं स्त्र स मं वि या ङिः॥ त स्मि नू गो पां प्रि चं दे वि हिं त नि पु ऊ ता न्ना ऊ ज्ञे क्षे त्वा मु रे दे वें दे ला प्र  
 १६ स चो स र्म म न व क्ष ने त्र वं दे क ल को॥ आ ले त स्या नु जो यं ज ति त सु र त सु र्की नु वं मी ५ व नी क्षो ना ज्य  
 १८ प्रा ण प्र ता पं त प न मि व प नं दे त्रि यं वै नि त म्नाः॥ दा नी पु पू नि त म नी षि ग ल ल व ल प्रो॥ मी लि ता म ल  
 २० त तिः कि ल की र्ति न न्दी॥ उ द्दे स्मि ता खि ल क कु ङ्क न दं लु का ल्पा प्र भा र्ण म ल उ प म बा ण्य त मा ति  
 २२ य स्या॥ आ सी हिं ज भ ति र्थ व ल न क र्त्ता गौ ज न्वा यो ग र्ग हं ति प्र ती तः॥ त स्या भ जः स रू न वि त्त ल नी व रू व ना मा कि  
 २४ ल मा ज दे वः॥ श्री नृ व र्मी व नी पा लः क लि क ल्प म ही उ हः॥ त स्य प्र ता प उ स्य य च ता नी आ म रा स न म्॥ सं व १३४  
 २६ वे त्र ष्टं ज प्र ति प दि बु ध वा स ने म ल मा जः श्री न न व र्म दे वः आ वो दे वं दि श्य र्वा ना दि क र्म का रं नि र्द र्म लो दे वी णे  
 २८ षु कु मा न म ल नं त्रि पु नो हि त प्र ता प ना कु प द लि या नु म ते व द न घा ट वि षु हं तु रू या मे शा स नी त ना य क  
 ३० व रू क स्मै प द त्र वा न्॥ हृ दिं यः प्र ति गृ ह्णा ति हृ निं य थ्य प्र य ङ्क ति॥ उ हः॥ तौ पु ण्य क र्म लो नि य तं सु  
 ३२ र्ग ग भि नो॥ शं खो र हा स नं छ त्रं व न श्वा ध न या न लाः॥ रु मि द न स्र शि क्ता नी फ ल मे त नु नं द न॥ व द्वा  
 ३४ दि र्व भु क्ष लु ण ना ज स्तिः म म ना दि लिः॥ य सा य स्य य रू रु मि त्प ता त स्य तं ल फ ल म्॥ रु पि च मि दे यं पु त्र  
 ३६ त म स्य॥ उ की र्त्ति स्र र्त्त का न स ठे के न॥  
 ३८ दे व हिं ज तं र त त्रिं वा ङिः कृ त् ४



- 3 kula-kshīra[sa]rasvataḥ | udabhūn=Naṭulō rājā mitra-rājīva-vāmdhavaḥ<sup>1</sup> ||[\*] 3 ||[\*] Tasmāt-  
Pratāpasirihō=bhūn=Manōbhava-vapur=nṛipaḥ | dṛipta-
- 4 pratyarthi-nāgēndra-vidrāvaṇa-parō yudhi ||[\*] 4 ||[\*] Tasmād=ajāyata nṛipaḥ sa-kṛipaḥ  
pratāpī viśrāṇan-aika-rasikaḥ kavi-puṃgavānām(nām) | Mlē-
- 5 chchh-ādbinātha-pṛitana-pat i)-kaṃṭha-piḥa-chchhēd-ōchchhalad-va(d-ba)hala-śōṇita-pich-  
chhal-āsīḥ ||[\*] 5 ||[\*] Sri-Vigrahō nṛipati-mauli-kirīṭa-ratna-nānā-pra-
- 6 bhā-vitati-ramjita-pāda-pīṭhaḥ | śubhrikṛitaṃ tribhuvanaṃ yaśasā śasāṃka-karpūra-kumda-  
viśada-dyutin=ēha yēna ||[\*] 6 ||[\*] Tasya priyā Kēlhaṇadē-
- 7 va-putrī yayā kṛit-ādhaḥ kshamayā dharitṛi | gō-bhūmi-hēm-āmva(ba)ra-ratna-dātrī rājāi  
prapā-maṃdira-kārayitṛi ||[\*] 7 ||[\*] 8-ānugrah-āp=īndriya-nigrahē ratā<sup>3</sup>
- 8 sarvv-āśray=āpy-ēnasi sā parāṇmukhī | tyakt-ābhilāṣh=āpy=atilaulya-tatparā puṇy-ārjanē  
tv=Ālhaṇadēvi<sup>2</sup>-saṃjñitā ||[\*] 8 || Sūnus=tayōr=Malaya-
- 9 varma-nṛipaḥ prithivyām saṃtāpakṛit=samara-murddhani yō ripūṇām(nām) | Āmdārya-  
śaurya-malan-āvasarē yadiyām sarvvē janāḥ prathamam=ēva likhamti lē-
- 10 khām(khām) ||[\*] 9 ||[\*] Śyāmām kṛipāna-latikām vi(bi)bhratī gaurikā bhujā | Gaṃgā-  
Yamunayōr=asya saṃbhēda iva rājatē ||[\*] 10 ||[\*] Ākhēṭaka-vinōdāya li-
- 11 layā nirgatō=pi san | nihatyā Prakharām saṃkhyē yō Gōpagirim=agrahīt || 11 || Śrī-  
[V]ikramārka-nṛipati-dvādaśa-śata-saptasaptatita<sup>4</sup>-
- 12 mē=vdē(bdē) | vra(bra)dhna-dinē darśa-tithō(thau) Jyēshṭhē tasy=ōparāgē cha ||  
[12] ||[\*] Saṃvat 1277 Jyēshṭha-vadi 15 Ravi-dinē sūry-ōparāga-nimittē | snātvā  
Charmanva(ṇva)tyām
- 13 vidhivat=samṇūjya dēva-vipra-gurūn | maṃtri-purōdhō-numatau puṇy-āptyai svasya pitṛōś=  
cha || 13 ||[\*] Gōtrē Vāsala-saṃjñakē samabha[va]d=Bhēraṃḍa-nām=ānva-
- 14 yas=tasmin=vipravarō guṇaiḥ samuditō Bhōlēka-nāmā sudhīḥ | tas[m]āt=sūnur=anūnalaksha-  
ṇa-yu[tō<sup>5</sup>] Gaṃgādharāḥ sat[va](ttva)vān śisṭ-ēshṭō Rajapālakō=
- 15 'sya tanayō dā[tā] guṇi-grāmaṇiḥ || [14] ||[\*] Vatsa-Har[ī]pāla-saṃjñau putrāv=asy-ēha saṃ[ya]-  
tau sumatī | dattaḥ śātrava-kāntā-mukha-kamala-kalāni-
- 16 dhi-vilāsam(sam) || [15] ||[\*] Ābhyām Malayava[rm-ākhyō] rājā rājīva-lōchanaḥ | grāmam  
Kudavaṭhē-saṃjñam śāsanikṛitya dattavān || [16] ||[\*] atra upa-
- 17 rilikhita-Kudavaṭhē-grāmam chatur-āghāṭa-visu(śu)ddham sa-gōprachāram<sup>6</sup> sa-lavaṇākaram  
s-āmra-madhūkam=ākāsa(śa)-pātāl-ōtpatti-sahitam sah-ābhyaṃta-
- 18 ra-su(śu)ddhyā<sup>7</sup> dēva-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-bhukti-varjam śāsanikṛitya dattavān uktavāms=cha  
rājā tad-grāma-nivāsinō mahattama-jānapadān yathā grāmō=

<sup>1</sup> Read *bāmdha*. Originally *rāj* had been engraved, but the *ā* *mātrā* was later rejected by adding a *kākapā* *la*-like mark.

<sup>2</sup> A *daṇḍa* together with a slanting stroke which is a cancellation mark has been incised here as well as in lines 10-11 to cover a little space at the end of the lines in order to make their length roughly uniform with that of the other lines. This device is noticed in a number of other records.

<sup>3</sup> The short vowel in *vi* is not strictly correct, although versifiers sometimes preferred such shortening in female names for the sake of the metre.

<sup>4</sup> This *ta* has been engraved on another unfinished letter which the engraver had begun to make in its place through oversight.

<sup>5</sup> This *tō* has been engraved on another unfinished letter which the engraver had begun to incise in its place through oversight.

<sup>6</sup> The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.



- 19 yam=aamābhiḥ Vatsa-Haripāla-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇāya(bhyām) śāsanikṛitya pradatta iti | adya-prabhṛiti yat=kiṃcaid=bhāga-bhōg-ādikam=utpadyatē tat-sarvva-
- 20 m=ā-chaṇḍr-ārkam=amūbhyām dātavyam(vyam) | na ch=ātr=āsmad-anvaya-sambhūtair-anyair=vā vā(bā)dhā na<sup>1</sup> kartavyā | yataḥ Smṛitikārair=apy=uktaṁ(ktam) | Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā [bhu]-
- 21 ktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || [17 || \*] Bhūmiṁ yaḥ pratigrihṇāti yaś=cha bhūmiṁ prayachohhati | u-
- 22 bhau tau puṇya-karmāṇau niyataṁ svarg[ga]-gāminau || [18 || \*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasuṁdharāṁ(rām) | sa vishṭhāyām kṛimir=[bhū]tvā pitṛibhiḥ saha
- 23 majjati [[ 19 || \*] Saṁ(Śaṁ)khō bhadr-āsanam chchha(chha)traṁ var-āsvā(śvā) vara-vāraṇāḥ | bhūmi-dānasya pu[ṇ]yāṇi(ni) phalaṁ svarg[ga]ḥ Puraṁdara || [20 || \*] Sūri-śrī-Hari-pautreṇa śrī-Dharma-ka-
- 24 vi-sūnuna | Viṣṇunā sajjan-ānaṁda-kāriṇ-ākāri śāsanam(nam) [[ 21 || \*] Māthur-ānvaya-Kāyastha-vaṁdya-Viṣṇu-sutēna cha | Vāghadēv-ābh[i]dhānēna vi-
- 25 dush=ālēkhi śāsanam || [22 || \*]

#### B. Plate of Naravarman, V. S. 1304

This is also a single plate having nineteen lines of writing only on one side of it. The corners of the plate are rounded off. It measures about 11·55 inches in length and 7·55 inches in height. There is a small hole about the middle of the first line of writing. In all these respects, the plate resembles the other Kurēṭhā plate discussed above, although it is smaller in size.

The characters belong to the ordinary type of Nāgarī as prevalent in the thirteenth century. In respect of language, style and orthography, the inscription closely resembles the grant of Malayavarman edited above. The date of the record as quoted in lines 13-14 is : V.S. 1304, Chaitra-śudi 1, Wednesday. It corresponds to March 11, 1248 A.D.

The inscription begins with the *Siddham* symbol. Then comes the word *svastī* followed by a salutation to the god Vāsudēva (Viṣṇu). Verse one is in praise of the god Hari (Viṣṇu). Verse 2, which is in adoration to *Dharma*, is the same as the first stanza of Malayavarman's plate edited above. Verse 3 states that a king named *Vigraharāja*, who was the son of *Pratāpa* (Pratāpasimḥa of Malayavarman's plate), was born in the *Pratihāra* family. The following stanza (verse 4) refers to *Vigraharāja*'s military achievements in vague terms. It is interesting to note that this verse was plagiarized by the *Paṇḍita* claiming the composition of the document (cf. lines 18-19 of the inscription) either from the original poem entitled *Kapphaṇābhyudaya* or *Kapphin*<sup>1</sup> (I, 24) by the Kashmirian poet Śivasvāmin who flourished during the reign of king Avantivarman (circa 856-83 A.D.) or from its quotation in the *Kāvya-prakāśa* (ch. iv, verse 54) composed about 1100 A.D. Verse 5 introduces king *Malayavarman*, son of *Vigraharāja*, while the next stanza (verse 6) states that, when that 'moon of Gōpādrī' (i.e. *Malayavarman*) died, his younger brother *Nṛivarman* (*Naravarman*) ascended the throne. Verse 8 describes the donee's family. It is stated that there was a *Brāhmaṇa* named *Garga* who belonged to the *Gauḍa* community and was a *vyavahāra-kartri* (possibly a judge or an author of a work on *vyavahāra* or legal procedure). *Garga*'s son was *Rājadēva*. The following stanza (verse 9) says that a charter relating to the gift of a village was granted by king *Nṛivarman* (*Naravarman*) in favour of *Vatsa* who was a son of the said *Rājadēva*.

<sup>1</sup> The word *na* has been used twice apparently because the author reckoned two sentences in the section in question.



The above part of the record in verse is followed by a section in prose which begins with the date already discussed above. It is stated that, on the said date, *Mahārāja* Naravarmadēva, after having taken a bath and performing such ceremonies as the worship of gods and Brāhmaṇas, granted by a charter in favour of *Nāyaka* Vachchhēka or Vachchha (apparently the same Brāhmaṇa elsewhere called Vatsa) the village called *Guḍdhāgrāma*, which had all its four boundaries accurate. The epithet *nāyaka* seems to show that the donee was an officer or feudatory of the king. The grant was made with the consent of the king's *mahādēvi* (queen, probably the chief queen), *jyēsthā-kumāra* (eldest son), *maḥāmantrin* (chief minister), *purōhita* (priest) and *akshapaṭalika* (accountant or record-keeper). A passage engraved in the lower margin of the plate, but apparently meant for insertion into this section says that the grant, like that of Malayavarman, was made without the lands that had been previously granted in favour of gods and Brāhmaṇas. Then follow three of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas. The record ends with two sentences in prose saying that it was composed (cf. *kavitvam=idam*) by *Paṃ* (i.e. *Paṃjita*) Paruttyama (possibly a mistake for *Purushottama*) and engraved by the goldsmith *Saḍhēka*.

We have discussed above the history of the Pratihāras of Gwalior. It will be seen that king Naravarman flourished at a time when the fortress of Gwalior together with the surrounding area was under the Turkish Musalmans.<sup>1</sup> He may have held sway over the present Śivapuri region where Kurēṭhā, the findspot of his plate, is situated. But whether he was a feudatory of the Musalmans cannot be definitely determined. His simple title *Mahārāja* in the prose portion of the document may, however, point to such a possibility. His relations with the powerful Jajapēlla king Chāhaḍa of Nalapura (Narwar) who flourished in *circa* 1237-55 A.D. are also as yet unknown.

Only two geographical names are mentioned in the inscription. Besides Gopātri (Gwalior), it speaks of the village called *Guḍdhāgrāma*. It is difficult to determine the exact location of this village.

#### TEXT\*

[Metres : verses 1, 6 *Sragdharā* ; verse 2 *Āryā* ; verses 3, 8 *Upajāti* ; verses 4-5, 7 *Vasantatilakā* ; verses 9-12 *Anuṣṭubh*.]

- 1 Siddham<sup>2</sup> || Svasti || Ōm<sup>3</sup> namō bhagavatē Vāsudēvāya || Svīkurvvāṇā trilōkīm-asura-parivṛḍha-dhvaṃsanāy=ātīdūr-ōdamcha-
- 2 d-vistāri-hast-ātithi-taraṇi-sudhāraśmi-vimva(mba)-chchhalēna | kāsṭhāmāt[r]jaṃ grīhīṭ-āpara-ruchira-lasach-chharṇkha-chakr=ēva śōbhām
- 3 dadhrē mūrttir-yadiyā vitaratu sa Harir-bhūyasīm=unnatīm vaḥ || [1\*] Dēśē kālē pātrē āradhāvat-sāttvikēna bhāvēna | dānam yasya<sup>4</sup>
- 4 nidānam sa jayati Dharmmaḥ satām sēvyah || [2\*] Śrīmat-Pratihāra-kul-āmal-ēndōr-dig-aṅgan-ōttaṃsita-puṇya-kīrttēḥ | śrīmat-Pratā-
- 5 pād=ajanishṭa putraḥ kṣhit-īśvarō Vīgraharāja-nāmā || [3\*] Bha(U)llāsyā kāla-karavālanav-āmva(bu)vāhaṃ dēvai(vē)na yēna jaratḥ-ō-

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Altekar's statement that both Malayavarman and Nṛivarman (Naravarman) were rulers of Gwalior (above, Vol XXVI, p. 280) appears to be wrong.

<sup>2</sup> From impressions.

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>4</sup> It is a symbolical representation of the *Prasāda*.

<sup>5</sup> A *daṇḍa* with a slanting stroke which is a cancellation mark has been incised here to cover a little space at the end of the line in order to make its length uniform with that of the other lines.



- 6 rjita-garjjitēna | nīrvāpitaḥ sakala ēva raṇṇe ripūpām dhārā-jalais=tribhuvana-jvalitaḥ pratāpaḥ  
|| [4\*] Tasyāḥ(ay=ā)tma-jō
- 7 Malayavarman-nripaḥ prapēdē siṃh-āsanam pitur=atha prathita-pra[bhā]vaḥ | yad-dōshpi  
tasthushi mahī-valayē samastē Śēshaḥ sukham
- 8 chiram=aramsta samam priyābhiḥ || [5\*] Tasmin Gōpādri-chaṇdrē vihita-ripūjan-āmbhōja-  
dausthitya-mudrē Dēvēm̐drēṇ=āpta-
- 9 sakhyē samam=amara-vadhū-nētra-vṛim̐d-aika-lak[sh]yē | āstē tasy=ānujō=yam janita-sujana-  
much=chhri-Nṛivarmā-'van-im̐drō rājyē
- 10 prājya-pratāpam tapanam=iva param vētti yam vairivarg[g]aḥ || [6\*] Dān-āmvu(bu)-  
pūrita-manishi-gaṇ-ālavāla-prō<sup>2</sup>nmilit-āmala-
- 11 tatiḥ kila kirtti-valli | udvēllit-ākṣhila-kakuch=chhara-daṇḍa-kāṇḍa pra(bra)hmāṇḍa-maṇḍa-  
pam=avāpya na māti
- 12 yasya || [7\*] Āsīd=dvijātir=vyavahāra-kar[t]tā Gauḍ-ānvayō Garga iti pratītaḥ | tasy=ātma-  
jaḥ sajjana-chitta-hārī va(ba)bhūva nāmnā ki-
- 13 la Rājadēvaḥ || [8\*] Śrī-Nṛivarm=āvanīpālāḥ kali-kalpa-mahīruhaḥ | tasya putrāya Vatsya-  
(tsā)ya vyatārīd=grāma-śāsanam || [9\*] Saṁva[t] 1304
- 14 Chaitra-[śu]kṣa-pratipadi Vu(Bu)dha-vāsarē | mahārājaḥ śrī-Naravarmadēvaḥ snātvā  
dēva-dvij-ārchan-ādi-karmakāṇḍam nirvartya mahādēvi-jyē-
- 15 śhṭhakumāra-mahāmātri-purōhita-pratīhār-āku(kṣa)paṭalik-ānumatē chatur-āghāṣa-vi[śu]-  
ddham Guḍhāgrāmam<sup>3</sup> śāsanī[kṛi]tya nāyaka-
- 16 Vachchhēkasmā<sup>4</sup> pradattavān || Bhūmim̐ yaḥ pratigrihṇāti bhūmim̐ yaś=cha pru(pra)-  
yachchhati | ubhau tau puṇya-rka(ka)rmāṇau niyataḥ stha(sva)-
- 17 rgra(rgga)-gāminō(nau) || [10\*] Śamkhō bhadrasanam chchha(chha)tram var-āśvā dha(va)-  
ra-trā(vā)raṇāḥ | bhūmi-dānasya chihnāni phalam=ētat=Puraṇḍara || [11\*] Va(Ba)hu-
- 18 bhir=vasudhā bhuktā rājābhiḥ Ma(Sa)gar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā<sup>5</sup> bhūmis=tasya tasya  
tadā<sup>6</sup> phalam || [12\*] kavītvam=idaṁ paṁ<sup>7</sup>-Puru-
- 19 tityamasya<sup>8</sup> || utkirṇam svarilla(rṇa)kāra-Saḍhēkēna || dēva-dviya-chara-vṛittim̐ vāhi-  
hkrītya 4<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As pointed out to me by Pandit Subrahmanyam, this stanza belongs to Sivasvāmin's *Kapphaṇḍabhyudaya* or *Kapphaṇḍa* (I, 24) and is quoted in the *Kāvya-prakāśa* (ch. iv, verse 54). The variant readings are *mah-āmbuv-āśvā* and *śrī-jagati* respectively for *nav-āmbuvāśvā* and *śrī-bhuvana*.

<sup>2</sup> There is an unnecessary *daṇḍa* after *prō*.

<sup>3</sup> A passage meant for insertion after this word had been left out and was later incised in the lower margin of the plate.

<sup>4</sup> Read *Vachchhēkāya* or better *Vatsāy-aikasmā* or *Vatsāy-āsmā* (cf. line 13 above).

<sup>5</sup> The vowel mark in *dā* here is not of the ordinary type.

<sup>6</sup> I. e. *paṇḍita*.

<sup>7</sup> The reading intended seems to be *Purushōttamasya*.

<sup>8</sup> The reading intended seems to be *dēva-dviya-chara-vṛittim̐ bahishkrītya 4* (cf. *dēva-Brāhmaṇa-bhūti-varjam* in line 18 of Malayavarman's grant edited above). The numeral 4 here suggests that the passage has to be inserted in the fourth line above it, i. e. line 15 of the inscription (apparently after *Guḍhāgrāmam*).

## No. 27.—SANGLI MUSEUM PLATES OF KRISHNADEVARAYA, SAKA 1434

Moreshwar G. Dikshit, Sagar

The existence of the plates, published<sup>1</sup> here for the first time, was brought to my notice by the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit. It is reported that, about thirty years ago, they had been ploughed up from a field at **Bidarhaḷli**, a village on the banks of the river Tuṅgabhadra, in the Shirahaṭṭi Taluk of the former Sangli State, and were later transferred to the State Museum.<sup>2</sup> I approached the authorities of the former Sāngli State for their kind permission to edit the inscription. My thanks are due to Mr. Deshpande, the then Education Minister, Sangli State, for placing the plates at my disposal.

These are a set of **five** copper plates, each measuring about 7 inches by 10 inches, with a rounded top so commonly noticed in the copper-plate grants of the Vijayanagara kings. This rounded top has in it a small hole, measuring about  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch in diameter, for passing a ring to secure the plates together. The ring bearing the seal of the Vijayanagara rulers, on which the plates must have been strung, was not available to me.

The **writing** is in a good state of preservation. The first side of the first plate and the back side of the last are uninscribed, while the other plates are engraved on both the sides. There are 153 lines of writing. Of these the first 22 lines are incised on the second side of the first plate; the second plate has 23 lines on each of its sides; the third plate has 23 and 20 lines respectively on the two sides; the fourth plate has 20 lines on the first side and only 10 lines on the second with a considerable space left blank; and the last plate has only 12 lines in its lower part, the upper part having been left blank. The plates are numbered. Each plate bears a numerical symbol in Kannaḍa engraved at the top of the reverse side indicating its number.

The **characters** are Nāgarī. They are boldly engraved and measure each about  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch in size. At the end of the fifth plate *Śrī-Vīru(rū)pa(pā)ksha* is engraved in very bold Kannaḍa characters. This is the wellknown sign-manual of the Vijayanagara kings. The **language** is Sanskrit and the record is composed in verse throughout except for the adoration to Gaṇādhīpati in the beginning and the sign-manual at the end.

The charter belongs to the celebrated Vijayanagara monarch **Kṛṣṇadēvarāya**, three of whose copper-plate records have been published in this journal.<sup>3</sup> The inscription is dated **Śaka 1434, Aṅgīrasa, Aśvayuja śu. 15, Monday, lunar eclipse**. This date corresponds to **1512 A.D., September 25**, when there was a lunar eclipse as stated in the inscription. The week day, however, was Saturday.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant of the village of **Niṭāla**, which was re-named **Kṛṣṇarāyapura** after the donor, to the learned Brāhmaṇa **Timmā-jyōtishin**, son of **Nāgi-dēvārya**. The grant was made in the presence of the god Gaṇādhara in the sacred place called **Śivagaṅgā**. The donee was a resident of **Arasikere** and belonged to the **Kauṇḍinya gōtra** and the **Āpastamba sūtra** of the **Yajurveda**. The donee divided the gift village into thirty-two **vṛttis**. Of these he retained sixteen for himself and distributed the rest among the following learned Brāhmaṇas.

<sup>1</sup> [This article has been revised by Mr. P. B. Desai.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> [The plates have since been examined in my office and registered as C. P. No. 16 of 1949-50.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 126 ff; Vol. XIV, pp. 168 ff; Vol. XIX, pp. 131 ff.



<i>Name of the Brāhmaṇa</i>	<i>Father's name</i>	<i>Śākhā</i>	<i>Gōtra</i>	<i>Vṛitti</i>
Raṅgu-dikshita	Nañjinātha	Ṛik	Jamadagni-Śrīvatsa	2
Śivā-dikshita	Immaḍi-bhaṭṭa	Do.	Rēbha-Kāśyapa	1
Līṅgam-bhaṭṭa	Basavā-bhaṭṭa	Do.	Kāśyapa	1
Rāmēśvara-bhaṭṭa	Basavā-bhaṭṭa	Do.	Do.	1
Dāti-bhaṭṭa	Nārasimha	Yajus	Harita	1
Lakshmaṇa-bhaṭṭa	Nṛihari-bhaṭṭa	Do.	Do.	1
Tirumala	Vīra-bhaṭṭa	Do.	Śrīvatsa	1
Siddhi-bhaṭṭa	Ananta (?)	Do.	Kauṇḍinya	1
Mummaṇi-bhaṭṭa	Gaṅgādhara	Do.	Bhāradvāja	1
Mukunda-bhaṭṭa	Nāgīdēva	Ṛik	Vaśishṭha	1
Sālva-jyōtishin	Ellā-jyōtishin	Do.	Maudgalya	1
Mādhavārya	Nāgīdēva	Yajus	Kutsa	1
Nṛisimha-bhaṭṭa	Sāi-bhaṭṭa	Do.	Kāśyapa	1

Besides these, one *vṛitti* was reserved for the sacred place of the Śaivas and Vaishṇavas and another for the person who inscribed the grant.

The engraver of the record was Mallapa, son of Virapa. As gathered from other charters, he appears to have held this office hereditarily. The composer was the well-known Sabhāpati.

The following **geographical** details are found in the inscription. The gift village Niṭāla is said to have been situated to the south of Gāvarehālu, to the west of Benṇekal, to the north of Talilebālu and to the east of Haṁchinahālu. The gift village was situated in the administrative unit of Kopaṇa which is modern Kopbal, famous for the Aśokan Edicts discovered there and for several Kannaḍa inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> Paḍuva-nāḍaka, the country in which Kopaṇa was situated, is apparently a part of the present Raichur District in the Doab between the rivers Krishṇā and Tuṅgabhadra. The gift village is now called Niṭāli and it is located at a distance of nearly 11 miles to the north-west of Kopbal. Benṇekal is modern Benkal, well-known for its forests containing several dolmens and other prehistoric antiquities. It is about one mile from Niṭāli. The present name of Gāvarehālu is Gāvarahāli which is 2 miles from Niṭāli. Haṁchinahālu is now called Masabina Haṁchināli which is about a mile from Niṭāli. Talilebālu is to be identified with Tālibāli which lies about three miles from Niṭāli. The locality called Kātari-Bettaṅga cannot be traced near Kopbal on the maps; but it was apparently a small hillock in its vicinity. The places can be found in the Survey of India Sheet No. 56 A/3 comprising the Hyderabad territory.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, Nos. 10 and 12.

<sup>2</sup> [Mr. P. B. Dessai reads *Kātari-vēṣe* for *Kātari-Bettaṅga* and offers the following suggestions in regard to the place-names occurring in the record. The earlier form of the name Niṭāla is Nittāraṇa (cf. line 93 of the Itagi record, above, Vol. XIII, p. 60, where it has been wrongly read as *Niḍḍi* (?) *ṣi* *ṣū* by Barnett). This village is stated to have been situated in the Hastināvati rājya, Paḍuva nāḍaka, Kopaṇa sīma and Kātari vēṣe. Nāḍaka is the Sanskritised form of *nāḍu*. Kātari-vēṣe must have been a small tract named after the village of Kātari, which is modern Kātarki, a few miles away from Kopbal. The expression *vēṣe*, *vēṣhe* or *vēṣṭhe* denoting an area is met with in the inscriptions of this period (cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 327). Arasikere where the chief donee resided is about a mile from Niṭāli with another village of that name containing dolmens etc., in the Gangavati Taluk of the Raichur District, which is far away. Compare *QJMS*, Vol. XLV, pp. 68-69.—Ed.]

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

[Lines 1-81 contain the usual two invocatory stanzas and 26 other verses commonly found in the copper-plate charters of this king with the addition of one more verse in his praise.<sup>2</sup>]

*Third Plate, First Side*

- \* \* \* \* \*
- 82 शालिवाहननिर्णीते शकाब्दे श(स)चतुःस्स(श्श)तैः । चतुर्दि(स्त्रि)श-
- 83 स(त्स)मायुक्तैः\* शं(सं)ख्याते दशभिः स(श)तैः ॥ [३०\*] आ(आं)गिरसाह्वये  
वर्षे मा-
- 84 सि चरवयुजा<sup>3</sup>ह्वये [1\*] शो(सो)मोपरागसमये ।<sup>4</sup> शो(सो)मवारसम-
- 85 न्विते ॥ [३१\*] शुक्लपक्षे शुभे लग्ने पुं(पु)ण्यायां पूर्णिमातिथौ [1\*]
- 86 शि(शि)वगंगाह्वये तीर्थे श्रीगंगाधरसंनिधौ ॥ [३२\*] की(कौ)डि-
- 87 न्यगोत्रजाताय वरापस्तंबसूत्रिणे [1\*] यशस्विने
- 88 यजुः\*]शाखाध्यायिने गुणशालिने ॥ [३३\*] अरसीकेरेय-
- 89 शी(श्री)मन्नागिदेवार्यसूनवे । अशेषवेदवेदांतपु-
- 90 राणागमवेदिने ॥ [३४\*] ज्यो(ज्यो)तिः\*]शास्त्रा(स्त्रां)बुधेः\*] पारदृश्वने श्रुत ]-
- 91 शोभिने [1\*] तिमाज्यौतिषिकेन्द्राय [शास्त्रपूज्याय धी]-

*Third Plate, Second Side*

- 92 मते ॥ [३५\*] हस्तिनावतिराज्यस्थं स्थितं पडुवनाडके ।
- 93 सीन्मि(म्नि) श्रीकोपणाख्यायां श्रुतं कातरिवेदृगं(गम्) ॥ [३६\*] प्रा-
- 94 च्यं(च्यां) हंचिनहाल्वाख्य[1\*]त् ग्रामवर्यान्मनोहरात् [1\*]
- 95 गावरेहालुनान्मो(म्नो)पि ग्रामादक्षिणतां श्रितं(तम्) ॥ [३७\*]
- 96 वे(वे)ण्णकल्वाह(ह्व)याद्\*] ग्रामात् पश्चिमायां दिशि
- 97 स्थितं(तम्) । तलिलेबालुनान्मो(म्नो)पि ग्रामकादुत्तरं

<sup>1</sup> From the original plates and impressions prepared by me.

<sup>2</sup> This verse which comes after the 20th reads as follows :—

यत्प्रतापजितो भानुः] पतत्यंभु(बु)निबौ वु(धु)वं(वम्) ।

वृत्त(वृत्त)हं मनश(स)स्तापं सुतरां वो(सो)वृमक्षमः ॥

<sup>3</sup> Read *ch=divayuj-ā°*.

<sup>4</sup> The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.



- 98 तथा ।[१३८\*] कृष्णरायपुरं चेति प्रतिनामसमाश्रितं ।  
 99 विख्यातं भुवि निटालनामानं ग्राममुत्तमं(मम्) ।[१ ३९\*] स-  
 100 र्वा(वं)मान्यचतुः\*]सीमाशं(सं)युतं च समंततः । निधि-  
 101 निक्षेपपाषाणशि(सि)द्धसाध्यजलान्वितं(तम्) ।[१ ४०\*] अ-  
 102 क्षिप्यागामिसंयुक्तं(क्त)मेकभोग्यं सभूरुहं(हम्) । वा-  
 103 पीकूपतटाकैश्च कच्छेनापि समन्वितं(तम्) ।[१ ४२\*] पुत्र-  
 104 पौत्रादिभिर्भोग्यं क्रमादाचंद्रतारकं(कम्) । दानस्या-  
 105 धमनस्यापि विक्रयस्यापि चोचितं(तम्) ।[१ ४२\*] परीतः प्र-  
 106 यतैः\*] स्निग्धैः पुरोहितपुरोगमैः । विविधैः वि(धैर्वि)-  
 107 बुधैः श्रौतपथिकैरधिकैर्गिरा ।[१ ४३\*] कृष्णदेवम-  
 108 हारायो माननीयो मनस्विनां(नाम्) । सहिरं(र)ण्यपयो-  
 109 धारापूर्वकं दत्तवान्मुदा ॥ [४४\*] ग्रामस्य यजमान-  
 110 स्य(स्तु) ति(ति)म्माज्यौतिषिकां(का)ह्वयः [१\*] स्ना(स्वा)परत्वात्मने  
 111 ग्रामादर्थमस्मान्महामति[\*] ॥ [४५\*] <sup>१</sup>अन्यदर्शान

*Fourth Plate, First Side*

- 112 जाद ग्रामादस्मात्पुण्याय भूयसे । प्रादाद् ब्राह्मणवर्येभ्यो  
 113 विख्यातेभ्योधिमेदिनि ।[१ ४६\*] द्वात्रिंशद्वृत्तिकेत्रैवे(व) ग्रामे स-  
 114 स्यमनोहरे । वृत्तिमंतो विलिख्यते वेदवेदांत-  
 115 पारगाः ।[१ ४७\*] ग्रामस्य यजमानोसौ जो(ज्यो)तिःशास्त्रा-  
 116 ण्विपारगाः(गः) । विखा(ख्या)तो विनयी वृत्तीः षोडशा-  
 117 ट्य श(स)मश्नुते ॥[ ४८\*] बह्वृ(ह्वृ)चो जामदग्निः] श्रीवत्सगो,  
 118 [इ]हाश्नुते । नंजिनाथार्यजो वृत्तिद्वयं श्रीरंगुदी-  
 119 क्षितः ।[१ ४९\*] सूनुरि(रि)म्मडिभट्टस्य रेभकास्य(श्य)पगो-  
 120 ट्यजः [१\*] श्रीशिवादीक्षितोत्रैकां बह्वृ(ह्वृ)चो वृत्तिमश्नुते [॥ ५०\*]

<sup>१</sup> The following passage is faulty.

- 121 सूनुर्वसवाभट्टस्य लिंगभट्टसतां वरः । काश्यपा-  
 122 न्वयजोत्रैकां वृत्तिमाप्नोति बव्ह(ह्व)चः ॥ [५१\*] बं(व)व्ह(ह्व)चो बस-  
 123 वाभट्टसूनुः कास्य(श्य)पगोत्रजः । श्रीरामेश्वरभट्टा-  
 124 ह्यो वृत्तिमेकामिहाश्नुते ॥ [५२\*] जो(ज्यो)तिःशास्त्रविदः सू-  
 125 नुः(नु)नारशि(सि)हस्य याजुषः [१\*] दातिभट्टोश्नुतेत्रैकां  
 126 वृत्तिं हरितगोत्रजः ॥ [५३\*] सूनुर्नहरिभट्टस्य याजु-  
 127 षो हरितां(ता)न्वयः [१\*] धीमान्<sup>२</sup> लक्ष्मणभट्टाख्यो वृत्ति-  
 128 मेकामिहाश्नुते ॥ [५४\*] विद्वांस्तिरुमलाभिख्यो वीराभ-  
 129 ट्टस्य नंदनः [१\*] श्रीवत्सगोत्रजोत्रैकां याजुषो वृत्ति-  
 130 मश्नुते ॥ [५५\*] अनंतोत्कलसूनुः[\*] श्रीकौ(कौ)डिन्यान्वयसं-  
 131 भवः । याजुषः सिद्धिभट्टाख्यो वृत्तिमेकामिहाश्नुते ॥ [५६\*]

*Fourth Plate, Second Side*

- 132 भारद्वाजान्वयः सूनुः[\*] श्रीगंगाधरयज्वनः [१\*] मुं(मु)म्प[नी]भ-  
 133 ट्टाह्वयोत्रैकां<sup>३</sup> याजुषो वृत्तिमश्नुते ॥ [५७] धीमान् मुकुंद-  
 134 भट्टाख्यो वशि(सि)ष्ठान्वयसंभवः] बव्ह(ह्व)चो नागिदेवार्यसू-  
 135 नुरत्रैकवृत्तिकः ॥ [५८\*] मोद्गल्यगोत्रजो धोमा[ने]ल्लाज्यो-  
 136 तिषिकात्मजः । साल्वज्योतिषिकोत्रैकां बह्वचो वृत्तिम-  
 137 श्नुते ॥ [५९\*] कुत्सगोत्रो यजुः[\*]शाखी नागिदेवार्यनन्दनः । मा-  
 138 धवार्येति विख्यातो वृत्तिमेकामिहाश्नुते ॥ [६०\*] कास्य(श्य)पो या-  
 139 जुषो धीमान् साइभट्टस्य नंच(द)नः । नृसिंह(ह)भट्टवि-  
 140 ख्यातो वृत्तिमेकामिहाश्नुते ॥ [६१\*] शे(शै)ववण्णवयो[\*] स्थाने वृत्ति-  
 141 रेका समर्पिता<sup>४</sup> ।

<sup>१</sup> It seems the name had been engraved as *Narakari*<sup>०</sup> first and was later corrected to *Nrihari*<sup>०</sup>.

<sup>२</sup> The rule of *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

<sup>३</sup> [The metre is defective here.—Ed.]

<sup>४</sup> The rest of the space on this plate is left blank.



## Fifth Plate.

- 142 तदिदमवनीवनीवनीपकविनुतधरा यस्य कृष्णरायस्य [1\*] शासनमति-  
 143 व(ब)ले शासनतरुकरदानस्य शापदानस्य ॥ [६२\*] कृष्णदेवमहारायशा-  
 144 सनेन सभापति [: 1\*] अभाणीम्(जीन्म)दुसंदर्भं तदिदं ताव(अ)शासनं(नम्) ॥ [६३\*]  
 145 त्वष्टा श्रीमल्लणाचार्य(यो) वीरणाचार्यनंदनः [1\*] आकल्ये(ल्प)मश्नुतेत्त्रै-  
 146 कां वृत्तिं शासनलेखकः[\*] ॥ [६४\*] अहो राघवराजेंद्र सप्तकल्प(ल्पं) वसाम्य-  
 147 हं(हम्) [1\*] न श्रुणोमि न यस्या(श्या)मि स्वयं दत्तापहारिणा ॥[६५\*]  
 स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा  
 148—153 The usual imprecatory stanzas (verses 66-69).  
 154 श्रीविर(रु)प(पा)क्ष<sup>1</sup>

## No. 28.—BHUBANESWAR INSCRIPTIONS OF RAGHAVA, SAKA 1090

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

The celebrated Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A. D.) is known to have annexed the whole of Lower Orissa to his empire. So far, however, very few inscriptions of this king and his immediate successors have been traced in the Puri-Cuttack region. It was therefore not without satisfaction that I found two fragmentary records of the time of Rāghava, one of the sons and successors of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, amongst the impressions (preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India)<sup>2</sup> of the inscriptions in the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar in the Puri District of Orissa. In the copper-plate charters of the later members of the family, Rāghava is assigned a reign of 15 years, sometimes believed to be of the Aśka reckoning and equal to 13 actual years. His rule was placed by M. Chakravarti between Śaka 1078 (1156-57 A.D.) and 1092 (1070-71 A.D.).<sup>3</sup> Some scholars<sup>4</sup> believe that Rāghava ended his rule in Śaka 1090, although he could not have died before Śaka 1091 (1169-70 A.D.) which is the date of one of his known records.

Five inscriptions of Rāghava's reign, all of them in the Śrīkūrmam temple, have so far been published.<sup>5</sup> Two of these refer to the reign of Anantavarman Dēvidāsa Raṇaraṅga-Rāghava Chakravartin, while the rest mention the king under the name Anantavarman only. The five

<sup>1</sup> Engraved in bold Kannaḍa-Telugu characters.

<sup>2</sup> Another fragmentary inscription, some impressions of which were traced by me among the estampages preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, may be noticed here. The first three lines of this record, engraved on the east wall (right) inside the central shrine of the Liṅgarāja temple, read : (1) *Siddhācam svasti śrī-Rā.....* (2) *vijayarājyē [sam].....* (3) *vārē śrī-Kīrticā.....* It is, however, impossible to determine whether the king mentioned in line 1 is Rāghava or Rājārāja (II or III).

<sup>3</sup> *JASB*, 1903, p. 113.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ray, *DBNI*, Vol. I, p. 474.

<sup>5</sup> *SII* Vol. V, Nos. 1330, 1331, 1336, 1340 and 1341.



inscriptions bear the following dates : (1) Śaka 1084 = Añka 8 (a mistake for Añka 9 or the 7th regnal year), Makara-badi 15, Wednesday, (2) Śaka 1084=Añka 9 or the 7th regnal year, Makara-badi 15, Wednesday, (3) Śaka 1089 (a mistake for 1085) = Añka 10 or the 8th regnal year, Uttarāyana-saṅkrānti, (4) Śaka 1091 = Añka 17 or the 14th regnal year, Vṛschika-sudi 12, Monday, and (5) Śaka 1092 = Añka 18 or the 15th regnal year, Tulā-sudi 12. An analysis of these dates appears to suggest that Rāghava ascended the throne sometime about the beginning of Śaka 1078, that is to say, about the middle of 1156 A.D. The two Bhubaneswar inscriptions under study do not throw much light on the chronology of Rāghava's reign. Their importance lies in the fact that they raise the number of the known records of Rāghava to seven and are the only inscriptions of this Gaṅga king so far discovered in the heart of Orissa. One of the two records again offers the rare instance of a date with omitted hundreds.

The two inscriptions under study are engraved on the east wall inside the third entrance of the Liṅgarāja temple. The first consists of six lines of writing and the second, incised immediately below the first, also has six lines. The two together look like a single record and appear to have been engraved by the same person at the same time. The space covered by the two epigraphs measures about 28 inches by 24 inches. But the right hand side of the stone bearing the inscriptions must have been damaged at a later date so that about six or seven letters at the end of all the lines are broken away. The last line of the second record consists only of a few *akṣaras* while the line preceding it is also shorter than the other lines of the records by about nine inches. These two lines begin from a space below the fifth *akṣara* of the previous line of the inscription in question.

The inscriptions are written in the Gaudīya script as used in Orissa about the twelfth century A.D. Their language is only seemingly Sanskrit. Often the *vibhaktis* are omitted as in some of the early Oriya inscriptions. The orthography also is greatly influenced by local pronunciation. Both the records are dated. Unfortunately, however, some letters of the passages containing the dates in the first line of both the inscriptions are lost. But the lost letters in this part can be restored with some amount of precision. Inscription No. 1 bears the date : Wednesday, the 10th of a particular month in a particular year of the victorious reign of Rāghavadēva, while inscription No. 2 is dated in the Śaka year *napaī* (i.e. 90, with the hundreds omitted). Kumbha (Phālguna)-sudi 15, Thursday. Now the fact that the two records were apparently engraved by the same person at the same time suggests that, in spite of the absence of Rāghava's name in inscription No. 2, it has to be assigned to the same Gaṅga king's reign between Śaka 1078 and 1091 (or 1092). Thus the Śaka year 90 undoubtedly refers to Śaka 1090. The date, Śaka 1090, Kumbha-sudi 15, Thursday, corresponds regularly to the 22nd February, 1169 A.D. The same fact also suggests that the dates of the two records were not far removed from each other. It is thus possible to think that inscription No. 1 was also dated in Śaka 1090 which was the 13th regnal year of Rāghava. In this year, the 10th of the bright half of the month of Dhanus (Pausa) alone was a Wednesday. This date corresponds regularly to Wednesday, the 11th December, 1168 A.D. Under the circumstances, it may be suggested that the draft of inscription No. 1 was prepared on Wednesday, the 11th December, 1168 A.D., while that of inscription No. 2 about two months later on Thursday, the 22nd February, of the next Christian year and that both the records were simultaneously incised on the wall shortly after the latter date.

Inscription No. 1 records the grant of a perpetual lamp in favour of Kīrttivāsēśvara (i.e. the god Kṛttivāsa or Śiva worshipped in the Liṅgarāja temple) by a lady named Mēḍamadēvī apparently for the merit of herself and her parents. That Mēḍamadēvī was not an uncommon female name in the Orissa region is known from a Siṃhāchalam inscription<sup>1</sup> of Śaka 1202 (1280 A.D.) recording certain grants of Vāsudēva Pratirāja (Paḍirāja) of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, who

<sup>1</sup> *III*, Vol. VI, No. 936.



was the son of Rāyavallabha Mahāsēnāpati and Mēdamadēvī, otherwise called Mēdamāmbā. It is of course impossible to identify Mēdamadēvī of the Siṃhāchalam record with her namesake of the Bhubaneswar inscription under study. It is stated in our record that Mēdamadēvī's father, whose name was Kōmi-nāyaka, and her mother, whose name began with the letters *nuka*, were residents of Padādhvāva-khaṇḍa. It is further said that, apparently to cover the expenses of the perpetual lamp, the lady purchased, in conjunction (*samavāya*) with a leading merchant (*sādhupradhāna*) named Jayadēva who was resident of a locality attached to Kūrmapātaka, from the hands of a *śrēṣṭhīn* of Dāsapura, a piece of land entitled Vāhiḍā at Dēvadhara-grāma, and granted it in favour of the god. The name of the locality where Jayadēva lived and that of the *śrēṣṭhīn* who resided at Dāsapura are broken away and lost.

Inscription No. 2 records the grant of another perpetual lamp in favour of the same god by Āchana Pradhānī who was the son of Divākara and resident of a locality, the name of which is lost. Apparently to cover the expenses of the said perpetual lamp, the donor granted seven *Vā* (i.e. *Vāṭis*) of land in a village called Aṇḍidō-grāma which was situated in the Uttara *khaṇḍa* (i.e. the northern sub-division) within the Kalambōra *vishaya* (district). There are some other details of the grant in the last three lines of the record. An expression occurring in this damaged part is *chandana-samāi*, the meaning of which is not quite clear. Whether it may be Sanskrit *chandana-samayē*, i.e. *chandana-yātrā-samayē*, and suggest that the grant was made actually on the occasion of the festival called *Chandana-yātrā* held in the month of Vaiśākha cannot be determined. It must, however, be admitted that the said festival is now associated usually with the Vaishṇava deities. This section also mentions the names of the persons, with whose cognizance the grant of the seven *Vāṭis* of land was made. The names of two of these persons may be Āditaka (probably the same as Sanskrit *Ādiyaka*) and Varāhila. The concluding part of the inscription in the last line reads *nd-ārka-thiti* which apparently stands for the expression *ā-chandr-ārka-sthiti* referring to the permanent nature of the grant.

The following geographical names are mentioned in the two inscriptions : (1) Padādhvāva-khaṇḍa (possibly a *khaṇḍa* or sub-division called Padādhvāva), (2) Kūrmapātaka, (3) Dēvadhara-grāma, (4) Dāsapura, (5) Vāhiḍā-khaṇḍakshētra, (6) Kalambōra-vishaya (i.e. the district called Kalambōra), (7) Uttara-khaṇḍa (i.e. the northern sub-division of the Kalambōra district) and (8) Aṇḍidō-grāma. I am not sure about the identification of these localities. Kūrmapātaka may be the same as Kūrmapaḍa mentioned in such other inscriptions of the Gaṅga family as the Puri plates<sup>1</sup> of Bhānu II. The Kalambōra district is also known from other records.<sup>2</sup>

### TEXT<sup>3</sup>

#### Inscription No. 1

- 1 Svasti [\*] śrī-Rāghavadēvasya pravarddhamāna-[vijaya-rā]....<sup>4</sup>
- 2 sudi 10 vārē Vuddha<sup>5</sup> śrī-Kirttiv[ā]śēśvaras[y]a<sup>6</sup> pri(prī)ṭayē Mēdamadē[vī]....<sup>7</sup>
- 3 Padādhvāva-khaṇḍa(ṇḍa)[s]ya cha tasyā mātā-pita[s]y[ai]<sup>8</sup> [Kō]mi-nāyaka-Nuka....<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *JBS*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 228.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. XXX, p. 31; *IHQ*, Vol. XXXI, p. 82.

<sup>3</sup> From impressions preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund.

<sup>4</sup> The lost *akṣaras* were probably intended to read : °jya-sa-vaat 13 Dhanuḥ°

<sup>5</sup> Read *Buddhē*.

<sup>6</sup> Better read *Kṛtividāśvarasya*.

<sup>7</sup> The lost *akṣaras* may have been : *dāmanah puṇyārtham*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *mātā-pūribhāgān*.

<sup>9</sup> The lacuna may be conjecturally restored as .... *mābhāgān puṇyārtham śrī-Ki°*.



No. 1

No. 2

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- 4 rttivāsēśvasya<sup>1</sup> prīṭayē dīpaṁ da[dy]ātā<sup>2</sup> || Kūmapāṭaka-prati[va]...<sup>3</sup>  
 5 ra-sādhupradhāna-Jayadēva-samavāya<sup>4</sup> Dēvadharagrāma<sup>5</sup> Dāsapura-srēṭhi<sup>6</sup>...  
 6 hastāt krītvā Vāhiḍā-khaṇḍakrē(kshē)tra[m\*] sarvva[m\*] Kīrttivāsēśvarāya<sup>7</sup> dhā<sup>8</sup>...

## Inscription No. 2

- 1 Svastiḥ<sup>9</sup> Saka-varīsa<sup>10</sup> navai<sup>11</sup> srāhi<sup>12</sup> Kumbha-purṇima<sup>13</sup>-Guru<sup>14</sup>....  
 2 sya Dī(Di)vākara-putō<sup>15</sup> Āchana-pradhānī<sup>16</sup> śrī-Kī....<sup>17</sup>  
 3 khaṇḍa-dīpaṁ dataṁ<sup>18</sup> || Kalamvō(mbō)ra-vīsayē<sup>19</sup> Utara<sup>20</sup>....  
 4 Aṇḍidōgrāmē chandana-samāi<sup>21</sup> Āditaka<sup>22</sup>....  
 5 Varā[hi]la-gōcharē bhūmī Vā<sup>23</sup> 7 . . .<sup>24</sup>  
 6 nd-ā(ndr-ā)rka-thiti<sup>25</sup> ||

## No. 29—NOTE ON MALLASARUL CHARTER OF VIJAYASENA

B. CH. CHHABRA, NEW DELHI

The Mallasarul copper-plate inscription of Vijayasēna has been published in this journal by the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar.<sup>25</sup> The record is engraved on both sides of a single sheet of copper, with a circular seal soldered on the left side of the plate. It is this seal which is of main interest to us in the present note. Its description as given by Mr. Majumdar reads as follows : "It bears in relief a standing figure of a two-armed deity with a

<sup>1</sup> Read *Kṛttivāsēśvarasya*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *dadāti*.

<sup>3</sup> The word intended is *pratibaddha* which was followed in the compound by the name of a locality ending in *ra* at the beginning of the next line. The name may have ended in *pura*.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly *samavāyēna* is intended.

<sup>5</sup> Possibly *grāmē* is intended.

<sup>6</sup> The word intended is *śrēṣṭhi* which was apparently followed in the compound by the personal name of the *śrēṣṭhi* in the sixth case-ending.

<sup>7</sup> Better read *Kṛttivāsēśvarāya*.

<sup>8</sup> The lacuna may be conjecturally filled up with the letters *ra-pūrvvakam dattam*.

<sup>9</sup> See above, Vol. XXVII p. 140, note 2. Cf. Monier-Williams, *Sans.-Eng. Dict.*, s.v. *svasti*.

<sup>10</sup> Sanskrit *Saka-varshē*.

<sup>11</sup> Sanskrit *navai*. Read *navatyām*.

<sup>12</sup> Sanskrit *śaradī*, used in a rather technical sense in the inscriptions. Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, p. 106.

<sup>13</sup> Read *pūrṇimā*.

<sup>14</sup> The expression intended is *Guruvārē* which was apparently followed by the name of a locality in the sixth case-ending; cf. *aya* standing at the beginning of the following line.

<sup>15</sup> Read *putrēṇa*.

<sup>16</sup> Read *pradhānēna* . . . *dīpaḥ dattāḥ*.

<sup>17</sup> The lost letters may be restored as *rttivāsēśvarāya a°*. Better read *Kṛttimā°*.

<sup>18</sup> Read *vishayē*.

<sup>19</sup> The expression intended is apparently *Uttara* which seems to have been followed in the compound by *khaṇḍa-madhyam=adhyāśina*. See *Journ. As. Soc.*, Letters, Vol. XVII, p. 25.

<sup>20</sup> As indicated above, the expression intended may be *samayē*.

<sup>21</sup> The reading intended may be *Ādityaka*. The letter *ka* at the end may, however, also be the beginning of another personal name.

<sup>22</sup> The contraction *Vā* apparently stands for *Vāṣi*.

<sup>23</sup> The lacuna may be conjecturally filled up by *bhavadu ā-cha°*.

<sup>24</sup> Sanskrit *sthiti*. Read *sthitikā* or *sthityā*.

<sup>25</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 155 ff., and Plate.



*chakra* in the back-ground representing perhaps the 'Wheel of Law.' Below the figure occurs in raised letters the legend [*Mahā*]rāja-Vijaya[sē]nasya, i.e. 'Of the Mahārāja Vijayasēna,' which is partly defaced."<sup>1</sup> Further on, commenting on the opening verses of the inscription, Mr. Majumdar says: "The figure on the seal of the copper-plate may be a representation of Lōkanātha, although it is too indistinct to admit of a definite identification."<sup>2</sup> By Lōkanātha, Mr. Majumdar evidently means the Buddha; for, his remarks on the invocatory *Āryās* in the beginning run as follows: "The record opens with an eulogy of the god Lōkanātha, of *Dharma*, and of the saints (*santaḥ*), i.e. the Buddhist Saṅgha."<sup>3</sup>

It may be pointed out that there is no other evidence in the record of its being Buddhist. On the contrary, there is ample proof in it to the fact that it is Brahmanical. The grant of land, for instance, is made 'to a Brahmin named Vatsasvāmin of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*, belonging to the Bahvṛicha *śākhā* of the R̥gveda, to enable him to perform the "five great sacrificial rites".'<sup>4</sup> It need not be pointed out that these details do not assort well with a Buddhist record.

It is easy to understand as to how Mr. Majumdar came to take the invocation as offered to the Buddhist *triratna*, 'Three Jewels': the Buddha, the *Dharma* and the Saṅgha. We have seen how he is inclined to explain the *chakra* device on the seal as standing for the 'Wheel of Law' or the *Dharma-chakra* of the Buddhists. Through the association of this, he naturally took Lōkanātha in the opening couplet as standing for the Lord Buddha, although ordinarily the appellation Lōkanātha is applicable to the gods Brahman, Viṣṇu and Śiva quite as well as to the Lord Buddha. It is in extension of the same chain of association that Mr. Majumdar takes the word *dharma* in the first *Āryā* as referring to the *Dharma* of the Buddhist *triratna* and the word *santaḥ* in the second *Āryā* as referring to the *saṅgha* of the same 'Three Jewels.' It may be pointed out that there is no justification for explaining the word *sant* (or *sat*) in the normal course as synonymous with the Buddhist *arhant* (or *arhat*), through which Mr. Majumdar obviously comes to take *santaḥ* of the record as *arhantaḥ*, i.e. collectively speaking, the Buddhist Saṅgha.

Mr. Majumdar has, it looks, totally neglected to observe the inconsistency resulting from the view accepted by him: the nature of the record being Brahmanical, while that of its seal and invocation being Buddhist.

This inconsistency can easily be obviated if we take the *chakra* on the seal for the *Sudarśana-chakra* of the god Viṣṇu. In that case, even Lōkanātha of the invocation will have to be taken as meaning Viṣṇu. We have, in fact, the name Lōkanātha included in the thousand names of Viṣṇu:

*Lōkabandhur=Lōkanātho Mādhavo Bhaktavatsalaḥ.*<sup>5</sup>

As for the words *dharma* and *santaḥ* in the invocation, they may be taken in their normal sense of 'law' and 'good folk' respectively. *Dharma* can be taken even as another name of Viṣṇu.<sup>6</sup> In this way, there is nothing inconsistent in the charter.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 155.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 157, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 157. [The expression *santaḥ* seems to be used in the same sense in the Buddhist *mangala* at the beginning of the *Trikṣṇasādhā* of the East Indian lexicographer Puruṣhōttama: *Jayanti santaḥ kuśalam prajānām namo Munīndrāya surāḥ smṛitāḥ stha*, etc. Cf. *OHRJ*, Vol. I, p. 168; *Sel. Ins.*, p. 360.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> Loc. cit. [Most of the numerous charters of the Buddhist kings of Eastern India, such as the Pālas, Chāndras and others, exhibit the same characteristic of recording grants in favour of Brāhmaṇas.—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> *Viṣṇusahasranāma*, 93; *Mahābhārata*, edited by P. P. S. Sastri, *Anuśāsanaparvan*, part ii, p. 1291.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 58: *Vīraḥ Śaktimatām īrēṣṭhō Dharmō Dharmavid-Uttamaḥ*.



We may now turn to the 'standing figure of a two-armed deity' against the elaborate wheel on the seal of the charter. Well, we have here an instance of the representation of the personification of Vishṇu's mighty weapon, the *Sudarśana* discus, called *Chakrapurusha*.

We are now in a position to say that the best specimen of the *Chakrapurusha* representation occurs in the Chakra-Vikrama type of gold coins of the Gupta emperor Chandragupta II. The credit of its identification goes to Sri C. Sivaramamurti and Dr. V. S. Agrawala.<sup>1</sup> The latter has quoted extensively from the *Ahīrbudhnya-saṃhitā*, a well-known text of the *Pañcharātra Āgama*, roughly assignable to the Gupta period. This work is essentially the glorification of Lord Viṣṇu in the form of *Chakrapurusha*.

It may further be pointed out that the reading *Lōkanātha* in the original is due to conjectural restoration. *Trilōkanāthaḥ* may as well fit in. We may supply the missing words and read *Jayati Trilōkanāthaḥ(thō)*, etc., the meaning remaining the same.<sup>2</sup> It will be interesting to investigate as to how far the ideas expressed in the invocatory stanzas of the Mallasārul charter conform to the contents of the *Ahīrbudhnya-saṃhitā*.

### No. 30—CHARTER OF VISHNUSHENA, SAMVAT 649

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

In the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, there are two sets of old impressions of an exceedingly interesting copper-plate inscription. I have failed to trace the whereabouts of the original document. An old employee of the office tells me that the impressions were received, together with a number of other estampages, from the office of the Director General of Archaeology in India about 35 years back.

A scrutiny of the impressions shows that the inscription was incised on the inner sides of a set of two rectangular plates of the same size. There are two holes in the lower border of the writing on the first plate and also in its upper border on the second, the lines of writing running lengthwise. The holes were no doubt meant for the rings necessary for holding together the two plates. Two rings were necessary for the rather unusual length of the plates. It has to be noticed in this connection that one of the holes shows a broken part in the impressions of the first side of the inscription, but that there is no trace of a similar break in the corresponding hole in the impressions of the second side. The holes had been made in the plates before the document was incised on them. We know that the use of the inner sides of a set of two copper plates, strung on two rings with one of them having the royal seal soldered on it, for engraving a document, was popular in early times with certain royal families of the western parts of India, such as the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhī in Saurashtra.<sup>3</sup> This fact suggests that the record under study was issued by a ruler of Western India. As will be seen below, this is supported by the internal evidence of the inscription itself.

The impressions show that the size of the plates was 17.2" by 7.3". There are sixteen lines of writing on the impression of the first plate and eighteen lines on that of the second; but the last three lines of the inscription, written in letters of slightly smaller size, record an endorsement and

<sup>1</sup> See *An Explanation of the Chakravikrama Type Coin of Chandragupta II* by V. S. Agrawala in the *JNSI*, Vol. XVI, 1954, pp. 97-101.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Trilōkanāth* of the *Viṣṇusahasranāma*, 95. As Mr. Majumdar has observed, about eight letters are missing before *-kanāthaḥ*. The blank may be filled by reading the *Siddham* symbol followed by *Jayati Trilōkanāthāḥ*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 164, 172.



were apparently engraved later than the main document. The signature of the ruler, responsible for the main record, forming its last line, looks rather like a continuation of the first line of the endorsement. The letters of the document are very carefully and beautifully incised and are about .2" in height. The plates appear to have been in a fairly satisfactory state of preservation when the impressions were prepared.

The inscription is of great interest from the palaeographical point of view. The characters employed belong to the West Indian variety of the Southern Alphabet and resemble those used in such epigraphs as the Sunāokala plates of *Mahāsāmanta-Mahārāja Saṅgamasirha* (Kalachuri year 292=540 A.D.),<sup>1</sup> the Sankheda-Mankani plates of the Kalachuri year 346 (594 A.D.),<sup>2</sup> the Palitana plates of *Sāmanta-Mahārāja Simhāditya* of the Gārulaka family (Gupta-Valabhi year 255=574 A.D.)<sup>3</sup> and the inscriptions of the Kaṭachchuris (Kalachuris) of the sixth and seventh centuries<sup>4</sup> as well as of the early members of the Gurjara family of Nāndipuri and the Maitraka family of Valabhi. On palaeographical grounds, the inscription under discussion has to be referred to the sixth or seventh century and to a locality not far from the Gujarat-Kathiawar region. These suggestions are supported by the internal evidence of the document which we shall take up presently for discussion (cf. also the nature of the plates already discussed above). The inscription employs the initial vowels *a* (lines 5, 7, 10-13, 15-17, 20, 23), *ā* (lines 4, 6, 8, 10, 13, 18, 24), *i* (line 20), *u* (lines 4, 8, 12, 15), *ri* (line 9) and *ē* (line 34). The *akshara i* is formed by three dots as in the older records and *ri* (line 9), the occurrence of which is rather rare in inscriptions, shows a slightly developed form than in the Andhau inscriptions of 150 A.D.<sup>5</sup>

Final forms of the consonants *ṭ* (line 24), *ṭ* (lines 9-10, 15-16, 20, 24-25) and *m* (line 16) are found in the record. The form of subscript *ṇ* in the conjunct *ṇṇa* is interesting (cf. lines 5, 15, 18, 25, 29). That *b* and *v* are indicated by two distinct letters is interesting in view of the fact that, about the age to which our record belongs, *b* came to be often written by the sign for *v* in the eastern parts of India.<sup>6</sup> The *upadhmānīya* is used once in line 7 and the *jīhvāmūliya* twice in lines 28 and 32. Punctuation is often indicated by a dot (lines 4-5, 7-8, 10-11, 13, 19, 23, 25-26), but in a few cases also by a small vertical or horizontal stroke (cf. lines 8, 14, 16) or a small curve (cf. the mark before the representation of the ruler's signature in line 31). Full-stop is indicated by two *daṇḍas* followed by a dash (line 31), the latter being joined in one case to the foot of the second *daṇḍa* (line 30). That the endorsement in the last three lines of the inscription is later than the main document is not only suggested by the date and internal evidence, as will be shown below, but also by the form of subscript *th* which is more developed than in the main record. The inscription employs symbols for the numbers 1 (lines 22, 23), 2 (lines 17-18, 20-21), 3 (line 20), 5 (lines 22, 30), 6 (line 24), 7 (line 34), 8 (line 15), 9 (line 30), 10 (line 21), 30 (line 20), 40 (line 30), 50 (line 34), 100 (line 15), 300 (line 34) and 600 (line 30). The symbol for 40 is of the dental sibilant type. But what is of remarkable interest is that the inscription employs the symbol for  $\frac{1}{2}$  in two cases (lines 17, 22) and that for  $\frac{1}{4}$  for no less than eleven times (lines 20, 22-24, 26-27).

The knowledge of fractions has been traced back, with reference to India, to very early times.<sup>7</sup> The words *ardha* (one-half) and *tri-pāda* (three-fourths) occur in the *Rigveda* (X, 90, 4). The *Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā* (III, 7, 7) mentions *kalā* (one-sixteenth), *kushṭha* (one-twelfth), *śapha* (one-

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. X, pp. 74 f.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Vol. II, p. 20; *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, Vol. I, pp. 4 ff. I do not think that there is any evidence against the genuineness of this record.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XI, pp. 17-18.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1206-08.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XVI, pp. 24 f.; *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 167 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 265, n. 7; p. 360, n. 8, etc.

<sup>7</sup> Datta and Singh, *History of Hindu Mathematics*, Part I, pp. 185 f.



eighth) and *pāda* (one-fourth). The *Sulba-sūtra*,<sup>1</sup> regarded as one of the earliest known mathematical works, not only mentions fractions but actually uses them in the statement and solution of problems. Nothing, however, is known as to how the Indians wrote the fractions in figures or symbols in the ages represented by those works. It is well known that early Indian epigraphs used two different systems of writing numerals, viz. the ancient 'letter numerals' and the later decimal notation. According to the second system, which is now commonly used throughout the civilized world, there are only ten figures, viz. those for the numbers one to nine and the zero. With the application of the principle of place value, these are sufficient for the writing of any number in the simplest way possible. According to the older system, separate symbols were employed for the numbers one to nine, for ten and its multiples upto hundred and for the multiples of 100 upto 1000. Still higher numbers were also written according to the same principle. This old system was followed in Indian inscriptions exclusively upto 594-95 A.D., the date of the Sankheda-Mankani inscription wherein the use of the new system is noticed for the first time,<sup>2</sup> although Varāhamihira's *Pañchasiddhāntikā* (sixth century A.D.) and the *Pulīśasiddhānta*, referred to by him and quoted by Utpala (tenth century), suggest that the system was known to astronomers at least about the close of the fifth century.<sup>3</sup> From this time upto the end of the tenth century,<sup>4</sup> the two systems are found to be used side by side in Indian inscriptions, the old style being discontinued thereafter.

But the old system appears exclusively in the Bower manuscripts and in the manuscripts from Kashgarh, as well as, together with the decimal system, in the old Jain manuscripts from Western India and in the Buddhist manuscripts from Nepal as late as the sixteenth century and in the Tamil and Malayalam manuscripts upto the present time.<sup>5</sup> We know that, according to the new system, fractions were written, at least in the manuscripts of mathematical works, practically in the modern fashion. We also know that the system of writing fractions by symbols is followed in the medieval and modern records of South India<sup>6</sup> and that another system of writing them with the help of vertical and slanting *daṇḍas* is prevalent in many parts of India,<sup>7</sup> although both these systems are imperfect. But very little is known as to how the fractions would have been written when the decimal system of writing numbers had not developed. It is usually believed that 'from very early times (c. 200 A.D.) the Hindus wrote fractions just as we do now, but without the dividing line'.<sup>8</sup> Here is no doubt a reference to the system followed in mathematical manuscripts. In the Bakhsali manuscripts,<sup>9</sup> the earliest mathematical manuscripts in the Indian alphabet,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  is indicated by placing 2, 1 and 2 vertically as 2 and 'fractions and groups of fractions are placed in

1

2 .

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Datta, pp. 212 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 164, note 2 above.

<sup>3</sup> G. H. Ojha, *The Palaeography of India* (in Hindi), 1918, pp. 115-16. For the evidence of the Bakhsali manuscript, see *infra*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 115. But we now know that the old system was used in Orissan inscriptions as late as the second quarter of the eleventh century A.D. Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XXIX, p. 151.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII, Appendix, pp. 77 ff.

<sup>6</sup> See Burnell, *Elements of South Indian Palaeography*, 1878, Pl. XXXIII, A.H. Arden *A Progressive Grammar of Common Tamil*, 1930, p. 62.

<sup>7</sup> The use of this system prevalent in Bengal and many other parts of Northern and Southern India, is noticed in certain East Indian inscriptions of the thirteenth century. See N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 146 ff., above Vol. XXVII, pp. 182 ff., Vol. XXX, pp. 51 ff. The principle was based on the division of one into quarters and sixteenths expressed respectively by vertical and slanting *daṇḍas*. These original forms have undergone slight changes in some modern Indian scripts. It has to be noticed that all fractions cannot be written according to this system.

<sup>8</sup> Datta and Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

<sup>9</sup> Ed. G. R. Kaye, *Parts I-II*, p. 23.



cells or groups of cells'. This system can be traced to *circa* 200 A.D. only if Hoernle's view regarding the date of the Bakhsali manuscripts is accepted. This scholar assigned the manuscripts to the third or fourth century,<sup>1</sup> although the suggestion has been disputed by Kaye.<sup>2</sup>

But, considering the imperfect nature of the system of writing fractions by symbols, it is possible to conjecture that the custom followed in the Bakhsali manuscripts is really very old. It is, however, certain that some fractions at least were expressed by symbols, as it is done even today, when the old system of writing numerals by symbols was prevalent and this is definitely suggested by the present inscription belonging to the sixth century. In this inscription, the symbol for five exactly resembles the *akshara* *nā* while that for ten looks somewhat like *ndā* (with the loop of *n* having an opening above and the lower part of *d* not being so flat as in ordinary cases), and, in writing one-half and one-fourth, a symbol exactly resembling the *akshara* *vi* has been employed before those for ten and five respectively. Thus the symbol indicating one-half looks somewhat like *vindā* and that indicating one-fourth exactly like *vinā*. Whether these are developed and modified forms of the symbols originally used in writing one-half and one-fourth cannot be satisfactorily determined and the occurrence of the symbols for five and ten in those respectively for one-fourth and one-half is also not very easy to explain. It should, however, be pointed out that *vi* may be taken to stand for the word *viṃśati* meaning 'twenty'. In that case it can be suggested that *vi 5* means '5 in relation to 20', i.e.  $\frac{5}{20} = \frac{1}{4}$ , and *vi 10* indicates '10 in relation to 20', i.e.  $\frac{10}{20} = \frac{1}{2}$ . In this system  $\frac{3}{4}$  may have been expressed with *vi* placed before the two symbols jointly indicating 15. It is clear, however, that all fractions could not be written with the help of 20 alone. But whether a fraction like  $\frac{1}{2}$  was expressed as '5 in relation to 40' is more than what we can say in the present state of our knowledge.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. The record is composed throughout in prose. There are a few grammatical errors (cf. *pratibhuvēna* in line 10; *anāpriṣṭvā* in line 17; etc.). Interesting from the orthographical point of view is that final *m* has been changed to *anusvāra* before vowels in a large number of cases (cf. lines 4, 10, 12, 18, 23, etc.). The word *dhārmikēna*, correctly spelt in lines 11, 13-14, is written with *n* in lines 22-24, 27. *Sandhi*, which is optional in prose composition, has not been observed in many cases (cf. lines 8, 10, 12, 15, 20-21, 24, etc.). Consonants like *g*, *gh*, *j*, *n*, *t*, *d*, *n*, *m*, *y* and *v* have been reduplicated after *r*; but *th* and *dh* after the same letter have been similarly reduplicated only occasionally. The record is highly interesting from the lexical point of view, as it abounds in words which are not to be traced in the standard Sanskrit lexicons and are in many cases extremely difficult to interpret. As will be seen from our discussion below, some of these words are of Prakrit origin and may be explained with the help of the vocabularies of some forms of the Prakrit speech. A number of obscure and technical words, which could not be traced to any other work, have been conjecturally explained.

The document is dated on the 5th day of the bright half of Śrāvapa in the year 649 and the endorsement on the 7th day of the dark half of Kārttika in the year 357. Both the dates are expressed in symbols instead of numerical figures of the decimal notation. We have to note that the year 357 refers to a date later than that indicated by the year 649 as, it will be clear from our discussion below, the endorsement must be some years later than the document itself. Now, considering the palaeography of the document, the year 649 can only be referred to the Vikrama era and taken as corresponding to 592 A.D. This is also supported by the fact that the later date, year 357, which, considering the palaeography of the endorsement, can only be referred to the Traikūṭaka-Kalachuri-Chēdi era or the Gupta-Valabhī era, corresponds either to

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 36. Relying on Hoernle, Bühler suggested that the use of the decimal system in India may be as old as the beginning of the Christian era or even earlier. Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII, Appendix, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> *JASB*, 1907, pp. 475 ff.



605 A.D. or to 676 A.D. This no doubt precludes the possibility of referring the year 649 to the Śaka era and taking it to correspond to 727 A.D. which would be later than 605 or 676 A.D. That the use of the Vikrama era was not unknown in the Gujarat-Kathiawar region, to which our record seems to belong, is suggested by the Dhiniki plates of Jāikadēva, dated V.S. 794 (737 A.D.),<sup>1</sup> found in the Okhamandal District of Saurashtra. The Vikrama Samvat seems to have penetrated into that region from Rajputana where we notice its use in records dating from the third century A.D.<sup>2</sup> The use of the Vikrama era in the present inscription may possibly be explained by the suggestion that the merchants, in whose favour the document was issued, were accustomed to its use. It seems reasonable to think that the Jains, mostly a mercantile community, were greatly responsible for the development of the Vikrama and Śalivāhana-Śaka sagas as well as for the spread of both the Vikrama and Śaka eras.<sup>3</sup>

The document records an order, issued from the *vāsaka* (residence) at Lōhātā, by a ruler named Vishṇushēṇa (called Vishṇubhāṭa in the endorsement) who is endowed with the subordinate titles *Mahākārttākṛitika*, *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, *Mahāpratīhāra*, *Mahāsāmanta* and *Mahārāja*. The real meaning of *kārttākṛitika* is unknown; but it may have indicated a royal agent<sup>4</sup> or a judge of a superior court or an officer, like the present day Legal Remembrancer, inviting the king's attention to what was done or left undone. *Daṇḍanāyaka* was either a leader of the army or the chief of the police with power of judging criminal offences.<sup>5</sup> *Mahāpratīhāra*, literally 'the great door-keeper', was probably the chief of the palace-guards and the royal bodyguards.<sup>6</sup> It is interesting to note that precisely the same five feudatory titles, the *pañcha-mahāśabda*,<sup>7</sup> are also known to have been used by Dhruvasēna I (Gupta-Valabhi years 206-26=525-45 A.D.) of the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhi,<sup>8</sup> although to whom exactly he owed allegiance is difficult to determine in the absence of further light on the subject.

The order of *Mahāsāmanta-Mahārāja* Vishṇushēṇa was addressed to his subordinates and officials such as the *Rājan*, *Rājaputra*, *Rājasthānīya*, *Āyuktaka*, *Viniyuktaka*, *Śaulkika*, *Chōrōddharanika*, *Vailabdhika*, *Drāṅgika*, *Chāṭa* and *Bhaṭa*, to other officials executing the ruler's orders as well as to the *Dhruvādhikaraṇa*. *Rājan* and *Rājaputra* apparently refer to subordinate rulers and their sons put in charge of administrative units. *Rājasthānīya* means a feudatory or viceroy.<sup>9</sup> *Āyuktaka* possibly means a magistrate (or treasury-officer) appointed by the king and *Viniyuktaka* (the same as *tad-āyuktaka*, *tan-niyuktaka* or *tad-viniyuktaka*) an officer of a similar category appointed by the viceroy.<sup>10</sup> *Śaulkika* is of course a customs officer and *Chōrōddharanika* a prefect of the police. *Vailabdhika* may have been the custodian of recovered stolen property as the *Yukta* of the *Manu Smṛiti* (VIII, 34) although the *Rājataranṅinī* (VII, 161-63) uses the word *vilabdhī* probably in the sense of an assignment. The *Drāṅgika* must have been the officer in charge of a *draṅga* which is explained as 'a town' in the lexicons and used in the sense of 'a town or village' in Jain literature, but is known to have the sense of 'a watch-station' in the *Rājataranṅinī* (VIII, 2010).<sup>11</sup> *Chāṭa* and *Bhaṭa* are often taken to mean regular and irregular soldiers respectively, although

<sup>1</sup> Bhandarkar, op. cit., No. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Nos. 1 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity* (Hist. Cult. Ind. Peop., Vol. II), p. 114; *IHQ*, Vol. XXIX, p. 296.

<sup>4</sup> *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 360, n. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 260, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 33, n. 9.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Rājataranṅinī*, IV, 140-43 and 680; *IHQ*, Vol. XXIII, p. 226. In the South Indian records, *pañcha-mahāśabda* seems to refer to the privilege to enjoy the sounds of five kinds of musical instruments (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 276 n.).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Bhandarkar, op. cit., Nos. 1304-05.

<sup>9</sup> *Sel. Ins.*, p. 391, n. 5.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 360, n. 7; 351, n. 1; p. 284, n. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Stein, *Rājataranṅinī*, English translation, Vol. II, pp. 291 f.



their duty appears to have been something like that of the policemen, watchmen or peons. Instead of *Chāṭa*, some inscriptions use the word *Chhātra*, often explained as 'an umbrella-bearer'.<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note that the word *chhātra* has actually been used in the sense of 'a court peon' in line 12 of the inscription under discussion.

Vishnushēṇa's order was addressed not only to the subordinates and officials but also to the *dhruv-ādhikaraṇa*, i.e. the office of the *dhruva*, the mention of which again connects our epigraph with the Maitraka dynasty and with the Gujarat-Kathiawar region. The expressions *dhruv-ādhikaraṇa*, *dhruvasthān-ādhikaraṇa* and *dhruv-ādhikaraṇika* are peculiar to the records of the Maitrakas of Valabhi. *Dhruva* has been explained as being still used in Saurashtra and Kutch to denote 'a person who superintends, on behalf of the Rājā, the collection of the royal share of lands', and *Dhruva* is still a surname among the Gujarati people.<sup>2</sup> Another fact possibly connecting Vishnushēṇa with the Gujarat-Kathiawar region, if not with the Maitrakas themselves, is his interesting epithet *paramabhaṭṭāraka-śrī-bāva-pād-ānudyāta*, i.e. meditating on (or, favoured by)<sup>3</sup> the feet of the illustrious *bāva* who was a paramount ruler. This reminds us of the fact that, in several Maitraka records, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara Śilāditya III* (Gupta-Valabhi years 343-65=662-84 A.D.) is represented as *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-bāva-pād-ānudyāta*, while his son Śilāditya IV is endowed with the same epithet with the only substitution of the word *bappa* (i.e. 'father') for *bāva*. Fleet explained *bāva* as indicating an uncle or a relation of the father's generation.<sup>4</sup>

In connection with the possible relation of the issuer of our record with the Maitrakas, reference should also be made to his name, viz. *Vishnushēṇa* or *Vishnubhaṭa*. We know that the names of the Maitraka kings ended usually with the word *sēna* but sometimes also with the word *bhaṭa*.<sup>5</sup> What is, however, more interesting is that, as in the case of *Vishnushēṇa-Vishnubhaṭa*, sometimes a Maitraka ruler is found to have borne a name ending both with *sēna* and *bhaṭa*. We know that Maitraka Dhruvasēna II Bālāditya (Gupta-Valabhi years 310-21=629-40 A.D.), who was the son-in-law of king Harsha of Kanauj, has been mentioned in the *Si-yu-ki* of Hsien-tsang by the name *Dhrūbhaṭa* or *Dhrubabhaṭa*.<sup>6</sup>

We have seen that *Mahāśūmanta-Mahārāja* Vishnushēṇa (*Vishnubhaṭa*) claimed some relation with his overlord described as *paramabhaṭṭāraka-śrī-bāva*. The date of the document, 592 A.D., as well as its possible place of issue somewhere in the Gujarat-Kathiawar region would suggest that this overlord was probably the Kalachuri king Śaṅkaragaṇa whose Abhona plates are dated in the Kalachuri year 347 (595 A. D.).<sup>7</sup> This seems to be supported further by other facts. The Sarsavni plates of Kalachuri Buddharāja, son of Śaṅkaragaṇa, dated in the year 361 (609 A. D.),<sup>8</sup> were issued from Ānandapura, which is the modern Anand<sup>9</sup> in the Kaira District in Gujarat. Dadda I of the Gurjjara house of Nāndipuri (Nandor in the old Rajpipla State) and Broach is described as *Gurjjara-nṛipati-varṇa-mahādadhau śrī-saha-janmā Kṛishṇa-hṛiday-āhūt-āspadaḥ kaustubhamayir-iva*<sup>10</sup> with a probable allusion to his allegiance to Kalachuri Kṛishṇa, father of Śaṅkaragaṇa.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 414, n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 404, n. 1; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 190 n; H. D. Sankalia, *Archaeology of Gujarat*, p. 200 and note.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 454, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 196 n.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. names like *Dharasēna* (I-IV), *Dhruvasēna* (I-III) and those like *Dhrūbhaṭa* and *Dērabhaṭa* (Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 394). The name-ending *bhaṭa* also occurs in the contemporary ruling family of the Gurjaras of Nāndipuri.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, pp. 246-47.

<sup>7</sup> Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, No. 1206.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1208.

<sup>9</sup> Above, Vol. VI, p. 297.

<sup>10</sup> Cf., e.g., *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 82, 88.



The Kalachuris certainly extended their power over the northern Maratha country and Malwa<sup>1</sup> and probably also over some adjoining regions. King Kṛishṇa's coins, styled *Kṛishṇarāja-rūpaka* in the Anjaneri inscription of Pṛithivichandra Bhōgaśakti, dated 709 A. D., are not only found in the Nasik District but also in the islands of Bombay and Salsette.<sup>2</sup> The above facts no doubt suggest that the Kalachuris very probably succeeded in extending their power over the Gujarat-Kathiawar region or at least over wide regions of that area and that, from the middle of the sixth century A.D., all rulers of that region, bearing subordinate titles, owed allegiance to the Kalachuris. It may further be noted that the date of our inscription falls in the period between the rule of the Maitraka ruler Dharasēna II (Gupta-Valabhī years 252-70=571-89 A.D.) and that of Śīlāditya I Dharmāditya (Gupta-Valabhī years 286-90=605-09 A.D.). Thus if Vishṇushēṇa (Vishṇubhaṭa) actually belonged to the Maitraka dynasty, his rule may be accommodated between 589 and 605 A.D., although it has to be admitted that the introductory part of the epigraph under study does not follow that of the Maitraka records. But if Lōhātā, and not Valabhī, was his headquarters, it is possible to suggest that he was ruling side by side with the Maitraka king or kings of Valabhī, even though he belonged to the same family or a branch of it. Lōhātā is, however, mentioned as Lōhātaka-grāma in the endorsement and may have been merely a village in the dominions of Vishṇushēṇa.

The inscription says that Vishṇushēṇa had been approached by the community of merchants, apparently of Lōhātā as suggested by the endorsement, with the request of being favoured with the ruler's *āchāra-sthiti-pātra* which they might utilise in protecting and favouring their own people (*lōka-saṁgrah-ānugrahārtham*) and that the merchants were actually favoured with the ruler's *sthiti-pātra* used in the protection and settlement of the people of his dominions (*janapadasya ..... parirakṣhaṇa-sannivēśanāya*). This *sthiti-pātra* or *āchāra-sthiti-pātra* is elsewhere also called *anugraha-sthiti-pātra*, *sthiti-vyavasthā* and *sthiti-pātra-vyavasthā* and is actually a long list of regulations which look like prevalent customary laws without much modification. At the end, king Vishṇushēṇa (Vishṇubhaṭa) further says that, in addition to the *āchāras* quoted, he also approved of other *āchāras* that were handed down from ancient times. He ends with the request that his *anugraha-sthiti-pātra* should be approved and followed by the future rulers of the country. The executor (*dūtaka*) of the document was Bhaddaka who was an officer of the department of war and peace (*sandhivigrah-ādhyakṣaṇ-ādhyakṛita*). The main document ends with the date and the representation of Vishṇushēṇa's signature.

This is followed by an endorsement according to which *Sāmanta Avanti* issued an order from *Darpapura* to his own officials informing them that he had given his assent to the *sthiti-vyavasthā* granted by the illustrious Vishṇubhaṭa (Vishṇushēṇa) to the community of merchants residing at Lōhātākagrāma (apparently the same as Lōhātā, from where Vishṇushēṇa's document had been issued) and that persons conducting their respective trades and following the above *sthiti-pātra-vyavasthā* should not be disturbed in any way. The endorsement ends with the second date referred to above. Whether *Sāmanta Avanti* was a subordinate of *Mahāsāmanta-Mahārāja* Vishṇushēṇa (Vishṇubhaṭa) or whether the Lōhātā area came to form a part of the district ruled by Avanti at a later date cannot be satisfactorily determined. It is not improbable that Avanti was a Gurjara who dated his document in the Kalachuri era. If this suggestion may be accepted the endorsement is to be regarded as dated in 605 A.D., only about 13 years after the original document.

The said list of regulations or customary laws, which is full of obscure and technical words, is very valuable not only to a lexicographer but also to all students of ancient Indian history.

<sup>1</sup> They granted lands in the Nasik region and issued charters from Ujjayini and Vaidīśa (Vidīśā). Cf. Bhandarkar, loc. cit., Nos. 1206-08.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXV, p. 229.



We know of an *āchāra-vyavasthā* embodied in the Lakshmeswar Kannaḍa inscription<sup>1</sup> (circa 725 A.D.) of Yuvarāja Vikramāditya II of the Chālukya house of Badami; but that record is small and damaged and is not of any help in the elucidation of the text of the *āchāras* quoted in the inscription under discussion. We propose to quote below the text of the seventytwo *āchāras* and make an attempt to explain them one by one.<sup>2</sup>

1. *Āputrakam na grāhyam*. *Āputraka* means 'the property belonging to a person who died without leaving a son'.<sup>3</sup> This seems to say that such property should not be confiscated by royal officials disregarding the claim of any legal heir other than the son.

2. *Unmara-bhēdō na karaṇīyō rāja-purushēṇa*. This is probably connected with No. 1 above. The royal officials are asked not to break open or violate the *unmara*, the meaning of which is unknown. It may be related to the word *umbara* (Pali *ummāra*; Prakrit *ummara*; Gujarati *umbro*, *umro*, 'threshold'). The reference may be to the threshold or door of a house. Viṣṇu (V, 116) prescribes a fine of 100 *paṇas* for a *sa-mudra-griha-bhēdaka* (one who breaks open the sealed door of a house); but Kauṭilya speaks of 48 *paṇas* as the fine for the same offence (*Arthasāstra*, III, 20).

3. *Udbhāvaka-vyavahārō na grāhyaḥ*. The word *vyavahāra* here may be taken in the sense of 'a law-suit'; but the real meaning of *udbhāvaka* is uncertain. It may, however, refer to a case carelessly put before the court (cf. *udbhāvana*, 'neglect') or to one based on fabrication or false allegation.

4. *Śaṅkayā grahaṇam n-āsti*. This is apparently related to No. 3 above. The royal officials should not go in for the apprehension of persons or for taking up a case against one or for seizing one's things through mere suspicion (*śaṅkā*) of a crime.

5. *Purush-āparādhē strī na grāhyā*. This means to say that the wife should not be apprehended for her husband's guilt.

6. *Kṣhēm-āgni-samutthānē chhālō na grāhyaḥ*. The word *chhala* ordinarily means 'a pretext'. But, in the Smṛiti literature, it is used in the sense of 'careless declaration', while *bhūta* means 'a solemn statement of truth'.<sup>4</sup> The word occurs in Nos. 7, 9 and 31 below. Although the technical meaning seems to be preferable, the ordinary meaning of the word may be applied to all the cases, especially to No. 31. *Kṣhēmāgni* seems to mean 'sacred fire' such as is kindled on the occasion of marriage, etc. If we follow the technical sense of *chhala*, the *āchāra* may mean that no half-hazard allegation should be entertained against one's neighbour for the burning of one's house when, according to the accused, the conflagration resulted from the sacred fire kindled in his house. But, if the ordinary meaning of the word is preferred, this may refer to a case involving the burning of a neighbour's house, in which the plea that the conflagration was due to the sacred fire kindled in the house of the accused would not be acceptable.

7. *Svayaṁ hrasitē karaṇē chhālō na grāhyaḥ*. This means either that (1) there was no pretext for a man who was himself responsible for cutting a bit from a neighbour's ear, or that (2) no careless accusation was acceptable from a man in regard to the cutting of a bit from his own ears. Cf. *karaṇa-trōṭana* in No. 37 below. If *hrasita* may here be taken in the sense of 'sounded', the

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Vol. XIV, pp. 190-91.

<sup>2</sup> In interpreting some of the words and in bringing out the significance of some of the *āchāras*, I have received help from V. Raghavan, P. V. Kane, G. S. Gai, P. B. Desai, H. C. Bhayani, N. M. Sen and V. S. Agrawala, to all of whom my sincere thanks are due. The list reminds us of Kātyāyana's view quoted in Dēvaṇṇa-bhaṭṭa's *Smṛitichandrikā*, Vol. III, part i, p. 58: *dēṣay=ānumatēn=aiva vyavasthā yā nirūpitā | likhitā tu sadā dhāryā mudritā rāja-mudrayā || āstra-vad=yatnatō rakṣyā tām nirikṣhya vinirāyēl*. It seems to recognise *rāja-tāna* among the sources of law.

<sup>3</sup> See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 291 and n. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Yājñavalkya *Smṛiti*, N. S. Press ed., p. 130: *chhalaṁ nirasya bhūteṇa vyavahārān=nayēn=nripaḥ*, where the *Mitāksharā* explains *chhala* as *pramād-abhikṣita* and *bhūta* as *tatto-ārtha-samyukta*.



reference may also be to a case in which the details of a dispute had previously reached the ears of the judge who was thus in a position to detect the fabricated element in the statement put to him without investigation.

8. *Arthi-pratyarthinā vinā vyavahārō na grāhyaḥ*. A law suit could be taken up for disposal only when the complainant and the defendant were both present and never in the absence of either of the parties.

9. *Āpanē āsanasthasya chhalō na grāhyaḥ*. This means either that (1) the pretext of being engaged in work at the shop should not justify the absence of a party to a law-suit from the court (cf. No. 8 above), or that (2) no careless statement of accusation was acceptable from a person who had been at the time of occurrence busy in selling things in a shop or market (cf. No. 21 below).

10. *Gō-śakaṭam na grāhyam*. This seems to be related to No. 11 below.

11. *Sāmant-āmātya-dūtānām=anyēśhām ch=ābhyupāgamē sayanīy-āsana-siddhānnam na dāpayēt*. When a subordinate chief, an officer or an envoy of the king came to a village, the inhabitants thereof should not be compelled to supply beds or couches, seats and boiled rice. Some of these things, however, are known to have been usually supplied by the villagers and the kings are found to have exempted gift villages from these obligations. Cf. such *parihāras* or exemptions as *a-kūra-chōllaka-vināśi-khaṭvā-samvāsa* and *a-paramparā-batīvarda-grahaṇa* explained in the *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 187 ff. It may be pointed out that inscriptions speak of supplying bullocks to the touring officials by the inhabitants of different villages in succession but not of supplying carts (cf. No. 10 above). The reference to boiled rice (*siddh-ānna*) in particular may suggest that unboiled rice had to be supplied. But the expression *siddh-ānna* also reminds us of *sīdhā*, 'uncooked victuals', in Hindi, Bengali, etc.

12. *Sarva-śrēṇinām=ēk-āpanakō na dēyaḥ*. Members of different guilds should not be allowed to flock to the same market. The idea seems to be that different mercantile guilds should occupy different markets or at least different quarters of the same market.

13. *Sarva-śrēṇibhiḥ khōvā-dānam na dātavyam*. All the guilds should not be compelled to pay *khōvā*, the meaning of which is unknown. It may be the same thing as the *aṭṭapati-bhāga* or 'the share of the lord of the market' mentioned as a tax in the *Rājatarāngiṇī* (V, 164).

14. *Rājākulē-dhikarāṇasya cha rāj-ārgghikā dēyā*; *anyēśhām=adēyā*. Periodical offerings to be made to the king should be brought to the palace or to the particular office engaged in collecting them, but not to anybody else. *Rāj-ārgghikā* may be the same as *rāja-pradēya* of the *Manu Smṛiti* (VII, 119).<sup>1</sup> The word also occurs in No. 45 below.

15. *Vārikasya hastē nyāsakō na sthāpanīyaḥ*. This is probably related to No. 14 above. The offerings meant for the king were not to be deposited with (or, no deposits should be entrusted to) the *vārika*. The *vārika* (cf. No. 72 below) seems to indicate a class of officials, three of which are mentioned in the record (cf. Nos. 27, 28, 31, 47). It may be compared with Gujarati *vārēdār* or tax-gatherer. The *Bṛihaspati Smṛiti*<sup>2</sup> mentions *vārika* along with the *chāturvaidya*, *vaṇik*, *sarva-grāmīṇa*, *mahattara* and others, while the *Rājatarāngiṇī* (VI, 345) speaks of the *Kaṭaka-vārika*. The meaning is, however, not clear. The word may be connected with *vāra*, probably meaning 'the member of a committee' and occurring in such expressions as *vāra-gōshṭhī*, *pañcha-vāri* and *vāra-pramukha* found in inscriptions.<sup>3</sup> But the official designation *Śānti-vārika*, occurring in the inscriptions of the Chandra kings of Bengal, has been explained as 'probably a priest in charge of propitiatory

<sup>1</sup> According to Manu, however, 'the headman of the village should get all of what is daily payable by the villagers to the king in the shape of food, drink, fuel and other things'. Cf. *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 187.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Bṛihaspati Smṛiti*, G.O.S. ed., p. 159: *rājā kshētram dattvā chāturvaidya-vaṇig-vārika-sarvagṛāmīṇa-mahattara-svāmīpurush-ādhiśṭhīlam parichchhindyāt*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, Vol. V, p. 138 n.



ceremonies',<sup>1</sup> while Monier-Williams recognises the word *nāga-vārika* in his Sanskrit Dictionary and explains it as 'an elephant-driver or keeper' and 'the chief person in a court or assembly'.

16. *Para-vishayāt-kāraṇ-ābhyāgatō vāñijakaḥ para-rēshē na grāhyāḥ*. The word *rēsha* means 'injury'; but its significance in the present context is unknown. The meaning of the *āchāra* may be that a merchant belonging to another district or kingdom should not be accepted as a witness in a criminal case involving persons of a locality where he happened to be present on account of some reason or other.

17. *Āvēdanakēna vinā utkrishṭi na grāhyā*. This seems to be related to No. 16 above; but the meaning of *utkrishṭi* is unknown. *Āvēdanaka* may indicate 'a formal complaint in court' and *utkrishṭi* may be the same as Pali *ukkuṭṭhi* and Sanskrit *utkrushṭi*, *utkrōśa*, meaning 'wailing'. A proper complaint, and not mere wailing, was acceptable to court.

18. *Vākpārushya-daṇḍapārushyayōḥ sākshitoḥ sārī na grāhyā*. The *sārikā* bird could not be allowed to be a witness in cases of defamation and assault.

19. *Dhēṅku-kaḍḍhaka-nīla-ḍumphakāt=cha viśṭim na kārayitavyāḥ*. The *ḍumphaka* of a *nīla-kuṭi*, liable to pay a certain tax, is also referred to in No. 48 below; but who are actually exempted from forced labour (*viśṭi*) in the present case cannot be determined. The words *dhēṅku*, *kaḍḍhaka* and *ḍumphaka* are unknown. *Dhēṅku* may be compared with Hindi *dhenki* or *dhenkuli* meaning a machine for extracting juice, while *kaḍḍhaka* seems to be a Prakrit form of Sanskrit *karshaka*. *ḍumphaka* may be the same as Sanskrit *drimphaka* meaning 'one who presses'. The *nīla-ḍumphaka* possibly manufactured blue dye from the indigo plant. If *dhēṅku* is the same as Gujarati *dhikvo*, Hindi *dhēkū*, *dhēkul*, in the sense of the contrivance (based on the principle of lever) for drawing water from a well, the drawers of water for the irrigation of fields may be the persons indicated by *dhēṅku-kaḍḍhaka*.

20. *Prapāpūraka-gōpālāḥ rāja-grahēna na grāhyāḥ*. *Prapā-pūraka* is a person entrusted with *prapā-pūraka*, i.e. 'filling the cisterns with water in a place for watering cattle or supplying water to travellers'. Such persons as well as the milkmen were not to be apprehended or recruited for free labour on the king's behalf.<sup>2</sup>

21. *Grīh-āpaṇa-sthitānām mudrā-patraka-dūtakaiḥ sāhasa-varjjam-āhvānam na karaṇīyam*. Persons engaged in work at home or at their shops should not be summoned to court by means of a seal-ring or a letter or by a messenger unless they were involved in a criminal case.<sup>3</sup>

22. *Parēṇ=ārth-ābhiyuktānām vāda-pratisamāsanē yajña-sattra-vivāh-ādīṣhu āhvānam na karaṇīyē*. Persons engaged in such works as a sacrifice or a marriage ceremony should not be summoned to court to refute the charges brought against them. *Artha* may refer to an *ārtha-mūla* or civil (and not a *himsā-mūla* or criminal) suit.<sup>4</sup> Or, there may be reference here to two different sets of persons who should not be summoned, viz. (1) one engaged in *yajña*, etc.,<sup>5</sup> and (2) one already involved in another case.<sup>6</sup> A word like *niratānām* seems to be understood after °*ādīṣhu*.

23. *Rip-ādān-ābhilekhita-vyavahārē a-kāṣṭha-lōha-baddhēna krīta-pratibhuvēna(bhuvā) guptir=upāsyā*. In connection with a written complaint about the realisation of borrowed money, the debtor, when he was not under wooden or metal handcuffs because of security having been furnished for him by somebody, should enjoy the protection of the court. This seems to say that in the case

<sup>1</sup> N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 8, 166.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Bṛhaspati Smṛiti*, p. 26: *gavām prachārē gōpālāḥ saṃy-ārambhē kṛishṭvālāḥ* in the section on *āśvās* (summons) and in the list of the *n-āsēdhyaḥ*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 24: *mudrām dadyāt tathā patram puruṣam vā visarjayēt*. See also P. V. Kane, *Kātyāyanasātr-āddhāra*, verse 68.

<sup>4</sup> Vide *Kātyāyanasātrāddhāra*, verse 108.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Bṛhaspati Smṛiti*, p. 22: *sattr-ōdvāh-ōdyatō*, etc., in the list of the *n-āsēdhyaḥ*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti*, N. S. Press ed., p. 125: *ābhiyuktam cha n=āsyēna*.



of a debtor, for whom security had been furnished, neither handcuffs nor guards at court were necessary. When no *pratibhū* was furnished, the court had to arrange for the person's watch and the cost of it had to be borne by the parties.<sup>1</sup>

24. *Varshāsu sva-vishayāt bij-ārtham-āgātaka-karshakāḥ svāminā na grāhyāḥ*. Cultivators coming out of their areas for sowing seeds during the rainy season were not to be apprehended or engaged by the king or landlord in free labour.<sup>2</sup>

25. *Āshāḍha-māsi Paushe cha drashṭavyam māna-pautavam; ādānē rūpakāḥ sa-pādaḥ saha dhārmikēṇa*. The *māna-pautava*<sup>3</sup> which had to be examined in the months of Āshāḍha and Pausa seems to have been a store-house where grains were measured and stored. Possibly there were two kinds of store-houses, one working on a small fee and the other working free of charges; but there was no reduction of the tax for the latter. *Ādāna* no doubt refers to the collection of tax and *dhārmika* seems to point to an extraordinary case somehow associated with religious merit or, as suggested by No. 65 below, with the permission or grace of the authorities. It is also possible to think that *dhārmika* was a cess payable in addition to the usual tax. The terms *ādāna* and *dhārmika* are frequently mentioned in the latter part of the document.

26. *A-saṁvādyā vyavaharataḥ śulka-ādikaṁ cha dhāny-ādi pravēśayatō nishkāśayatō vā śulkam=ashṭa-guṇam dāpyaḥ*. It seems to be related to No. 25 above. If a store-house collected fees and stored and disposed of grains without informing the royal officials, it had to pay eight times the usual tax, i.e. ten silver coins. This may also refer to the bringing and taking out of goods without official checkup in regard to matters of *śulka*, etc., as per the rules laid down.<sup>4</sup>

27. *Pēṭavika-vārikēṇa pañcha-rātrakē pañcha-rātrakē kartavyam=arggha-nivēdanam; anivēdayatō vinayē<sup>5</sup> rūpakāḥ shaḍ-dhārmikē pādaḥ*. The *Pēṭavika-vārika* appears to be a particular class of *vārika* or official that was responsible for the delivery of the *rāj-argghikā* received from the subjects once in five days. The word *pēṭavika* is possibly associated with Marathi *pēṭhā* (sub-division of a Taluk) or *pēṭh* (a trading town or an emporium). The fine for non-delivery was six silver coins; but, in the case of *dhārmika*, i.e. when there was any reasonable excuse, the fine was only one-fourth silver coin. *Vinaya*<sup>6</sup> means 'fine'. It is also possible that the *āchāra* refers to the rule that, every five days, the official should fix prices (*arggha*) of commodities and inform the higher authorities about the prices so fixed.<sup>7</sup>

28. *Uttarakulika-vārikaiḥ māna-bhāṇḍa-mēya-gatē bahir=na gantavyam*. *Uttarakulika*, like *pēṭavika*, possibly meant another class of *vārika* or official. The *Uttarakulikas* appear to have been associated with the law-court. In cases of disputes in regard to the measurement, the measuring pot or the thing measured, such officers were possibly not allowed to go out of the court to be influenced by one party or the other.

29. *Uttarakulika-vārikāṇām=ēva karaṇa-sannidhau Chhātrēṇa trir-āghushitānām nirupasthānād=vinayē rūpaka-dvayaṁ sa-pādaṁ saha dhārmikēṇa*. *Karaṇa* apparently means *adhikaraṇa*, 'a law-court', and *Chhātra* seems to indicate a peon or a constable. *Karaṇa* as a contraction of *adhikaraṇa*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti*, N. S. Press ed., p. 126, quotation from Kātyāyana: *atha chēt pratibhūr=ānti kārya-yōgya=tu vādinah | sa rakshitō dinag=āntē dadyād=bhṛityāya vētanam ||*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra*, III, 11: *a-grāhyāḥ karma-kālēshu karshakā rāja-purushāḥ=cha*. See also *Bṛhaspati Smṛiti*, pp. 22, 26, and *Kātyāyanaśārōddhāra*, verse 109.

<sup>3</sup> For *pautava* (measures), *tulā-māna-pautava* and *pautav-āpachāra* (fraud in regard to measures), see *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra*, IV, 2 (cf. pp. 103-05 of the Mysore ed.).

<sup>4</sup> See *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra*, II, 23 (cf. Mysore ed., p. 112) on *nishkrāma* and *pravēśa*.

<sup>5</sup> In similar contexts, the author uses both *vinayē* and *vinayaḥ* (cf. No. 30 below).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Nārada quoted in the *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti*, p. 126.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Manu Smṛiti*, VIII, 402: *pañcha-rātrē pañcha-rātrē pakṣhē=thavā gatē | kurvita ch=aihsampratya-kṣam=arggha-samsthāpanam nripaḥ*. See also *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti*, p. 270.



is found in the Midnapur plates of Śaśāṅka,<sup>1</sup> while the word *chhātra* is used in the above sense in several inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> It seems that there was no excuse for the absence of the *vārikas* of the *Uttarakulika* class when thrice summoned to court by a court peon. The fine for the offence was two and one-fourth silver coins even if there was any good reason for absence.

30. *Vyavahār-ābhilēkṣitaka-karaṇa-sēvakasy-ā-madhyāhnād-ūrdhvaṃ nirupasthitasya vinayō rūpakāḥ śaṭ=sa-pādās=saha dhārmikēṇa*. If the clerks<sup>3</sup> who had to write down the statements of cases in the law-court were absent from the court after mid-day, they were liable to a fine of six and one-fourth silver coins.

31. *Ā-madhyāhnād-ūrdhvaṃ-Uttarakulika-vārikāṇāṃ chhalō n=āsti*. No pretext of the *Uttarakulika-vārikas*, absent from the court after mid-day, was to be accepted. For *chhala*, see Nos. 6, 7 and 9 above. The ordinary meaning of the word seems to suit the present context better.

32. *Arggha-vañchanē rūpaka-trayaṃ sa-pādāṃ saha dhārmikēṇa*. This may refer to the *Pāṭavika-vārikas* (cf. No. 27 above). In cases of fraud in regard to the delivery of *rāj-argghikā*, the officers concerned were liable to a fine of three and one-fourth silver coins and the fine could not be reduced even when there was a reasonable excuse. *Arggha-vañchana* may, however, also refer to the flouting of the prices fixed by the authorities (cf. No. 27 above).

33. *Mudr-āpachārē vinayē rūpakāḥ śaṭ=sa-pādāḥ saha dhārmikēṇa*. *Mudr-āpachāra* is the crime of using counterfeit coins (or, the misuse of official seals), the fine for which was six and one-fourth silver coins and no excuse for reduction of the fine was allowed.<sup>4</sup>

34. *Sthāvara-tya(vya)vaḥārē sāmantaḥ avasitasya vinayō rūpaka-śatam=asṭ-ōttaraṃ 108*. *Sāmanta* possibly means a subordinate ruler (cf. No. 11 above). The meaning of the *āchāra* may be that a subordinate ruler was liable to pay a fine of 108 silver coins if he disposed of a case involving landed property without informing his overlord (cf. No. 35 below). If the word *sāmanta* may be taken in the sense of men from neighbouring villages who had to settle boundary disputes,<sup>5</sup> the meaning of the *āchāra* may possibly be that the defeated party in a boundary dispute had to pay a fine of 108 silver coins. But the fine seems to be rather heavy for a case like this.

35. *Saṃvadanē rūpakāḥ chatuṣṭaṣṭāśat*. Taking *sāmanta* in the sense of a subordinate ruler (cf. No. 34 above), this seems to mean that the fine was only 54 silver coins (i.e. half the amount prescribed in No. 34 above), if information had been later given to the overlord about the case. In case the alternative interpretation of the word *sāmanta* is preferred, the *āchāra* may refer to the party that had itself invited arbitration in a boundary dispute but was defeated.

36. *Jayikē bhāṣhā ; phālāvanē chā(cha) rūpaka-trayaṃ sa-pādāṃ*. This is probably connected with Nos. 34-35 above. This *āchāra* is difficult to explain. But it may mean that the winning party (*jayika*) in a boundary dispute was to be granted a written declaration (*bhāṣhā*) in its favour although it had to pay  $3\frac{1}{4}$  silver coins for the protection of his ploughed field (*phāl-āvana*) from the encroachment of the defeated party in this dispute. We may also take *chā* as a combination of *cha* and *ā*. In that case, *ā-rūpaka-trayaṃ sa-pādāṃ* would mean 'any amount upto  $3\frac{1}{4}$  silver coins'.

37. *Ullambanē karaṇa-trōṣṇē cha vinayō rūpakāḥ saptaśat(śatīḥ)*. The word *ullambana* is recognised in the lexicons in the sense of 'leaping over someone'; but the *Kaṭṭīliya Arthaśāstra*,

<sup>1</sup> Vide *Pranāṣi* (Bengali), Śrāvapa, B.S. 1350, pp. 291 ff.; *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XI, 1945, pp. 3-9.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 414 and note 5.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *adhikaraṇa-lēkhaka*, 'an official recorder', in the *Rājatarāṅginī*, VI, 38.

<sup>4</sup> Vide *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti*, p. 268 (verse 240): *tulā-śāsana-mānānām kūṣakrīn=nānakasya cha | ēbhīś=cha vya-oahartā yaḥ sa dāpyō damam=ultamam* || Cf. also quotation from *Kātyāyana*: *pramāṇēna tu kūṣēna mudrayā v=āpi kūṣayā | kāryaṇ=tu sādhyād=yō vai sa dāpyō dāṇdam=ultamam* ||

<sup>5</sup> See *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti*, II, 152.



IV, 8, uses it to indicate 'hanging' which seems applicable to the present case, although the punishment appears to be rather mild. *Karṇa-trṣṭana*, i.e. 'cutting off of a bit from some one's ear', seems to be also referred to in No. 17 above. For these offences the fine was 27 silver coins.

38. *Vākpārushya-daṇḍapārushyayōḥ vinayē rūpakāḥ śaṭ=sa-pādāḥ*. The fine for the offence of defamation and assault (or, rough behaviour) was six and one-fourth silver coins.

39. *Kṣhata-darśanē rūpakāḥ aśṭāchatvāriṃśat*. In the case of *daṇḍa-pārushya* involving visible injury or infliction of wounds, the fine was 48 silver coins.<sup>1</sup>

40. *Gavām tauṇḍikē vimśōpakāḥ pañcha*. Five *vimśōpakas* were equal to one-fourth of a silver coin, a *vimśōpaka* being  $\frac{1}{20}$  of the standard silver money.<sup>2</sup> The meaning of *tauṇḍika* is 'biting of crops with the mouth'.<sup>3</sup> The offence involving *tauṇḍika* by cows caused a fine of five *vimśōpakas*.

41. *Mahishyās-tad-dviguṇam*. But the offence involving *tauṇḍika* by a she-buffalo was ten *vimśōpakas*, i.e. one-half silver coin. Yājñavalkya prescribes four *māshas* for the offence indicated in No. 40 and eight *māshas* for that in No. 41. Nārada, however, speaks of one *māsha* and two *māshas* respectively. The same authority regards *māsha* as one-twentieth of the *paṇa* which is explained by Vijñānēśvara as the well-known copper coin of that name. Vishṇu supports Yājñavalkya.

42. *Madya-bhājanasy-āvalōkyē rūpakāḥ pañcha*. *Avalōkya*, derived from *avalōka*, seems to indicate 'detection'. If one was found out with a vessel full of wine distilled illegally, his fine was five silver coins.

43. *Prathama-bhājanē dhārmikē adhikarāṇasya rūpaka-dvayaṃ s-ādham rū 2½*. But, when it was the first offence and no bad motive could be substantiated, the fine to be paid to the court was only 2½ silver coins.

44. *Anapriṣṭvā(chchhya) sandhayatō dvitīyē=hani tad-dviguṇam dāpyaḥ*. The first two words appear to mean *adhikarāṇam=anāpriṣṭchhya rājapurushaiḥ sandhayataḥ*. This seems to say that, if a man, let off for the first offence, was caught with a vessel full of wine for the second time, his fine was double the amount prescribed in No. 43.

45. *Surā-karāṇasy-āvalōkyē rūpaka-trayaṃ; dhārmikē rūpakāḥ sa-pādāḥ; rāj-ārghikayā madya-chātūrtha-dvayaṃ 2*. If one was caught while distilling liquor, his fine was three silver coins. But the fine was only 1½ silver coins if no bad motive could be substantiated, although two *chātūrtas* (one *chātūrtha* possibly being  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the standard measure of liquid substance; cf. Nos. 47 and 70 below) of wine had to be paid as *rāj-ārghikā* (cf. No. 14 above).

46. *Kāmsya-dōsy-āyudhānām Āshādhi-paurāṇamāsī-bharōlaka-nirōdhēna grahaṇaka-praviśṇam bhavati; grahaṇakēshu daṇḍakō n=ānusaraṇīyaḥ*. This is apparently related to the distillation of wine which is the subject of No. 45 above and No. 47 below; but I find it extremely difficult to explain the *āchāra*. The word *āyudha* may be taken in its old sense of 'a vessel'; but *dōsya* is unknown although it may be a metal like *kāmsya* or bell-metal. It seems that the *bharōlaka* (distillery?) was closed on the fullmoon day of *Āshādha* and the vessels (connected with the distillation of wine?) were put into the *grahaṇaka* (custody?); the *daṇḍaka* (rule about the supply of the royal share of wine?) was not to be followed when the distilling vessels were in the *grahaṇakas*. Alternatively it may be suggested that *kāmsya*=bronze utensils; *dōsya*=clothes; *āyudha*=arms;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Vishṇu Smṛiti*, V, 66-67: *śōṇitēna vinā duḥkham=utpādayitā dvātriṃśat-panān; saha śōṇitēna chatuḥ-shaśṭim*.

<sup>2</sup> It is to be noted that in line 23 of our record five *vimśōpakas* have been separately indicated by the symbols for  $\frac{1}{4}$ . This shows that five *vimśōpakas* were equal to  $\frac{1}{4}$  silver coin. Cf. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 210.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti* II, 159 (see also Nārada quoted in the *Mitākharā*) *Nārada Smṛiti*, XI, 31, *Vishṇu Smṛiti*, V, 139 and 142.



*bharōlaka*=store-house. If the king's share of these articles was not delivered by the producers by the fullmoon day of Āshāḍha (which was, according to Kauṭilya, the last day of the financial year<sup>1</sup>), then to such objects the law of mortgage (*grahaṇaka*) was applied and they were subject to the payment of interest at the mortgage rate but no fine (*daṇḍaka*); or, such objects were confiscated and no fine was levied.

47. *Rājakiya-gaṇjē Kalvapāla-vārikēṇa chātūrtha-śōṭi-hastēna mēyam muktō n=ānyat=kiṃ-chit=karaṇiyam*. The word *gaṇja* is used in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (IV, 589; VII, 125-26) in the sense of 'a treasury' or 'a fund', but may be taken here to signify 'a store-house' as in the lexicons. The *vārika* of the *Kalpavāla* community was apparently in charge of a store-house of wine. The word *kalvapāla* is no doubt the same as *kalyapāla* or *kalyāpāla* found in the lexicons in the sense of 'a spirit-distiller'.<sup>2</sup> It is also found in the form *kalpāla* in Viśvarūpa's commentary on the *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti* (Vyavahāra, verse 50) and is the same as Prakrit *kallāla* and Hindi and Gujarati *kalāl*. *Śōṭi* seems to mean a pot for measuring liquids like wine.<sup>3</sup> While measuring wine in *chātūrthas* or quarter-measures at the royal store-house with the measuring pot in hand, the *vārika* or officer of the *Kalpavāla* community was possibly not allowed to divert his attention to some other work. The word *chātūrtha* is also found in No. 45 above and No. 70 below.

48. *Nīla-kuṭy-ādānam ḍuṃphakēna dēyam rūpaka-trayaṃ rū 3*. *Nīla-kuṭi* may mean an indigo factory and *ḍuṃphaka* (cf. No. 19 above) its owner or supervisor. The *ḍuṃphaka* had to pay the tax of three silver coins for a *nīla-kuṭi*.

49. *Ikṣhu-vāṭ-ādānam rūpakāḥ dvātriṃśat rū 32*; *dhārmikē rūpaka-dvayaṃ sa-pādam*. The tax for a sugar-cane plantation was 32 silver coins; but it was only 2½ silver coins if the field belonged to a religious establishment. The word *vāṭa* may have indicated a particular area of land.

50. *Alla-vāṭasy-ātō=rdh-ādānam*. The tax for an *alla-vāṭa* was half the amount prescribed in No. 49 above. *Alla* is the Prakrit form of Sanskrit *ārdraka*, 'ginger', and *alla-vāṭa* may possibly mean 'a ginger plantation'. It should, however, be noticed that the word *ārdraka* itself occurs in No. 60 below. The word *alla* in Pali means 'moist' and *alla-vāṭa* may probably indicate 'lowland'. But *ikṣhu-vāṭa* in No. 50 seems to suggest that *alla* was a produce like *ikṣhu*.

51. *Yantra-kuṭy-ādānam rūpaka-trayaṃ rū 3*; *dhārmikē rūpakāḥ sa-pādaḥ*. *Yantra-kuṭi* may indicate an oil-mill or manufactory, for which the tax to be paid was three silver coins, although the tax was only 1½ silver coins if the productions were meant for a religious cause.

52. *Varsha-paryushitā vaṇijaḥ prāvēśyam śulka-ātiyātrikam na dāpanīyāḥ*; *nairgamikam dēyam*. Merchants staying abroad for a year were not to pay any entrance fee while returning to their native place; but they had to pay the exit tax when they went out again on business. *Ātiyātrika* is no doubt connected with *ātiyātrā* used in the *Divyāvadāna*<sup>4</sup> in the sense of 'fare for crossing the boundary'. The *āchāra* may also refer to foreign merchants coming and staying in the kingdom for a year.

53. *Bhāṇḍa-bhṛita-vahitrasya śulka-ātiyātrikē rūpakāḥ dvādaśa rū 12*; *dhārmikē rūpakāḥ sa-pādaḥ rū 1½*. For a boat full of vessels probably of metal, the crossing fare was 12 silver coins; but, if the vessels were meant for any religious purpose, the tax was only 1½ silver coins.<sup>5</sup> It is difficult to determine whether *bhāṇḍa* may here be taken in a general sense of manufactured articles or merchandise.

<sup>1</sup> *Arthasāstra*, II, 7.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, IV, 467.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *śōṭu*, *saṭṭu*, *soṭṭige*, etc., meaning a specific liquid measure in some early Kannaḍa inscriptions, and *saṭṭu* in modern Kannaḍa in the sense of 'a ladle'.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Cowell and Neil, p. 92, line 27.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the rates of customs duty for ferry crossing in the *Manu Smṛiti*, VIII, 403 ff., and *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti*, p. 274, with commentary thereon.



54. *Mahish-śhṭra-bharakasya rūpakāḥ pañcha sa-pādāḥ saha dhārmikēṇa*. For a boat full of buffaloes and camels, the tax was  $5\frac{1}{2}$  silver coins and there was no reduction even if they were meant for some religious cause. *Bharaka* seems to mean the same thing as *bhrīta-vahira*. If *bharaka* may be taken in the sense of a load carried on the back of an animal, Nos. 54-56, 59 and 60 may not refer to a boat. The second interpretation seems to be more suitable in the case of Nos. 54-56; cf. No. 62.

55. *Balivard-ādānam rūpaka-dvayaṁ ś-ārdham rū 2½; dhārmikē pādāḥ ½*. The tax for a boat full of bulls was 2 silver coins; but, if they were meant for a religious cause, the tax was only  $\frac{1}{2}$  silver coin.

56. *Gardabha-bharak-ādānē rūpakāḥ sa-pādāḥ rū 1½ saha dhārmikēṇa*. The tax for a boat full of asses was  $1\frac{1}{2}$  silver coins and there was no reduction even if they were meant for a religious cause. Cf. Nos. 53-54 above and 61 below.

57. *Atś-rdhēna pōṭṭalikā-samkāchitak-ādānam; avalambakasya vimśōpakāḥ pañcha ½*. The tax for bundles suspended from loops probably in shops was half of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  silver coins and for the hanger of such loops the tax was five *vimśōpakas* or  $\frac{1}{2}$  silver coin. The word *samkāchitaka* is no doubt related to *kāchita* used in the lexicons as an adjective; but, in No. 68 below, it has been used as a noun possibly in the sense of 'a loop' (*kācha*). The same may also be the meaning in the present case. If *avalambaka* refers to the carrying of bundles of goods by a person, *samkāchitaka* may refer to a mechanical means of carrying loads.

58. *Pala-tatasya vimśōpaka-dvayaṁ saha dhārmikēṇa*. A bundle weighing 100 *palas* was taxed at two *vimśōpakas*.

59. *Yath-ōpari-likhita-bhāṇḍ-ādānāt dhānyasy-ārdh-ādānam*. This seems to be related to No. 53 above. A boat full of paddy (or, grains in general) was taxed at half the amount prescribed for a boat full of vessels.

60. *Ādraka-lakaṭāyāḥ ſulka-ātiyātrikē rūpakāḥ sa-pādāḥ saha dhārmikēṇa rū 1½*. The crossing fare for a boat full of dried ginger sticks (*lakaṭā*) was  $1\frac{1}{2}$  silver coins and there was no reduction even if the things were meant for a religious purpose. *Lakaṭā* may also be the same as Hindi *lakṭī*. In that case *ādraka-lakaṭā* would mean 'undried fire-wood'.

61. *Vamśa-bhrīta-vahitrasya rūpakāḥ śhaṭ sa-pādāḥ saha dhārmikēṇa*. The tax for a boat full of bamboos was  $6\frac{1}{2}$  silver coins and there was no reduction even if the material was meant for a religious purpose. Cf. Nos. 53-54 and 56 above.

62. *Skandha-vāhyam dhānyam ſulkam na pradāpayēt*. There was no tax for paddy (or, grains in general) to be carried by a person on his shoulder.<sup>1</sup>

63. *Kaṇikkā-kustumbari-rājikā-prabhritinām varṇikā-grahaṇē śetikā grāhyā*. *Kaṇikkā* is the Prakrit form of *kaṇikā* meaning 'cummin seed'. *Rājikā* is black mustard, while *kustumbari* is the coriander seed. *Varṇikā* is the same as Prakrit *vannīā* meaning 'sample', while *śetikā* is the same as Prakrit *śetī* or *seigā* indicating a measure equal to two *prasritis*. The word *prasriti* means the palm of the hand stretched out and hollowed and also a handful of things regarded as equivalent to two *palas* in weight. It seems therefore that only two handfuls of cummin seed, black mustard and coriander seed could be taken as sample by royal officials.

64. *Vivāha-yajñ-ōtsava-śimantōnnayanēśhu cha ſulkam na pradāpayēt*. Ceremonies such as marriages were not to be taxed.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Nārada Smṛiti* (ed. Jolly, p. 134): *skandha-vāhyam cha yad-ārvayam na tad-yuktāḥ* (sic: *tach-chūltam*) *pradāpayēt*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXV, p. 235 and note 3.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the receipts of the office called *griha-kṛitya* in the *Rājatarangīnī*, V, 157, VII, 42.



65. *Vara-yātrāyānḥ bulk-ādi (ti) yatrikē rūpakāḥ dvādaśa ; paṭṭaka-dhārmikē rūpakāḥ sa-pādaḥ rū 1½*. If the procession of a bridegroom had to cross the boundary of the kingdom or district to reach the house of the bride, it had to pay the crossing fare of 12 silver coins ; but, if it was legalised by means of a *paṭṭaka* or pass-port, the fare was only 1½ silver coins. If *vara-yātrā* is taken in the sense of a public procession, *paṭṭakadhārmika* may refer to an authorised religious procession.

66. *Madya-vahanakasy-ādānē rūpakāḥ pañcha rū 5 ; dhārmikē rūpakāḥ sa-pādaḥ rū 1½*. If a vehicle or boat full of wine had to cross the border, it was taxed at five silver coins, although the tax was reduced to 1½ silver coins if the wine was meant for a religious purpose.

67. *Khalla-[bha]rakasya rūpakāḥ sa-pādaḥ saha dhārmikēṇa rū 1½*. The tax for a *khalla* (literally 'leather' ; cf. Bengali-Hindi-Gujarati *khāl*) measure was only 1½ silver coins even if the material was required for a religious purpose. *Khalla* seems to mean here a leather vessel for carrying a liquid like wine which is mentioned in No. 66.

68. *Kēlāyāḥ saṃkāchitakasya cha atō-rdh-ādānam*. For a loop (cf. No. 57 above) holding *kēlā*, the tax was half of 1½ silver coins prescribed in No. 67 above. The meaning of *kēlā* is uncertain, although *kēlā* in Hindi stands for Sanskrit *kadālī*. Can *kēlā* in our record stand for a Prakrit form midway between *kilā* and *khelā* for Sanskrit *kriṣā* in the sense of *kriṣanaka* ? It may also mean a vessel for carrying wine, which was smaller than *khalla*.

69. *Pāda-ghaṭasya vimśōpakāḥ pañcha saha dhārmikēṇa*. The tax for a *pāda-ghaṭa* was five *vimśōpakas*, i.e. ½ silver coin, and it was not reduced even when the thing was meant for a religious cause. The word *pāda-ghaṭa* possibly indicates a jar holding a quarter measure of wine.

70. *Kaṣu-madyē śidhu-chātūrtha-trayaṃ 3*. Three *chātūrtas* or quarter measures (cf. Nos. 45 and 47 above) of the liquor called *śidhu* were regarded as the tax for very strong liquors.

71. *Chhimpaka-Kōlika-Padakārāṇām yath-ānurūpa-karmaṇaḥ janapada-mūlyād-rājakuḷē-rdh-ādānam*. The *Chhimpakas*, *Kōlikas* and *Padakāras*, who appear to have been followers of particular professions, possibly had to pay as tax half the money that would be the price of the things produced by them according to the rate prevalent in the land. *Kōlika* may be the same as Sanskrit *kaulika* or a weaver and *Padakāra* may possibly be a shoe-maker. *Chhimpaka* is Prakrit *chhimpaya* (Gujarati *chhipo*) meaning 'a dyer of clothes'. If *Padakāra* is the same as Hindi *paukār* he was a retailer hawking his goods on foot.

72. *Lōhakāra-rathakāra-nāpita-kumbhakāra-prabhṛtīnām vārikēṇa viśṭiṭṭh karaṇīyā*. The blacksmiths, carpenters, barbers, potters and others could be recruited for forced labour under the supervision of the *vārikas* or officers.

In presenting my suggestions in regard to the interpretation of the *āchāras* quoted in the inscription under discussion, I request scholars to take note of the interesting words and senses occurring in them but not recognised in the Sanskrit *kōshas* and to try to interpret the passages in order to improve upon the interpretations offered above.

There are only two geographical names in the inscription, viz., *Lōhātā* or *Lōhātaka-grāma* and *Darpapura*. There is reason to believe, as will be evident from the discussions above, that both the places were situated in the present Gujarat-Kathiawar region. Unfortunately I can identify neither of them satisfactorily. It is difficult to say if *Darpapura* may be identified with modern Dabhoi (medieval Darbhavati), about 38 miles north-east of Bharoch, and *Lōhātā* with modern Rohar on the Gulf of Cutch, which is the chief sea-port of the Anjar District. In regard to the second suggestion, it may, however, be pointed out that, as indicated by some of the *āchāras* of Nos. 53-56, 61, etc.), *Lōhātā* was probably a port.



TEXT<sup>1</sup>

## First Plate

- 1 Svasti [I\*] Lāhātā-vāsakāt=paramabhaṭṭāraka-śrī-bāva-pād-ānudhyātō mahākārttākṛitika-mahādaṇḍanāyaka-mahāpratihāra-mahāsāmanta-mahārāja-śrī-Vishṇushēna<sup>2</sup>
- 2 [ku]śali [sa]rvvān=ēva svān=rāja-rājaputra-rājasthānīy-āyuktaka-viṇiyuktaka-śaulikika-chorō-ddharaṇika-vailabdhika-chāṭa-bhaṭ-ādīn=anyāmś=cha yathāsambadhyamānakān=ādēśa-vikshēpa-kāriṇa[h]
- 3 dhruv-ādhikaraṇam cha samājñāpayaty=astu vaḥ samviditam yathā vijñāptō=ham vaṇig-grāmēṇa yath=āsmākaṁ lōka-saṁgrah-ānugrah-ārtham=āchāra-sthiti-pātram=ātmiyam prasādikurvantu [I\*] tan=mayā bhūtapūrvvasya
- 4 janapadasya=ābhūtapūrvvasya cha parirakṣaṇa-sannivēśanāy=ātmiyam sthiti-pātram pra-sādikṛitam(tam) [I\*] yatr=ādau tāvat=prathamam(mam) āputrakam na grāhyam(hyam) [I\*] unmara-bhēdō na karaṇīyō rāja-purushēṇa | udbhāvaka-
- 5 vyavahārō na grāhyāḥ [I\*] śaṅkayā grahaṇam n=āsti | purush-āparādhē stri na grāhyā [I\*] kshēm-āgni-samutthānē chhalō na grāhyāḥ [I\*] svayam hrasitē karṇṇē chhalō na grāhvaḥ [I\*] arthi-pratyartthinā vinā vyavahārō na grāhyāḥ [I\*]
- 6 āpaṇē āsanasthasya chhalō na grāhyāḥ [I\*] gō-śakataṁ na grāhyam(hyam) | sāmant-āmātya-dūtānām=anyēśhām ch=ābhīyupāgamē śayanīy-āsana-siddhānām na dāpayēt=sarvva<sup>3</sup>-śrēṇīnām=ēk-āpaṇakō na dēyaḥ [I\*] sarvva-śrē-
- 7 pibhiḥ khōvā-dānam na dātavyam(vyam) | rājakulē=dhikaraṇasya cha rāj-ārgghikā dēyā | anyēśhām=adēyā | vārikasya hastē nyāśakō na sthāpanīyāḥ [I\*] para-vishayāt=kāraṇ-ābhīy-gatō vāṇijakāḥ=para-rēshē na grāhyāḥ [I\*]
- 8 āvēdanākēna vinā utkṛiṣṭī na grāhyā | vākparushya-daṇḍapārushyayōḥ śāksatvē sārī na grāhyā | dhēṇkukāḍḍhaka-nīlaḍumpha-kāś=cha viṣṭim na kārayitavyāḥ [I\*] prapāpū[ra]-ka-gōpālāḥ rājagrahēṇa na grāhyāḥ[h\*] | grīh-ā-
- 9 paṇa-sthitānām mudrā-patraka-dūtakaiḥ sāsana-varjjam=āhvānam na karaṇīyam(yam) | parēṇ=ārth-ābhīyuktānām vāda-pratisamāsanē yajña-satra(ttra)-vivāh-ādishu āhvānam na kārayēt [I\*] rīṇ-ādān-ābhilēkhiṭa-vyavahārē
- 10 a-kāshṭha-lōha-baddhēna kṛita-pratibhuvēna(bhuvā) guptir=upāsya | varshāsu sva-vishayāt bij-ārtham=āgataka-karshakāḥ svāminā na grāhyāḥ [I\*] Āshāḍha-māsi Pausḥē cha drasṭa-vyam māna-pautavam(vam) | ādāne rūpakāḥ
- 11 sa-pādaḥ saha dhārmikēṇa | a-samvādyā vyavaharataḥ śulka-ādikaṁ cha dhāny-ādi pra-vēśayatō nishkāśayatō vā śulkaṁ=asṭa-guṇam dāpyaḥ [I\*] Pēṭavika-vārikēṇa paṁcha-rātrakē paṁcha-rātrakē karttavyam=arggha-
- 12 nivēdanam(nam) | a-nivēdayatō vinayē rūpakāḥ shaḍ-dhārmikē pādaḥ [I\*] Uttarakulika-vārikaiḥ māna-bhāṇḍa-mēya-gatē bahir=na gantavyam(vyam) | Uttarakulika-vārikāṇām=ēva karaṇa-samnidhan Chhātrēṇa trir=āghushitāna(nām)
- 13 nirupasthānād=vinayē rūpaka-dvayam sa-pādam saha dhārmikēṇa [I\*] vyavahār-ābhilēkhi-taka-karaṇa-sēvakasy=ā-madhyāhṇād=ūrdhvam nirupasthitasya vinayō rūpakāḥ shaṭ=sā-pādās=saha dhārmikēṇa [I\*] ā-ma-
- 14 dhyāhṇād=ūrdhvam=Uttarakulika-vārikāṇām chhalō n=āsti | arggha-vamchanē rūpaka-śrīyam sa-pādam saha dhārmikēṇa [I\*] mudr-āpachārē vinayō rūpakāḥ shaṭ=sā-pādāḥ saha dhārmmikēṇa | sthāvara-[vya]vahārē sāmantaḥ

<sup>1</sup> From two sets of impressions preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India.<sup>2</sup> Better read *dāpayāt* | *sarvva*.



- 15 avasitasya vinaya(yō) rūpaka-śatam-aṣṭ-ōttaram 100 8 [\*] saṁvadanē rūpakāḥ chatuṣpa-ñchāśat [\*] jayikē bhāṣhā phālāvanē chā(cha)<sup>1</sup> rūpaka-trayaṁ sa-pādam(dam) ullambanē karṇa-trōṭanē cha vinayō rūpakāḥ
- 16 sapṭavimsat(śatīḥ) [\*] vākpārushya-daṇḍapārushyayōḥ vinayē rūpakāḥ śaṭ-sa-pādāḥ [\*] kaṣṭha-darsane rūpakāḥ aṣṭāchatvāriṁśat [\*] gavām tauṇḍikē vi[m\*]śōpakāḥ pañcha | mahishyās-ta[d\*]-dviguṇam |

## Second Plate

- 17 madya-bhājanasy-āvalōkyē rūpakāḥ pañcha [\*] prathama-bhājanē dhārmī[kē] adhikāra-ṇasya rūpaka-dvaya[m] s-ārdha[m\*] rū 2½ [\*] anāpṛiṣṭvā(chchhya) sandhayatō dvitīyē-hani tad-dviguṇam dāpyaḥ [\*] surā-kara[ṇa]-
- 18 ay-āvalōkyē rūpaka-trayaṁ dhārmīkē rūpakāḥ sa-pādāḥ rāj-ārgghikayā madya-chātūrtha-dvayaṁ 2 [\*] kāmasya-dōsy-āyudhānām(nām) Ā[shā]dhi<sup>2</sup>-paurṇamāsī-bharōlaka-nirōdhēna graha-
- 19 naka-praviṣṭam bhavati | grahaṇakēṣhu daṇḍakō n-ānusaṇīyāḥ [\*] rājakiya-gaṇjē Kalva-pāla-vārikēṇa chātūrtha-śōṭi-hastēna mēyam muktva n-ānyat=[ki]mchit-karaṇīyam(yam) | nūla-kuṭy-ādānam [D]umphaḥkēna
- 20 dēyam rūpaka-trayaṁ rū 3 [\*] ikṣhu-vāṭ-ādānam rūpakāḥ dvātriṁśat rū 30 2 dhārmīkē rūpaka-dvayaṁ sa-pādam rū 2½ [\*] alla-vāṭasy-ātō-rddh-ādānam(nam) | yantra-kuṭy-ādānam rūpaka-trayaṁ rū 3 dhārmīkē rūpakāḥ
- 21 sa-pādāḥ [\*] varsha-paryyushitā vaṇījāḥ prāvēśyam śulka-ātiyātrikāṁ na dāpanīyāḥ naigga-mikāṁ dēyam(yam) | bhāṇḍa-bhṛita-vahitrasya śulka-ātiyātrikē |<sup>3</sup> rūpakāḥ dvādaśa |<sup>3</sup> rū 10 2 dhārmīkē rūpakāḥ
- 22 sa-pādāḥ rū 1½ [\*] mahish-ōṣṭra-bharakasya rūpakāḥ pañcha sa-pādāḥ rū 5½ saha dhārmīkēṇa(ṇa) | balivardd-ādānam rūpaka-dvayaṁ s-ārdham rū 2½ dhārmīkē pādāḥ ¼ [\*] gardda-bha-bharak-ādānē rūpakāḥ
- 23 sa-pādāḥ rū 1½ saha dhārmīkēṇa(ṇa) | atō-rddhēna pōṭṭalikā-sa[m]kāchitak-ādānam(nam) | ayalambakasya viṁśōpakāḥ pañcha |<sup>3</sup> ¼ [\*] pala-śatasya viṁśōpaka-dvayaṁ saha dhārmīkēṇa(ṇa) | yath-ōpari-likhita-
- 24 bhāṇḍ-ādānāt dhānyasy-ārdh-ādānam(nam) | ārdra-lakṣāyāḥ śulka-ātiyātrikē rūpakāḥ sa-pādāḥ saha dhārmīkēṇa(ṇa) rū 1½ [\*] varṇa-bhṛita-vahitrasya rūpakāḥ śaṭ sa-pādāḥ saha dhārmīkēṇa(ṇa) rū 6 [¼] [\*]
- 25 [eka]ndha-vāhyam dhānyam śulkaṁ na pradāpayēt [\*] kaṇikkā-kustambarī-rājikā- prabhṛi-ṭīnām varṇikā-graṇāṇē sētikā grāhyā | vivāha-yajñ-ōtsava-simantōnnayanēṣhu cha śulkaṁ na pradāpayēt [\*] vara-yātrāyām
- 26 śulka-ādi(ti)yā[tri]kē rūpakāḥ dvādaśa |<sup>3</sup> rū 10 [\*] paṭṭaka-dhārmīkē rūpaka-dvayaṁ sa-pādam rū 2½ [\*] madya-vahanakasy-ādānē rūpakāḥ pañcha |<sup>3</sup> rū 5 [\*] dhārmīkē rūpakāḥ sa-pādāḥ rū 1½ [¼] [\*]
- 27 kha[lla-bha]raka[śya] rūpakāḥ sa-pādāḥ saha dhārmīkēṇa(ṇa) rū 1½ [\*] kēlāyāḥ saṁkā-chitakasya cha atō-rddh-ādānam(nam) | pāda-ghaṭasya viṁśōpakāḥ pañcha | saha dhārmīkēṇa(ṇa) | kaṭu-madyē śidhu-chātūrtha-

<sup>1</sup> We may also suggest *ch=ā-rūpaka*°.

<sup>2</sup> Originally *mā* was engraved for *śā*.

<sup>3</sup> The punctuation mark is unnecessary.



First Plate

2  
 4  
 6  
 8  
 10  
 12  
 14  
 16

2  
 4  
 6  
 8  
 10  
 12  
 14  
 16

The text on the plate is written in a script that appears to be a form of Devanagari or a related Indic script. It is arranged in two columns, with the left column starting at line 2 and the right column starting at line 16. The text is highly stylized and difficult to decipher without specialized knowledge of the script.



18  
 20  
 22  
 24  
 26  
 28  
 30  
 32  
 34



- 28 trayam 3 [I\*] Chhimpaka-Kōlika-Padakārāṇām yath-ānurūpa-karmmaṇaḥ janapada-mūlyād-  
rājakulē-rdh-ādānam(nam |) Lōhakāra-Rathakāra-Nāpita-Kumbhakāra-prabhṛitinām vāri-  
kēṇa viśṭiḥ-karaṇiyā | yē ch=ānyē
- 29 [pū]rvva-valamānak-āchārās-tē=pi mayā samanujñātāḥ [I\*] yatō=nya-rājabhir=api asmad-  
vaṁśajair=anyair=vvā sāmānyam=ā-chandr-ārḥ-ārṇava-graha-nakshatra-kshiti-sthiti-sama-  
kālinam putra-pautr-ānvayam yaśaḥ-
- 30 kirtti-phalam=abhivāṁchhadbhir=idam=asmat-pradatt-ānugraha-sthiti-pātram(tram) anumō-  
daniyam pratipālaniyam ch=ēti || dūtākō=tra sandhi-vigrah-ādhikaraṇ-ādhikṛita-Bhaḍḍakāḥ  
[I\*] **Sarh 600 40 9 Śrāvaṇa-śu 5 [I\*]**
- 31 |'sva-hastāḥ śrī-Viṣṇuśeṇasya ||—
- 32 Svasti [I\*] **Da\*rpapurāt**=sāmānt-**Āvanti**ti=kuśali [sa]rvvān=ēv=ātmīyān=anyānś=cha yathā-  
sambadhyamānakān-bōdhayaty=astu vō viditāḥ yathā may=aishām<sup>1</sup>
- 33 vaṇig-grāmasya Lōhātaka-grāmē pra[ti]vasatō y=ēyam(ya)m=uparilikhitā sthiti-vyavasthā  
śrī-Viṣṇubhaṭṭena dattā sā may=āpy=anumatā [I\*] yata
- 34 āśhām=uparilikhitā-sthiti-pātra-vyavasthayā prativasatā[m] sva-paṇyēna ch=ātmānam vartta-  
yatām ṇa(na) kēnachit=paripanthanā kāry=ēti [I\*] **Sarh 300 50 7 Kārttika-ba 7 [I\*]**

### No. 31—MATHURA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF VASUDEVA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

Recently I had an opportunity of examining a few impressions of an inscription in five lines incised on the base of a stone image of the Buddha now preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Mathura as Exhibit No. 2907. The image was discovered at **Palikhra** which is a well-known ancient site about 4 miles from **Mathura**. A short note on the epigraph, with a transcript of the first three lines of writing but without any facsimile, was published in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Hyderabad, 1941, pp. 163-64. The author of the note, however, could not read the last two lines of the record and his partial transcript is also not free from errors.

The inscription is **fragmentary**, some letters at the commencement of all the five lines being broken away and lost. The preservation of lines 1-3 of the extant part of the writing is fairly satisfactory, although, even in this part of the record, a few *aksharas* are damaged or unsatisfactorily preserved. The upper part of some letters in line 4 is broken away while, in line 5, some *aksharas* are partially preserved and some altogether lost.

The **characters** of the inscription are Brāhmī as found in the epigraphs of the Kushāṇa age. The **language** is an admixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit. As regards **orthography**, the record resembles most other Brāhmī inscriptions of the Kushāṇas. It is dated in the **year 64 or 67** apparently of the Kaṇishka era which is usually identified with the Śaka-kāla of 78 A. D.<sup>2</sup> The date of the inscription therefore falls in **142 or 145 A.D.**

The first line of the inscription gives details of the date and mentions the monarch during whose reign it was engraved. This is the most important part of the record. The line begins

<sup>1</sup> The following *aksharas* are below the concluding portion of line 30 and actually stand at the end of line 32.

<sup>2</sup> The mark looking like the tail of *da* may be due to a break in the original.

<sup>3</sup> Read *aitāya*. Lines 32-33 are shorter owing to the space covered by line 31.

<sup>4</sup> *The Age of Imperial Unity (The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. II)*, pp. 144 ff.



with °*trasya Vāsudevasya*<sup>1</sup> *Sam*. The *aksharas* immediately preceding *trasya*, now lost, must have been *devapu*, *Devaputra* being a characteristic epithet of the Kushāna emperors of Kanishka's house<sup>2</sup>, to which king *Vāsudeva*, mentioned in the passage, is known to have belonged. It is possible to think that *Devaputrasya* in the line was preceded by the expression *Mahārājasya*. In the inscriptions of the Kushāna rulers of Kanishka's house, the word *Devaputra* is often preceded by *Mahārāja* and in some cases by *Mahārāja Rājātirāja*.<sup>3</sup> The *akshara Sam*, which is a contraction of the word *samvatsare*, is followed by the symbol for 60 and a unit sign which is partially damaged. This imperfectly preserved figure, however, looks more like 4 or 7 than any other numeral. Thus the inscription under study was engraved in the year 64 or 67 of the Kanishka era during the reign of the Kushāna emperor Vāsudeva. This is a very important information, supplied for the first time by the present record, as so long the earliest epigraph of Vāsudēva's reign was known to be the year 74<sup>4</sup> of the era in question, corresponding to 152 A. D. in the opinion of most scholars. Since the latest known date of Huvishka's reign is the year 60<sup>5</sup> of the same era, the intervening period between the last known date of that king and the earliest known date of Vāsudēva had so far to be reckoned as no less than fourteen years. The present inscription reduces this period to four or seven years only.

The number 64 or 67 in the date of the inscription in line 1 is followed by *varsh[ā]-māse dviti 2 divasi...* (Sanskrit *varshā-māse dvitiye 2 divase...*), the number of the day in the month being possibly incised at the beginning of the next line (line 2) and now lost. The actual date of the inscription is therefore some day in the second month of the rainy season in the year 64 or 67 of the Kanishka era. As the season in question followed the fullmoon day of the month of Āshāḍha and lasted for four months till the fullmoon of Kārttika, the second month of it corresponded to the lunar (*Pūrṇimānta*) month of Bhādra (August-September).<sup>6</sup> The actual date of our inscription was therefore a day of Bhādra in 142 or 145 A. D.

The object of the inscription is recorded in the following lines (lines 2-5), the beginning of all of which, as noticed above, is broken away. Line 2 reads : °*nam sa[rva]sha yatr-opanāna p[ū]jārtha*, although it is difficult to determine whether an *akshara* is lost at the end of it. In Sanskrit, the passage would be : °*nām sarveshām yatr-atpannānām pūjārtham*. The epithet *upana* (Sanskrit *utpanna*), i.e. 'born', seems to suggest that *nam* at the beginning of the line is the concluding part of an expression like *satvānam* (Sanskrit *sattvānām*), i.e. 'of the creatures [that were born]'. Line 3 reads : °*na parigrah[ya\*] achariyana Mahāsaghi[kā]* with possibly the *akshara nam* lost at the end. In Sanskrit, the passage would be : °*nām parigrahāya āchāryāṇām Mahāsāṅghikānām*. Barring *na(=nām)* at the beginning of the line, the passage means : 'for the acceptance of the teachers of the Mahāsāṅghika community'.<sup>7</sup> The arrangement of words in this part of the record would suggest that *na* at the beginning of line 3 is the remnant of a word in the sixth case-ending plural, which should have to be read with *pūjārtha* at the end of the previous line. It may be conjectured that the complete passage read something like *pūjārtha [sarva-Buddhā]na* (Sanskrit *pūjārtham sarva-Buddhānām*), 'for the adoration of all the Buddhas'.<sup>8</sup> Consequently it would appear that a lost word at the beginning of line 2, to be read along with the

<sup>1</sup> Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this article.

<sup>2</sup> *The Age of Imperial Unity*, op. cit., p. 141.

<sup>3</sup> *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 134, 141, 152; also pp. 135, 144, 147.

<sup>4</sup> Liders' List, No. 60.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 56.

<sup>6</sup> *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 63, 119n, 122, 134n; *JRASB*, Vol. XIV, p. 118.

<sup>7</sup> The Mahāsāṅghikas represented a reformist group that seceded from the orthodox Buddhist Saṅgha at the Second Council held in the third century B. C. See *Mahāvamsa*, V. For their mention in Kushāna inscriptions, cf. *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 154, etc.

<sup>8</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 117, 120, 129, etc.



proposed *satvānam* (Sanskrit *sattvānām*), may have been *puṇyam*, 'religious merit', although it would imply a rather poetic arrangement of words in this section. It should, however, be noticed that the lost word in the sixth case-ending plural at the beginning of line 3 makes the arrangement of words equally poetic if *pūjārtha* is read with *satvānam sarvasha yatr=opanāna*. Moreover it would make *yatra* in the above passage in line 2 quite meaningless. We therefore propose to fill up the lacunae in lines 2-3 as follows : [*puṇyam satvā*]nam *sarvasha yatr=opanāna pūjārtha* [*sarva-Buddhā*]na *parigrahā[ya\*] achariyana Mahāsaghi[kānam]*. In Sanskrit, the passage would be : *puṇyam sattvānām sarveshām yatr=otpannānām pūjārtham sarva-Buddhānām parigrahāya āchāryānām Mahāsāṅghikānām*. The concluding lines of the inscription, as will be seen below, speak of the pious work of a person, which, according to lines 2-3 as read by us, was intended 'for the acceptance of the teachers of the Mahāsāṅghika community', which was done 'with a view to honouring all the Buddhas', and 'for which the merit was intended to go to all the creatures born [up till then]'. The use of *yatra* with reference to a pious deed cannot be regarded as improbable in view of the use of *atra* in a similar context in such epigraphic passages as *ya chatra puṇya tam Devaputrasya Shāhisya Huviṣkasya* (Sanskrit *yat cha atra puṇyam tat Devaputrasya Shāhēḥ Huviṣkasya*).<sup>1</sup>

Line 4 begins with : *⁰nasya pratama sagaha*. The upper part of the letters is broken away. We are inclined to suggest : *⁰nisya pratimā sagihā*. There is little doubt that *nīsyā* is the concluding part of a word like *Śākyamunisya* (Sanskrit *Śākyamuneḥ*), which may or may not have been preceded by the word *bhagavato* (Sanskrit *bhagavataḥ*). The passage thus refers to an image of the Śākyamuni (i.e. Buddha). The word *sagihā* seems to stand for Sanskrit *sa-grihā*. The passage [*Śākyamu*]nisya *pratimā sa-gihā* (Sanskrit *Śākyamuneḥ pratimā sa-grihā*) would mean : 'an image of the Śākyamuni (Buddha) together with a shrine [for it]'. The person responsible for the setting up of the image of the Buddha therefore also constructed a *griha* or shrine for installing it therein. The following word *mātā-pitrēya* stands for Sanskrit *mātā-pitribhyām* [*saha*] and shows that the person responsible for the construction of the Buddha image and the shrine did the work with the help and goodwill of his parents.<sup>2</sup> It may also be suggested that the word intended is *mātā-pitrīnām* to be read with the following words in the sixth case-ending. The reading of the next word, which is in the sixth case-ending plural, is doubtful; but it seems to be on a par with the word *kuṭumbikānam* in the next line (line 5). The doubtful word may be *abhāsitanam* (Sanskrit *abhāśitānām*) indicating persons who are referred to in the following words but are not specifically mentioned. It may possibly also indicate a locality where the family of the person responsible for the image and the shrine resided.

Line 5, which begins and ends with traces of some damaged *aksharas*, reads : *k[u]l[u]bikānam Guhasene[na]* (Sanskrit *kuṭumbikānām Guhasenena*) which was apparently followed by a word like *pratiṣṭhāpitā* (Sanskrit *pratiṣṭhāpitā*). The image of the Buddha was therefore installed in the shrine mentioned in line 4 by Guhasena who belonged to a family of *kuṭumbikas*, probably agriculturist householders.

### TEXT<sup>3</sup>

1 ..... trasya<sup>4</sup> Vāsudevasya Sa[m] 60 [4 or 7] Varsh[ā]-māse dvitī<sup>5</sup> 2 divasi<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 146.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 132, 148, etc.

<sup>3</sup> From estampages.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently *Devaputrasya* which may have been preceded by a symbol followed by *Mahārājasya*.

<sup>5</sup> This is a contraction of Sanskrit *dvitīye*.

<sup>6</sup> Sanskrit; *divase*. The number following this word seems to be lost at the beginning of the next line.



- 2 ..... nam<sup>1</sup> sa[rva]sha yatr=opanāna<sup>2</sup> p[ū]jārtha<sup>3</sup>  
 3 ..... na<sup>4</sup> parigrahā[ya\*] achariyana Mahāsaghikā<sup>5</sup>  
 4 ..... [nī]sya<sup>6</sup> prat[i]m[ā]<sup>7</sup> sa-g[i]h[ā]<sup>8</sup> mātā-pitrēṇa<sup>9</sup> abha[s]i[ta]nam<sup>10</sup>  
 5 .... k[u]ṭ[ub]hikānam<sup>11</sup> [Guha]sene[na] .....<sup>12</sup>

## No. 32—SOBHARAMPUR PLATE OF DAMODARADEVA, SAKA 1158

(1 Plate)

AHMAD HASAN DANI, DACCA

This copper-plate was discovered in the village of *Śōbhārāmpur*, P. S. Burichong, District Tippera, by Maulavi Mohammad Ibrahim. While he was digging out earth from a vacant portion of his homestead situated in C. S. Plot No. 608 in J. L. No. 42, he found a brick-work about a cubit below the surface of the earth. That brick-work was broken by him out of curiosity and the plate was discovered inside it.

When I was Superintendent of Archaeology, Eastern Pakistan Circle, I went to Comilla on official tour and there I came to learn through the courtesy of Mr. Ali Ahmed, teacher in the Zilla School, Comilla, about the discovery of the plate. At once the matter was reported to the District Magistrate of Tippera, through whose kind efforts the plate was acquired under the Treasure Trove Act and handed over to me.

This is a **single plate** measuring 10½" by 9" with a thickness of about ½". The upper edge has in the middle a 2" long semicircular projection, containing the royal emblem. The plate bears a Sanskrit inscription of the 13th century A. D., consisting of 35 lines, 22 engraved on the obverse and 13 on the reverse. The emblem on the present plate occupies a position different from that of the Chittagong<sup>13</sup> and Mehar<sup>14</sup> plates of Dāmōdaradēva. The human figure on the plate under study occurs on the reverse, while on the obverse is carved the simple double-lined disc of the sun set within a double-lined crescent. There is no pedestal as we find in the Mehar plate and the sun is also not rayed. On the whole, though the crescent is well drawn, the circle of the disc is crudely outlined. The design on the reverse seems to tally with the figures of the Mehar plate; but the drawing is not clear-cut. In the Mehar plate one can clearly distinguish one figure fallen prostrate on the ground with the right leg drawn in and face turned up, and the other figure sitting on the back of the fallen man, with his left hand holding the latter's hair and the right hand raised

<sup>1</sup> Possibly we have to suggest *satvānam* (Sanskrit *satvānām*).

<sup>2</sup> Sanskrit : *sarvēśhām yatr=ōlpannānām*.

<sup>3</sup> Sanskrit : *pūjārtham*. An *akshara* may have been lost at the end of the line.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly we have to suggest *sarva-Buddhāna* (Sanskrit *sarva-Buddhānām*).

<sup>5</sup> Sanskrit : *āchāryānām Mahāsāghikānām*. The *akshara nam* is possibly lost at the end of the line.

<sup>6</sup> Probably we have to suggest *Śākyamunisya* (Sanskrit *Śākyamunēḥ*) which may have been preceded by *bhagavato*. Traces of the *akshara mu* appear to exist before *ni*.

<sup>7</sup> The damaged *akshara* read as *tī* looks more like *kte*.

<sup>8</sup> Sanskrit : *sa-grihā*.

<sup>9</sup> Sanskrit : *mātā-pitribhyām [saha] or mātā-pitrēṇām*.

<sup>10</sup> This may be Sanskrit *abhāshitānām*. There appear to be traces of a letter like *ḍ* or *ḥ* at the end of the line.

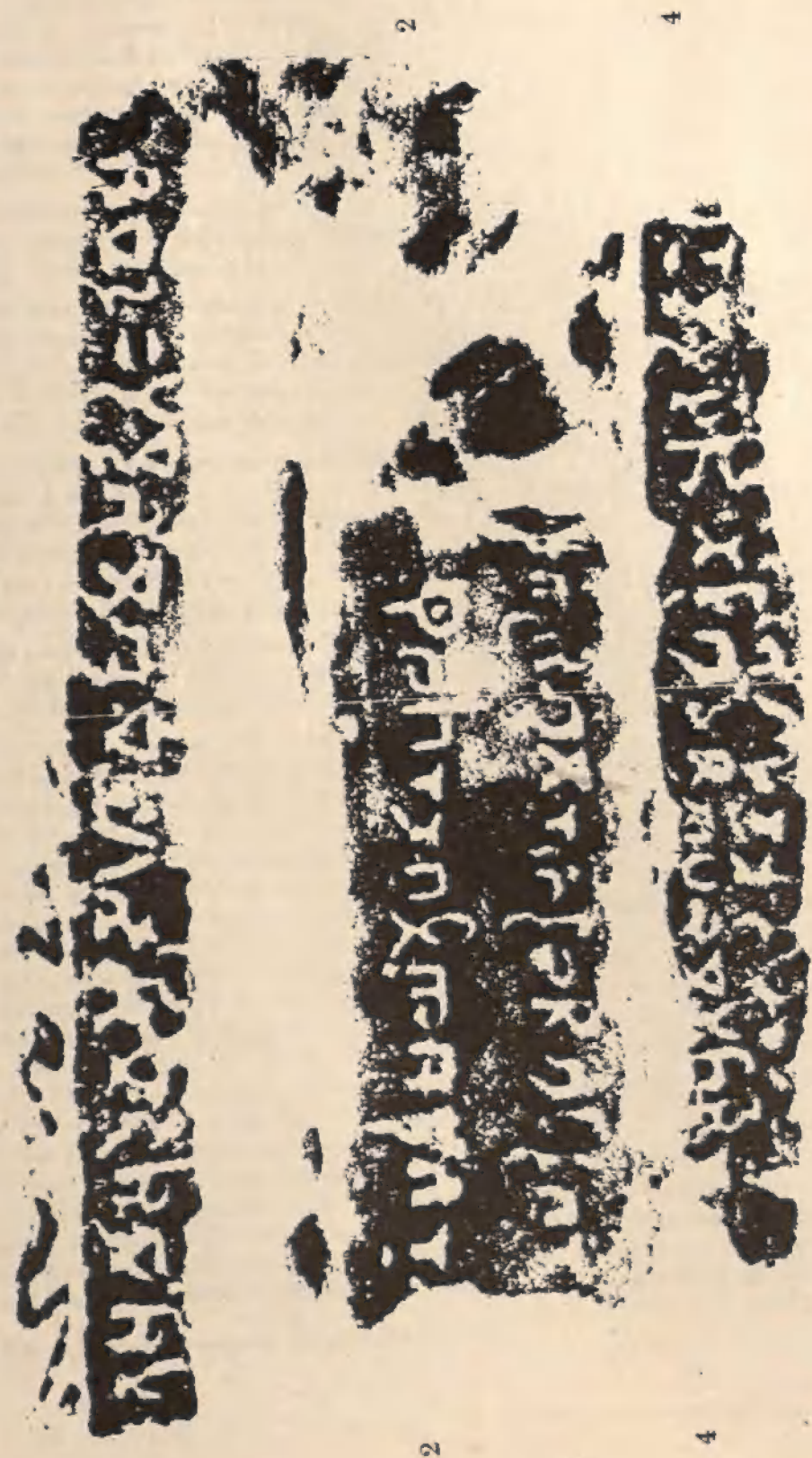
<sup>11</sup> Sanskrit : *kuṭumbikānām*.

<sup>12</sup> Apparently a word like *pratīṣṭhāpitā* is lost here.

<sup>13</sup> *JASB*, Vol. XLIII (1874), part i, pp. 318-24, and Plate VIII.

<sup>14</sup> Above, XXVII, pp. 182-191.

MATHURA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF VASUDEVA



SCALE: THREE-FOURTHS





aloft probably with the intention of striking. The suggestion that the scene represents a wrestling duel between Kṛishṇa and the demon Chāṇūra is plausible. In the present plate, the person below seems to be on his legs and his body is being squeezed between the legs of the man above, whose right hand is raised aloft while the left is drawn at the side. The head and the upper portion of this man is crudely drawn. On the other hand, the Chittagong plate shows one person being carried by another, obviously suggesting Viṣṇu riding on Garuḍa. It is difficult to say why these different forms were adopted by Dāmōdaradēva, although they point to the Vaiṣṇava leaning of the dynasty.

That Dāmōdaradēva<sup>1</sup> who issued the grant professed the Vaiṣṇava faith<sup>1</sup> is suggested by the opening verse which praises the wonderful deed performed by the nails of Viṣṇu's hands in tearing asunder the chest of the demon-chief (Hīraṇyakaśipu).

The date of the charter is given in the first line : *Śakābdāḥ 1158* (1236 A.D.) while the actual date of execution of the grant is stated in the last line on the reverse as : *vijaya-rājyē Saṃvat 6 sūryya-gatyā Āshāḍha-dinē 15*, i.e. the 15th day of Āshāḍha of the solar reckoning in the 6th year of his victorious reign. The present record is, therefore, two years later than the Mehar plate and seven years earlier than the Chittagong plate.

As regards palaeography and orthography, the present record closely resembles the Chittagong and Mehar plates. Some minor differences may be pointed out. The forms of *j* and *g* can be distinguished only by the horizontal stroke over the former. *P* in the Chittagong and Mehar plates looks like the modern Bengali *p*, while in the present plate it comes closer to *y*. Angularity is more pronounced in the letters like *s* and *r*. There is no difference in the signs of the *aksharas* *ndha*, *nvz*, *ttā* and *nu*.

The language is Sanskrit and the composition is partly in verse and partly in prose. The verses containing the *Dēva māṅgala*, the genealogical and grant portions, and the usual imprecation come first and are followed by the prose part giving details of the grant.

The inscription begins with a symbol, which probably stands for *Siddham*. This symbol is followed by the *Pranava*. Then, as in the Chittagong plate, the year of the issue is stated after the auspicious words *śubham=astu*. The first verse is in praise of Viṣṇu's sharp nails, which tore asunder the chest of the demon-chief (Hīraṇyakaśipu). The second verse praises the Moon, from whom sprang the line of **Purushōttama**, the progenitor of the Dēva dynasty. In the Mehar plate he is called *dēv-ānvaya-grāmaṇī*, i.e. 'leader of the Dēva family'. Therefore, it is reasonable to hold that he was only a *grāmaṇī* and not a ruler. His son, **Madhumathana**, is called 'lord of the earth' and *Dēva-vaṁś-ōdadh-indu*, i.e. 'Moon in the ocean of the Dēva dynasty', and is credited with having 'snatched away the wealth of the enemies in war'. These epithets distinctly show that Madhumathana waged successful wars against his contemporaries and probably carved for himself a principality. He is called *nṛpati* in the Chittagong plate. His son, **Vāsudēva**, is also called 'lord of the earth', and a great 'archer'. From the Mehar plate he is known to be 'versed in all the *sāstras*, and foremost in military skill'. In the Chittagong plate, he is described as one 'whose feet were rubbed by the foreheads of princes bowing down to him in homage'. These words show that Vāsudēva imposed his authority over the neighbouring chiefs, and thus led the way for the rise of his son, **Dāmōdaradēva**, born of his queen, *Mitrādēvi*. Dāmōdaradēva was 'well versed in polity', and also bore the title of *Gajapati*. He is said to have caused 'contraction (or dejection) to the lotus-like faces of heroic enemy kings'. In the Chittagong plate he is called 'overlord of all kings', and in verses 4 and 5 of the same plate he is said to have defeated many kings and brought them under subjection. In the Mehar plate also he bears the title of *Gajapati*,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 159.



and probably in allusion to it, in verse 6, his 'column of the best elephants, well-equipped in battle-array' is highly spoken of. The other suggestive title that he assumes in that plate is *Arirāja-Chāṇūra-Mādhava*. The editors of the plate have rightly pointed out that this *biruda* 'cannot but remind us of similar *birudas* assumed by Viśvarūpasēna and Kēśavasēna in their inscriptions and applied by them to their three predecessors—Vijayasēna, Vallālasēna and Lakshmaṇasēna'. The assumption of these titles suggests that Dāmōdaradēva came into conflict with the Sēna ruler of Vaṅga, and was probably able to win these titles for himself; or, at any rate, Dāmōdaradēva considered himself strong enough to assume these titles in opposition to the Sēnas. But strange it is to note that Dāmōdaradēva adopts these titles in the fourth year of his reign, i.e. in 1234 A. D., while in the present plate, issued in the year 1236 A.D., only the title *Gajapati* is retained, and in the Chittagong plate dated 1243 A.D., both these titles are dropped. Does it imply that Dāmōdaradēva suffered a set-back towards the close of his reign? The answer cannot be definitely given in the present state of our knowledge. The inscriptions of Dāmōdaradēva, at least, do not speak of any loss of territory.

Another information that we get from the present plate is the name of Dāmōdaradēva's minister, **Gautamadatta**, who is given the title of *mudr-ādihikāri-sachiva*, and is said to be 'devoted to the feet of Śrī-Gautama'. Here, Gautama probably refers to the Buddha, and hence the minister was perhaps a Buddhist. It was through his request that the present grant was made by the king to the Brāhmaṇas. The fact clearly shows the spirit of toleration then prevalent in East Bengal.

The plate records the grant of three adjoining villages, viz. **Sundaraya**, **Āhaśyaga**<sup>1</sup> and **Vāṇḍura** together with 15 *drōṇas* of homestead land. The boundaries of the villages are given. They lay in the **Chhātihara khaṇḍala**, comprised within the **Miḍilli vishaya** in the **Samatāṭa maṇḍala** within the **Paunḍravardhana bhukti**. The gift villages cannot be definitely identified. Śobhārāmpur, the find-spot of the present plate, may represent one of the villages, as the plate was discovered inside a brick-work about a cubit below the surface of the earth. This conjecture receives support from the fact that adjacent to it lies a village called Sundram, which recalls the name of Sundaraya. If this identification is correct, then Chhātihara-khaṇḍala lay in P.S. Burichong, and Miḍilli vishaya indicated a larger administrative division including Burichong. Therefore, Samatāṭa maṇḍala, which comprised this vishaya as well as the Paralāyi vishaya of the Mehar plate, included the greater part of the Tippera District of East Pakistan.

The donees are two Brāhmaṇas, Kauśika and Dēvarāta, of the Agnivēśya *gōtra*. The villages were granted along with the right of enjoying barren lands, waters and fields. Besides, 15 *drōṇas* of homestead land were also given; but the exact location of this land cannot be made out.

At the end I must express my indebtedness to Mr. D. K. Chakravarti of the V.R. Museum, Rajshahi, for cleaning the plate; to the Director of Archaeology, Pakistan, for permission to publish it; to Mr. S. C. Banerji of the Dacca University and Dr. N. P. Chakravarti for some suggestions in deciphering the plate.

#### TEXT<sup>2</sup>

[Metres : verse 1 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; verses 2, 6, 8-11 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 3 *Upajāti*; verse 4 *Srag-dharā*; verses 5, 7 *Vasantatilaka*; verse 12 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

#### Obverse

1 सिद्धम्<sup>3</sup> ॐ शुभमस्तु [॥\*] शकाब्दाः (ब्दाः) ११५८ [१\*] ये लक्ष्मीस्तन-  
लालनाविधि-

<sup>1</sup> [See below, p. 188, note 2.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> From the original plate and photograph.

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by a symbol.



[illegible]





24	महती यद्वत्तायाद्वत्तयव्यं यविधायी लमिहं ॥ १ ॥	24
26	नाहि ॥ २ ॥ यद्वत्तायाद्वत्तयव्यं यविधायी लमिहं ॥ २ ॥	26
28	नाहि ॥ ३ ॥ यद्वत्तायाद्वत्तयव्यं यविधायी लमिहं ॥ ३ ॥	28
30	नाहि ॥ ४ ॥ यद्वत्तायाद्वत्तयव्यं यविधायी लमिहं ॥ ४ ॥	30
32	नाहि ॥ ५ ॥ यद्वत्तायाद्वत्तयव्यं यविधायी लमिहं ॥ ५ ॥	32
34	नाहि ॥ ६ ॥ यद्वत्तायाद्वत्तयव्यं यविधायी लमिहं ॥ ६ ॥	34



- 2 विदः संसारव(ब)न्वच्छिदः सेवाप्रह्वजनोपकारमुद्ध<sup>1</sup>दो दैत्ये-  
 3 न्द्रवक्षोभिदः [1\*] दैत्यारेः कर्जाङ्कुरास्त्रिजगतां सर्वस्य संर-  
 4 क्षणव्यापारैकपरायणस्य परितः कु<sup>2</sup>न्तश्चियः पान्तु वः ॥ [1\*]  
 5 शशी तनोतु पीयूषरसमुल्लासयं जगत्<sup>3</sup> [1\*] कामिनीजनकन्दर्पद-  
 6 पंगः शिवभूषणः ॥ [2\*] तदन्वावाये पुरु<sup>4</sup>षोत्तमोऽभूदभूतपूर्व-  
 7 प्रथितैककीर्तिः [1] भूतिर्यदीया सु<sup>5</sup>र<sup>6</sup>\*नाग<sup>7</sup>मानुषैर्युगान्तपर्य्य-  
 8 न्तमिवो<sup>8</sup>पजीव्यते ॥ [3\*] तत्पुत्रोऽभूद्वरायाः पतिरतिभुवनो दे-  
 9 ववंशोदधीन्दुद्वन्द्वकृष्टद्विषच्छ्रीमंथु(धु)मथन इति ख्यातकी-  
 10 र्त्तिप्रतानः [1] यस्य श्रीवासुदेवोऽभवदमलयशाः सूनुरात्तर्धि-  
 11 वेषो<sup>9</sup> धन्वी श्रीमित्रदेवीपतिरवनिपतिः कान्तिकान्द<sup>10</sup>र्पमूर्तिः ॥ [4\*]  
 12 तस्योभयान्वयश(स)रोजविकाशिशूरः शूरारिभूपं(प)कुमुदाननकु<sup>11</sup>-  
 13 ञ्चनाचिंः [1\*] दारिद्रगाढतिमिरक्षयकृत्करः श्री[दा]मोदरो ग-  
 14 जपतिः तनयो<sup>12</sup> नयज्ञः ॥ [5\*] यस्य दोर्दण्डमुद्दण्ड . . . . .  
 15 पंयेत् [1\*] त्रियुगीकृतशीर्णानि पदानि पदमुन्नयन् ॥<sup>10</sup> [6\*] मुद्राधिका-  
 16 रि<sup>11</sup>सचिवातिविशुद्धवु(बु)द्धिः\*] श्रीगौतमांघ्रिपरगौतमदत्तना-  
 17 मा<sup>12</sup> [1\*] अभ्यर्चितोऽवनिपतिः स ददौ द्विजाभ्यां ग्रामत्रयान्तमि-<sup>13</sup>  
 18 लितं विधिवत् स्वशासनं(नम्) ॥ [7\*]<sup>14</sup> अग्निवेश्यसगोत्राभ्यां द्वि[जाभ्यां]

<sup>1</sup> Read *sukha*. [The correct reading is *śukhrīdō*.—D.C.S.]

<sup>2</sup> I am obliged to Dr. D. C. Sircar for the correct reading of this letter.

<sup>3</sup> [Read *yañ=jagat*.—D.C.S.]

<sup>4</sup> The letters, though dim in the photograph, are quite clear in the original.

<sup>5</sup> The three letters are much corroded.

<sup>6</sup> [The correct reading is *m=ih°=ō*.—D.C.S.]

<sup>7</sup> In the original plate, the *ś-mātrā* of *vē* looks like *i-mātrā*; but the same mark occurs before *śha* which is also followed by a vertical stroke. The reading in the latter case seems to be *śhō*. The top mark in both the letters is probably a mistake. Hence, the first letter is read as *vē* and not *vi*. [The correct reading is *āt-ādhividyō*.—D.C.S.]

<sup>8</sup> I am indebted to Dr. D. C. Sircar for the correct reading of this passage.

<sup>9</sup> Read *Gajapatis=tanayō*.

<sup>10</sup> The meaning of this verse is not clear. [The reference here is to Dharma. The *akṣaras* *°rpayāt* seem to be a mistake for *°rpayat*.—D.C.S.]

<sup>11</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Sircar for the correct reading of this designation.

<sup>12</sup> [The correct reading is *nāmnā*. The insertion of a *visarga* after *buddhi* in line 16 is wrong.—D.C.S.]

<sup>13</sup> [The correct reading is *°trayan=tv*.—D.C.S.]

<sup>14</sup> The metre is *Vasantatilakā*; but one syllable is in excess in the last *pāda*.



- 19 वास्तुभूयुतान् [1\*] कौशिकदेवराताभ्यां द्रोणान् पञ्चदशावनेः ॥ [८\*]  
 20 [दत्त्वा] ॐ ॐ ॐ — [ग्रामं लो]लमालोक्य जीवितं [1\*] सोऽयाचत् पालनं  
 21 [भूमे]र्भाविभूपान् कृताञ्जलिः ॥ [९\*] व(ब)हुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राज-  
 22 [भिः सगरादिभिः] [1\*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः तस्य<sup>1</sup> तस्य तदा  
 फलम् ॥ [१०\*]

## Reverse

- 23 स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुन्धरां(राम्) [1\*] स विष्ठायां कृमिभूत्वा पि-  
 24 तृभिः सह पच्यते ॥ [११\*] इति कमलदलाम्बु(बु)विन्दुलोलां श्रियम-  
 25 नुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च [1\*] सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च बु(बु)द्धा(द्धा) न हि  
 26 पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः ॥ [१२\*] पौण्ड्य(ण्ड्)वर्द्धनभुक्त्यन्तःपाति-  
 27 समतटमण्डले मिडिल्लीविषयप्रतिवर्द्ध<sup>2</sup>च्छातिहरखण्ड-  
 28 लीयसुन्दरयाहश्यग<sup>3</sup>वाण्डुरग्रामत्रयान्तमिलित(तं) पूर्वं वाण्डु-  
 29 रजंघालि[:\*] दक्षिणे वारजिकगुणोगृहवाटी सुन्दरयपुष्क-  
 30 रिणीपश्चिमपाटकाद्धं उत्तरपाटसहित[:\*] पश्चिमे राज-  
 31 जंघालि[:\*] उत्तरे [ताणराखाला]सीम एवं चतुःसीमावच्छिन्न(न्नं) सो-  
 32 षरं [सजलस्थलं] भूच्छिद्रन्यायेन ताम्रशासनोक्त्य तेन राज्ञा  
 33 प्रदत्ता [1\*] यत्तु ग्राम [ण्ड<sup>4</sup>मर] . . . [पाडायां . . रा<sup>5</sup>लिग्रा]यी स[1\*]-  
 द्वेपा[दै]-<sup>6</sup>  
 34 क[भू]मिं ताम्रशासनी[कृत्य श्रीश्रीमद्भ्यां] प्रदत्ता यत् स वास्तु<sup>7</sup> भू  
 द्रो<sup>8</sup> १५ [1\*]  
 35 [एवं] . . . . विजयराज्ये सम्बत् ६ सूर्य्यगत्या आषाढदिने १५ [11\*]

<sup>1</sup> Read *bhūmis=tasya*.<sup>2</sup> Read *pratibaddha*.<sup>3</sup> [The reading seems to be *Sundaraya-Diśāg*.—D.C.S.]<sup>4</sup> [The correct reading is *pradattam(ittam)*. | *yatra grāma* 3.—D.C.S.]<sup>5</sup> [The reading may be . . . *grāma-mā(ma)dhyē Rō*.—D.C.S.]<sup>6</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Sircar for the correct reading of this expression.<sup>7</sup> [The correct reading is *yatra sa-vāstu*.—D.C.S.]<sup>8</sup> *Bhū° drō°* obviously stands for *bhūmēb drōṇāb*; cf. line 19 above.

## No. 33—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM JAIPUR DISTRICT

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

About the end of 1952 and the beginning of the following year, I was travelling in various parts of Madhya Bhārat and Rājasthān in search of inscriptions. In the course of that tour, I visited Jaipur, headquarters of both the State of Rājasthān and the District of Jaipur (old Jaipur State), in January 1953. There are no inscriptions among the exhibits of the Jaipur Museum; but Dr. S. P. Srivastava, Chief Superintendent of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Rājasthān, was kind enough to allow me to examine some old impressions of epigraphic records that are preserved in that museum. These inscriptions were mostly copied from different parts of the Jaipur District of Rājasthān; but the findspots of many of them could not be determined. In the following pages I edit two of the inscriptions, impressions of which were kindly supplied to me by Dr. Srivastava. My thanks are due to him for this act of kindness as well as to Mr. U. C. Bhattacharya, Curator of the Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer, for a few informations, and to Pandit A. K. Vyas, Superintendent of Archaeology and Museums, Udaipur (Rājasthān), for some suggestions.

1. *Inscription of the time of Allāvādina ('Alāuddīn), V. S. 1362*

This is a stone inscription in seven lines, the last of which has only two letters. The space covered by the writing measures  $31\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length and  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height. The inscribed stone must have belonged to a step-well; but its findspot is unknown to me.

The characters, which are neatly and carefully engraved, are Nāgarī. The lines of writing have each a double *daṇḍa* at both ends. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Little calls for special remark as regards the palaeography and orthography of the record with the exception of the fact that *ḥ* has been indicated by the sign for *v* and *kḥ* by that of *śh*. The date of the inscription is given as Samvat 1362, Phālguna-vadi 12, Thursday, Uttarāshāḍhā-nakshatra, Varīyān yōga, which is stated to have fallen in the victorious reign of mahārājādhirāja śrīmad-Allāvādina, 'the destroyer of the pride of all kings'. The date seems to correspond to Thursday, February 10, 1306 A. D., taking the month to be Pūrṇimānta. On that date *kṛishṇa-dvādāśī* began at '33 of the day and Uttarāshāḍhā-nakshatra at '16.

The object of the inscription, which begins with an adoration to Jagajjananī, 'the mother of the world', is to record the construction of a *vāpī* or step-well by two brothers, named Bhōjadēva and Padmasinhadēva, who belonged to the Chāhamāna (i.e. Chāhamāna or Chauhān) family. They are stated to have been the sons of Gōpatidēva (from Gōpati's wife Dharmādēvī), grandsons of Dhēnūdēva and great-grandsons of Mādhūdēva. Bhōjadēva (possibly also his brother Padmasinha) is described as Mahā-Khaḍgadhara. The record was written by Śivarāja, called Vyāsa. The expression *khaḍgadhara* means 'a swordsman'; but in inscriptions we have the official designation *Khaḍgagrāha* or *Khaḍgaraksha*<sup>1</sup> which has been interpreted as 'a clan of body-guards carrying swords'. *Khaḍgadhara* of the inscription under study seems to be a similar official designation, although the real status of Chāhamāna Bhōjadēva can hardly be determined. The eulogistic description of the imperial ruler Allāvādina in the present inscription as *samasta-bhūpāla-mānamarddāna*, which does not look like a casual reference to the lord of the land, may suggest that Bhōjadēva was in the service of the Muslim conquerors of Rājasthān. Vyāsa was the official designation of Brāhmaṇas employed by the Rājput kings for reciting and explaining the epics and the Purāṇas. It is still the family name of many Brāhmaṇas of Rājasthān. Apparently the

<sup>1</sup> N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 853 (text line 18); Vogel, *Antiquities of the Chamba State*, pp. 127 f.



same official or professional position is also indicated by the epithet *Paurāṇika* applied to Vaijāditya, a courtier of Chāhamāna Hammīra (1238-1301 A.D.) of Raṇastambhapura (Ranthambhor), in the Balvan (Kotah District, Rājasthān) stone inscription.<sup>1</sup>

*Allāvādina* is a Sanskritised form of the Muslim name 'Alāuddīn and undoubtedly refers to 'Alāuddīn Khajī (1296-1316 A.D.), Sultān of Delhi. It is well known that the imperial Chāhamānas who had their capital at Sākambharī (modern Sambhar in the Jaipur District) were overthrown by the Turkish Musalmans about the close of the twelfth century.<sup>2</sup> A member of the fallen house is known to have accepted the suzerainty of the Musalmans and many smaller chiefs must have done the same. During the weak rule of the successors of Sultān Iltutmish (1211-36 A.D.), a branch of the Chāhamāna dynasty established a powerful kingdom with its headquarters at Raṇastambhapura.<sup>3</sup> The Khalji Sultān 'Alāuddīn killed king Hammīradēva of this line and conquered the fort of Raṇastambhapura in 1301 A.D. Minor chiefs of the Chāhamāna lineage, like those mentioned in our record, must have then acknowledged the suzerainty of the Sultān. But even before the overthrow of Hammīradēva, there were Chāhamāna partisans on the Sultān's side. Thus Bhōja, described as a natural brother and general of Hammīra, joined the Muslim side according to Nayaobandra's *Hammīramahākāvya*.<sup>4</sup> This Bhōja, however, seems to be different from the Chāhamāna chief of that name mentioned in the inscription under study.

#### TEXT<sup>5</sup>

- 1 [Siddham\*] || Svasti || Śrī-Jagajjananyai namaḥ || **Saṁvat 1362 Varshē Phālguna-vadi**  
**tatkāla-dvādaśī 12 Guru-** ||
- 2 || **dinē Uttarāshāḍhā-nakshatrē Makara--sthītē charṇdrē Variyā'-nāma-yōgē**  
**saṁasta-bhūpāla-māna-marḍana-mahā-** ||
- 3 || **rājādhirāja-śrīmad-Allāvādina-vijaya-rājyē mahāsha(kha)ḍgadhara-śrī-Bhōjadēvō va(ba)-**  
**bhūva | tasya pūrvva-** ||
- 4 || **jaḥ Chāhumān-ānvayē śrīmān-Māḍh[ū]dēvō va(ba)bhūva [\*] tasmād=dhīmān Dhēnūdēvaḥ**  
**saṁjātaḥ [\*] tasmād=Gōpa-** ||
- 5 || **tidēvaḥ puṇya-karmā jātaḥ [\*] tasya bhāryā Dharmādēvī va(ba)bhūva [\*] tasyām mahā-**  
**sha(kha)ḍgadhara-śrī-Bhōjadēva-Padma-** ||
- 6 || **saṁbadēvau putrau jātau [\*] trā(tā)bhīyām-iyām vāpi puṇyāya yaśasē cha kārītā | Vyāsa-**  
**Śivarājēna li-**
- 7 [khitaṁ\*(tam) ||]

#### 2. *Toḍā-Rāising Inscription of the time Asalema-Sāhi (Islām Shāh) ; V. S. 1604, Śaka 1469*

The inscription\* was briefly noticed by Daya Ram Sahni in his *Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Sambhar*, p. 8. Unfortunately the notice is rather misleading, as Sahni failed to

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 45-52.

<sup>2</sup> Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 1096 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1094 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1100.

<sup>5</sup> From an impression.

\* Expressed by a symbol which is damaged.

\* The correct name of the *Yōga* is *Variyān*.

\* These two *akṣaras*, standing below the last three letters of the previous line (line 6), are almost cut off in the impression.

\* As the inscription is partly written in a dialect of Hindi, in which the vowels *e* and *o* are often short, macron over these vowels is not used in this section even in transliterating passages in Sanskrit. This is to avoid confusion. See above, Vol. XXIX, p. 106, note 2.









realise the importance of the record. The inscribed stone was found on a step-well called Gaṇeśa-bāvaḍī (°bāwṛī) at Toḍā-Rāising (Toṛā Rāya-simha) in the Jaipur District of Rājasthān about 16 miles to the north of Deoli and 20 miles to the south-west of Tonk. The inscription contains seventeen lines of writing, although two of these lines have to be read actually as four as the first half of both of them belong to a supplement. The inscribed space covers an area about 14½ inches in length and 11½ inches in breadth.

The characters of the inscription are Nāgarī of the ordinary type. The sign for *v* has been used to indicate *b* as in the record edited above. In a few cases (cf. *rāva=rāv=rāv* in line 8; *Bhiva=Bhiw* in line 14, etc.), however, the letter *v* has been distinguished by the addition of a dot apparently to signify a modification in the pronunciation. This has been transliterated in our transcript by *w*. The single *daṇḍa* standing for a mark of interpunctuation is often placed so close to the preceding *akshara* as to look exactly like an *ā-mātrā*. The record is partly written in Sanskrit and partly in a dialect of Hindi. We have transliterated the Hindi words as they have been written and not as they are pronounced; e.g. we have quoted a word as *bahuta* and not as *bahut*. The Hindi part of the inscription contains some Arabic and Persian words, e.g. *Pātisāha* (Persian *Pādshāh* or *Pādishāh*, of which the popular *Bādshāh* is an Arabic corruption), *khāsama* or *khāsamu* (Arabic *khāṣam*), *kārāgara* (Persian *kārigar*; cf. Marāṭhī *kārāgir*). An orthographic peculiarity of the inscription is the representation of class nasals by the *anusvāra* and, in most cases, of *kḥ* and *t* respectively by *sh* and *s*. The spelling of names like *Narāiṇa* (Sanskrit *Nārāyaṇa*), *Parasarāma* (Sanskrit *Parasurāma*), *Udayasimha* (Sanskrit *Udayasimha*), etc., is interesting. The Muhammadan names *Sher Shāh* and *Islām Shāh* (sometimes spelt *Islīm Shāh*) have been written as *Sera Sāhi* and *Asalema Sāhi* respectively. In the words *saṁvatu* (line 4) and *khāsamu* (lines 11-12), the medial *u* substitutes the mark indicating a half consonant probably due to a peculiarity of the local pronunciation. In *prasādāt* (line 1), however, the half *t* has been written in the usual way. The linguistic peculiarities exhibited by the inscription are noticed in the western dialects of Hindi. The genitive suffixes used are *kau* (i.e. *ko*, masculine singular; cf. *sāhikau*, line 10; *bhūmikau* and *lākha 11 kau=11 lākhakau*, line 11), *kī* (feminine singular; cf. *vāikī*, line 17) and *kai* (i.e. *ke*; cf. *vāikai*, line 19).<sup>1</sup> In *vārau* (i.e. *vāro*, line 11) and *rāṇau* (i.e. *rāṇo*, line 12), the nominative singular case-ending *au* has been added to words of the masculine gender ending in *a* or *ā*.<sup>2</sup> In the passage *Mevāḍyai nāṇai* (line 18), the locative singular case-ending *ai* (i.e. *e*) has been suffixed to words ending in *ā*.<sup>3</sup> The word *nāṇā* is derived from Sanskrit *nāṇaka* meaning 'a coin'. The pronominal word *tina* (pronounced *tin*, line 15) is genitive third person plural and means 'of them'. The inscription uses a number of contractions such as *pro*, *ṭam*, *chī*, *jo*, etc.

The date of the record is quoted in lines 4-5. This is the second *tithi* of the dark half of the month of Mārgasīra in **Vikrama Samvat 1804 and Śaka 1469**. The name of the week-day is quoted as *Vārhanipati* which apparently stands for *Bṛihaspati*. The date is irregular; but it must have fallen in **October-November, 1547 A. D.**

The inscription begins with a variety of the *Siddham* symbol, followed by the word *siddhi* and a passage in Sanskrit invoking the grace of the god Gaṇeśa. Next follows a verse in Sanskrit containing an adoration to the god Vighnavināśana (i.e. Gaṇeśa), praised as the Supreme Being. The date of the record, already referred to above, is then quoted in lines 4-5. In lines 5-7 are given the names of the following persons: *pro*° Kānhaḍa (from Sanskrit *Kṛishṇa*), his son *pro*° Nārāyaṇa, his sons *pro*° Maheśa and *pro*° Chakrapāṇi, and the latter's sons *chī*° Kāsīdāsa and *chī*° Kimudāsa. It seems that the contraction *chī* before the names of Kāsīdāsa and Kimudāsa stands for Sanskrit

<sup>1</sup> For *kau* in Brajbhāshā and *kai* in Mewārī, see S. H. Kellogg, *A Grammar of the Hindi Language*, 3rd ed., 1938, Table II facing p. 120.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. nominative singular in *o* in the Rājputānā dialects (Kellogg, *op. cit.*, p. 109, § 169).

<sup>3</sup> See Kellogg, *op. cit.*, p. 110.



*chirañjīva* (literally 'long-lived') indicating that these two persons were alive while their ancestors mentioned in the list were all dead. Unfortunately the contraction *pro* used with the names of the other persons is difficult to interpret in contradistinction to *chirañjīva*. The only suitable word that suggests to us is Hindi *prohita*=Sanskrit *purohita* meaning 'a professional priest'.<sup>1</sup> The inscription does not clearly state the relation of Kāśidāsa and Kimudāsa with the object of the inscription, which, as will be seen later, is to record the construction of a step-well. There is, however, little doubt that the said two persons were responsible for the construction of the step-well in question or at least for the supervision of its excavation.

Lines 7-9 give the genealogy of the ruling chief in whose territory the step-well was apparently excavated. This chief was one **Rāmachandra**, called both *Rājan* and *Rāva* (i.e. *Rāo-Rājā*), who was the son of *Rājan* Prithvirāja and grandson of *Rājādhirāja Rājan* Sūryaśeṇi (possibly a mistake for or corruption of °*sena*). This section also mentions *Kaṁwara* (Sanskrit *Kumāra*, 'a prince') *cha*° *Parasarāma* (Sanskrit *Paraśurāma*) who was the son of *Rāmachandra*. The reason of the prince's mention, not apparent from the language of the record, seems to be that the area, where the step-well was excavated, formed a part of his *jāgīr*. The abbreviation *cha* may be a mistake for *chi* or *chirañjīva*, for which *charañjīva* is a popular corruption. In Rājasthānī legal documents, the word *charaṇa* is often found between the names of the father and son to indicate the relation of the latter to the former. Thus *cha* in the passage in question may also stand for *charaṇa* although this is doubtful in view of the fact that the word *putra* occurs in our text to indicate the relation between *Rāmachandra* and *Paraśurāma*. These chiefs holding sway over the district round Toḍā-Rāising are not known from any other inscription. The reason for the application of a more dignified regal epithet to the name of *Rāmachandra*'s grandfather is not apparent.

Lines 9 ff. refer to the ruling king and his overlord, to both of whom the chief *Rāmachandra* of the Toḍā-Rāising region owed allegiance. Mention is first made of the *vāra* (turn or time of rule) of *Pātisāha Asalema Sāhi*, the son of *Sera Sāhi Sūra*, i.e. *Islām Shāh* (1445-57 A.D.), son of *Sher Shāh* (1439-45 A.D.) of the *Sūr* dynasty of Delhi. Then follows a reference to *Rāṇā Udayasīnghadeva* (Sanskrit *Udayasīnghadeva*), son of *Rājan Saṁgrāmadeva*, as ruling over the *Kumbhalamera rājya*. It is interesting to note that the imperial status of *Saṁgrāmadeva* is especially indicated in the inscription which describes him as *sarva-bhūmikau khasama* (i.e. 'the lord of all land or the entire earth', a conventional designation of the Indian imperial rulers) and *ghoḍā lākha 11 kau khasamu* (i.e. 'the lord of eleven lakhs of horses or horsemen'). But the mention of *Udayasīngha*, the ruler of *Kumbhalamera*, side by side with the emperor (*Pātisāha*) *Islām Shāh*, both as overlords of the chief *Rāmachandra*, undoubtedly points to the fact that the *Rāṇā* was regarded as a feudatory of the Muhammadan monarch, although his father *Saṁgrāmadeva*, i.e. *Saṁgrāmasīngha* or *Sāṅgā*, was an independent king. The mention of *Rāmachandra*, his immediate liegeland *Udayasīngha*, and the latter's overlord *Islām Shāh* without clearly specifying the relations of one with the others is not peculiar to the record under study but is also known from other medieval inscriptions of the same region. Of course there are some epigraphs in which the subordinate relation of the feudatory is specifically expressed; cf. the Mandasor inscription of V.S. 1576 and Śaka 1441 introducing *Rāṇā Saṁgrāmasīngha*'s subordinate at Daśapura (Mandasor) in the following words: *mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Rāṇā-Saṁgrāma || tasya prasāde udyotakāri | Rāja-śrī-Rāva-Asokamala | Daśapura-nagare Thānāpati* |<sup>2</sup> But there are others which mention the names of the rulers without any specification exactly as in our record. An inscription from Rāmpurā near Mandasor, dated Śaka 1547, introduces the *Mughal*

<sup>1</sup> For a member of a *Purohita* family in charge of the construction of a fort, see another inscription from the Jaipur District in *Proc. I.H.C.*, Nagpur, 1950, pp. 193-93.

<sup>2</sup> From an inked impression preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India.



emperor Salem Shāh (Jahāngir), his feudatory Rāṇā Karṇasimha of Mewār, and the latter's subordinate at Rāmapura (Rāmpurā) in the following words : *Dīlirāja-Pātasāha-śrī-Salemasāhajī Chitrakūṭarāja vāsa Udepu[ra\*] Rāṇā-śrī-Amara-sighajī tasya putra Rāṇā-śrī-Karṇasighajī Rāmapura-rājakara Rāva-śrī-Chandrabhāṇajī tasyā rāṇī Chohāṇa Prabhāvatī-bāijī bāvaḍī prasāda bāga udhāsyaḍ.*<sup>1</sup> There is no word in the passage expressing Rāva Chandrabhāṇa's subordination to Karṇasimha and the latter's subordination to the Mughal emperor, although there cannot be any doubt about their position.

The above section of the inscription is followed by the names of four of the artisans or masons (*kārāgara*) who were employed in the construction of the step-well (lines 13 ff.). These were : *Kārāgara Lālū*,<sup>2</sup> Śrīchandra, Rāgū and *Kārāgara Bhīwa*. It is stated that, of the many workers employed for the work, the four named above were the foremost (*bahuta kārāgara, tina madhye chāri baḍā*). Here ends the main record with the word *iti* and this is followed by a sort of supplement in the concluding lines (lines 16 ff.). Lines 16-17 are engraved as the first halves of lines 14-15 containing the closing part of the record discussed above and may have been written in the original draft, copied on the stone, as a marginal note. The first of these two lines gives the name of the writer while the second saying 'the expenses [on account] of the step-well (*vāiki lāgati* in which *lāgati=lāgti* is the same as Hindi *lāgat*)' was meant to be a heading for the details of the expenditure given in the following lines. The writer was *jo Rāmadāsa*. The contraction *jo* appears to indicate a word like *joisī*, *jois*, *joshī*, etc., which are corruptions of Sanskrit *jyotiśhīn*, i.e. a professional astrologer or astronomer. The amount spent for the step-well, as given in line 18, was *ṭam* 1001 (quoted both in words and figures) for which the equivalent in Mewār currency (*Mewāḍyā nāṇā*) is given as *ṭhaka 6106 ṭam 1* or *ṭhankāḍa 106 ṭam 1*. In this passage, the abbreviation *ṭam* apparently signifies the *ṭanka*, very probably meaning the silver coins of that name issued by the Muslim rulers of Delhi, especially those of Sher Shāh and Islām Shāh. Unfortunately the ratio between the Mewār coin and the Delhi *ṭanka* cannot be determined. The inscription ends with the *maṅgala*, 'May it be well!', and the mention of the name of god Rāma, thrice repeated.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it refers to Rāṇā Udayasimha (1537-72 A.D.) of Mewār as a feudatory of the Sūr emperor Islām Shāh (1545-54 A.D.), son of Sher Shāh (1539-45 A.D.). We know that in V.S. 1594 (1537 A.D.) Udayasimha was recognised as the Rāṇā of Mewār by the feudatories at Kumbhalgarh and that he recovered Chitor from Vanavīra in V.S. 1597 (1540 A.D.).<sup>3</sup> He was a contemporary of all the rulers of the Sūr dynasty (1539-56 A.D.), founded by Sher Shāh, although little is as yet definitely known as regards the Rāṇā's relations with the Sūrs. As will be seen below, according to Muslim historians, Sher Shāh occupied Chitor in 1543 or 1544 A.D.; but they are silent as to whether the Rāṇā offered his allegiance to the Sūr emperor or continued to hold sway over parts of Mewār outside the Chitor region as an independent

<sup>1</sup> My attention to this record was drawn by Professor Ramachandra G. Tiwari of the Pratap College, Amalner, East Khandesh District, Bombay State. Among other records containing statements of this kind, mention may be made of two inscriptions from Sitamau (Mandasor District, Madhya Bharat), transcripts of which were received by me from Mahārājikūmār Dr. Raghubir Singh of Sitamau. One of these is dated V.S. 1761 (1705 A.D.) and contains the passage : *Pātasāha-śrī-Orangajebāḥ Rāṇā Amarasighaḥ Jāgū[r\*]dāraḥ Bāḥoḍa-Kasodāsa*. The other record, dated V.S. 1775 (1718 A.D.), has : *Pātasāha-śrī-Sapharakaseṇajī Rāṇajī Amara (sic. Saṁgrāma)-sighajī Mahārājajīḥ Kesodāsajī*. Although these inscriptions do not state the relationship existing between Rāthor Kesavadāsa of Sitamau and the Rāṇā of Mewār, Amarasimha II (1678-1710 A.D.) or Saṁgrāmasimha II (1710-34 A.D.), and between the latter and the Mughal emperor of Delhi (Aurangzeb, 1658-1707 A.D.), in the first record, and Farrukhsiyar, 1713-19 A.D., in the second, there can be no doubt that the fief-holder of Sitamau owed allegiance to the Rāṇā who himself acknowledged the suzerainty of the Mughal emperor.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the name of the mason Lālo mentioned in the *Rāja-prastāvi* inscription (above, Vol. XXIX, Appendix, p. 90 text, line 42).

<sup>3</sup> G. H. Ojha, *Udaypur Rājyākā Itihās (Rājputānekā Itihās, Vol. II)*, pp. 714 ff.; cf. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Calcutta ed., Vol. I, pp. 334 ff.; Crooke's ed., Vol. I, pp. 367 ff.



ruler. There is no reference to the Sūr occupation of Chitor in Tod's work which is mainly based on the Rājput chronicles. While briefly describing Sher Shāh's campaigns in Rājputānā against Māladeva, the powerful Rāthor king of Jodhpur, Wolseley Haig says, "He (Sher Shāh) left Khavās Khān and 'Isā Khān Niyāzi to establish his authority in Marwar and marched to Chitor, the keys of which were sent to him by the officer who held it on behalf of Rānā Uday Singh of Mewar."<sup>1</sup> Quanungo observes, "He (Sher Shāh) spent a few months at Agra and rejoined his camp at Ajmir about the middle of June 1544. From Ajmir he marched towards Chitor which he easily acquired ... Mewar had not yet recovered from the evil effects of the civil dissensions which ended with the installation of the boy king Udai Singh in 1542 A.D. (see Tod's *Rajasthan*, pp. 330-33). Chitor was placed in charge of Shams Khan, a brother of Khawas Khan (Dorn's *History of the Afghans*, p. 140), Mian Ahmed Sarwani and Husain Khan Khalji (Abbas MS, p. 235)."<sup>2</sup> Ojha quotes Abbas Sarwani's *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī*<sup>3</sup>, according to which Sher Shāh advanced against Chitor in A.H. 950 (1543 A.D.) after having dispersed Māladeva's forces: "Sher Shāh..... marched towards the fort of Chitor. When he was yet 12 *Kos* from the fort of Chitor, the Rājā who was its ruler sent him the keys. When Sher Shāh came to Chitor, he left in it the younger brother of Khawās Khān, Miān Ahmad Sarwani and Hussain Khān Khilji. Sher Shāh himself marched towards Kachwāra." But in this connection the author of the *Udaypur Rājyākā Itihās* observes, "It was almost the beginning of Udayasimha's reign. Thus it is possible that Udayasimha considered it unwise to fight with Sher Shāh and managed to send him away after making peace with him. Neither the Persian histories nor the local chronicles explain, as is expected in such a case, how Chitor came back into Udayasimha's possession [after its occupation by the Sūrs]."<sup>4</sup> N. B. Roy, author of *The Successors of Sher Shah*, does not suggest that any of the later Sūrs had anything to do with Mewār. While describing Sher Shāh's achievements in Rājputānā, Quanungo does not clearly state that any of the Rājput rulers acknowledged the suzerainty of the Sūr emperor. Roy is likewise silent on the point as to how long the Sūrs succeeded in maintaining the position gained in Rājputānā by the founder of their house. The inscription under study, however, suggests that Rānā Udayasimha of Mewār not only acknowledged the suzerainty of Sher Shāh but even continued his allegiance to the Sūr dynasty down to the early years of the reign of Islām Shāh, son and successor of that monarch. There is no reason to believe that Islām Shāh, represented as the overlord of the Rānā in October-November, 1547 A.D., himself subdued Udayasimha. The mention of the Rānā as the ruler of Kumbhalamera in our record seems to suggest that he was staying at the fort of Kumbhalgarh till the end of 1547 A.D. while the fortress of Chitor continued to be in the possession of the Afghan governors employed by the Sūr emperors. Apparently the presence of a strong Afghan garrison at Chitor prevented Udayasimha from throwing off the Sūr yoke.<sup>5</sup>

When exactly the Rānā succeeded in freeing himself from the domination of the Sūrs is difficult to determine in the present state of our knowledge. After the celebrated Afghan general

<sup>1</sup> *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> *Sher Shah*, pp. 332-33.

<sup>3</sup> Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. IV, p. 406.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 718.

<sup>5</sup> Professor Tiwari informs me that the *Amarakāvya* (MS No. 14935 of the Saraswati Bhandar, Udaipur, folio 32a) represents Udayasimha as an independent monarch and speaks of several engagements between the Rānā and Sher Shāh, while the *Vamśāvalī*, No. 872, states that Udayasimha defeated the Pathans. But we can hardly rely on these traditions. It is well known that the Mughal emperor Akbar defeated Udayasimha and occupied a considerable part of Mewār including its capital Chitor and that the Rānā was compelled to take shelter in the southern part of his dominions. In spite of this, the chroniclers of Mewār continued to represent Udayasimha as one who humbled the Mughal emperor (cf. above, Vol. XXIV, p. 68, verse 39). For Tiwari's views, see *IHQ*, Vol. XXX, pp. 311 ff.; *Journ. Bomb. Univ.*, July 1955, pp. 10-11 and notes. He relies too much on the Rājput traditions, for the untrustworthiness of which, see remarks on the evidence of the *Rājaprasasti-kāvya*, above, Vol. XXX, App., p. 118.



Khawās Khān had taken refuge in the hills of Kumāūn, Islām Shāh is stated to have recorded a solemn oath that he had forgiven all his past offences and begged him to attend at court and proceed against the Rāpā of Udaypur who had again raised his head, plundered several of the royal possessions and carried off the wives and daughters of Muslims, although at the same time orders were sent to the governor of Sambhal to put the general to death as soon as he should come within reach.<sup>1</sup> This event took place in A.H. 959 corresponding to 1551 A.D. according to some authorities.<sup>2</sup> Rāpā Udayasimha thus seems to have thrown off his allegiance to the Sūrs before the date of Khawās Khān's murder.<sup>3</sup> The reference to the Sūr territory, which was plundered by the Rāpā and whence Muslim women were carried away, seems to point to the reoccupation of Chitor by Udayasimha. Tod is silent in regard to the date of the recovery of the Jodhpur region by Māladeva from the Afghans.<sup>4</sup> But B. N. Reu has quoted the following facts: Sher Shāh occupied the Jodhpur region of Mārwar in 1544 A.D. and left Khawās Khān at Jodhpur as his viceroy; the Sūr occupation of parts of Mārwar lasted only for about one year and a half; Māladeva (1532-62 A.D.) drove out the Afghans from Jodhpur before the end of V.S. 1693 (1546 A.D.).<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately no authority has been cited in support of the last statement. Whether Rāpā Udayasimha helped the Rāthors in ousting the Afghans from Jodhpur cannot be determined, although that is not improbable. But the Rāpā does not appear to have continued his allegiance to the Sūrs for any considerable length of time after the expulsion of the Afghans from Mārwar. This seems to be suggested by the prominent mention of the Rāpā's aggression in Islām Shāh's communication to Khawās Khān, which does not mention Māladeva, often described by Muslim authors as the most powerful ruler in Rājputānā. Thus the date of Rāthor success against the Sūrs may actually be a little later than that suggested by Reu. Reference has been made by Reu to the existence of Khawās Khān's tomb (now called Khāsgā Pīr's Dargah) at Jodhpur. This may suggest that Jodhpur was under Muslim occupation till the time of Khawās Khān's death.

Another very interesting fact disclosed by the inscription under review is the inclusion of at least parts of the present Jaipur District within the dominions of the Rāpās of Mewār.<sup>6</sup> Cunningham sketched the history of Toḍā-Rāising on the basis of Rājput traditions which, however, have nothing to say on this particular point.<sup>7</sup> This no doubt shows that these traditions are not quite trustworthy as a source of history. There is also no mention of the chief Rāmachandra

<sup>1</sup> *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, op. cit., p. 59; Roy, op. cit., p. 33; Elliot and Dowson, op. cit., p. 531.

<sup>2</sup> Badāūnī's *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, Ranking's trans., Vol. I, pp. 525-26.

<sup>3</sup> The date of Khawās Khān's murder is given sometimes as 1546 A.D. (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, op. cit., p. 59) and 1550 A.D.=A.H. 957 (Elliot and Dowson, op. cit., p. 532, note 1). The first of these two dates is impossible unless it is believed that the hostility attributed to the Rāpā in Islām Shāh's communication to Khawās Khān was merely a bluff, although the probability is that the Rāpā's revolt and act of aggression were widely known facts. Our inscription shows that Udayasimha did not completely shake off his allegiance to Islām Shāh till the close of 1547 A.D.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 30.

<sup>5</sup> *Mārwarīkā Itihās*, Vol. I, pp. 131-32.

<sup>6</sup> Qanungo says that Toḍā was a border town of the expanded dominions of Māladeva (op. cit., p. 284). If it was taken by the Rāthor ruler from Mewār, Udayasimha may have recovered it either as a Sūr partisan or in the confusion that resulted from Sher Shāh's victory over Māladeva.

<sup>7</sup> *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol. VI, pp. 124 ff. Cf. "Thoda was originally founded by the Dhoda or Dhore tribe, from whom the present name of the place, Thoda or Thore, is said to be derived. Thoda next came into the possession of the Solankis, under Siddha Rai Solanki, in Samvat 1131. .... Thoda passed out of the hands of the Solankis in Samvat 1360, when it was taken by the Chohans, probably in the time of Hararaja Chohan who founded Bāndi. On the extension of the powers of the Kachhwāhas of Amber, they took Thoda from the Chohans and held it for some years. The possession of Thoda was next made over to the Sisodias by one of the Mughal emperors of Delhi. .... Lastly, Thoda again came into the possession of the Kachhwāhas in whose possession it has since remained." The name of the first ruler of the Sisodia dynasty is given as Rāising (Rāyasimha) after whom the place came to be known later as Toḍā-Rāising.



and his father and grandfather in Cunningham's account, although the manuscript of the *Amara-kośya* (folio 32b) is said to state that Toḍā was given by Udayasimha to Rāmachandra.

## TEXT

- 1 Siddham<sup>1</sup> || Sidhi<sup>2</sup> || śrī-Gaṇeśa-prasādāt || Ya[m] Vra(Bra)hma Vedānta-
- 2 vido vadamti param pradhānam puruṣam tath=ānye ||( ) vi[śv]-odgate[h\*]
- 3 kāraṇam=īśvaraṁ vā ta[ama] na[mo] Vighnavināśanāya ||<sup>4</sup>
- 4 Saṁvatu<sup>5</sup> 1604 varṣe || Śāke 1469 Mā[rga]śira<sup>6</sup>-[va]dī 2 dinē
- 5 Vārhanipati<sup>7</sup> || pro<sup>8</sup> Kānhaḍa | tasya putra pro<sup>9</sup> Narāṇa<sup>9</sup> | tat-pu-
- 6 tra pro Mahesa<sup>10</sup> | pro<sup>11</sup> Chakrapāṇi || tasya putra<sup>11</sup> chi<sup>12</sup> Kāsīdāsa<sup>13</sup>
- 7 chi<sup>10</sup> Kimudāsa || rājādhirāja-rāja-śrī-Sūryaśeṇi<sup>14</sup> | tasya putra
- 8 rāja-śrī-Prithirāja<sup>15</sup> | tasya putra rāja-śrī-rāva<sup>16</sup>-Rāmachandra<sup>17</sup>-rājya
- 9 varttamāne || tasya putra kawaraṁ<sup>18</sup> cha<sup>19</sup> Parasarāma<sup>20</sup> || Pātisāha<sup>21</sup>
- 10 Sēra Sāhi Sūra<sup>22</sup> | tasya putra Pātisāha Asalema Sāhi<sup>23</sup> |<sup>24</sup> kau
- 11 vārau varttamāna ||[\*] sārva-bhumikau<sup>25</sup> khasama ghoḍā lāsha(kha) 11 kau sha(kha)sa-
- 12 mu rāja-śrī-Saṁgrāmadeva | tasya putra rāja-śrī-Udayaṁ(ya)śiṁghadeva<sup>26</sup> rāṇu
- 13 Kuṁbhalamera-rājya varttamāne ||[\*] | kārāgara<sup>27</sup> Lālū Śrichandra<sup>28</sup> | Rāgū
- 14 <sup>29</sup>kārāgara Bhīwa<sup>30</sup> ||[\*] va(ba)huta kārāga-

<sup>1</sup> From an impression.

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>3</sup> Sanskrit *siddhi*.

<sup>4</sup> The metre of the verse is *Upajati*.

<sup>5</sup> I.e. *Samvat*.

<sup>6</sup> I.e. *Mārgaśira* or *Mārgaśirṣa*.

<sup>7</sup> Sanskrit *Bṛihaspati* (or *Brahmapati*?).

<sup>8</sup> Possibly a contraction for *prohita*=Sanskrit *purohita*.

<sup>9</sup> Sanskrit *Nārāyaṇa*.

<sup>10</sup> Sanskrit *putra*... *Mahesa*.

<sup>11</sup> In Sanskrit *putra*.

<sup>12</sup> Possibly a contraction of Sanskrit *chiraśīva*.

<sup>13</sup> Sanskrit *Kāsīdāsa*.

<sup>14</sup> Possibly Sanskrit *śeṇa*.

<sup>15</sup> Sanskrit *Prithvī*.

<sup>16</sup> From Sanskrit *rāja*.

<sup>17</sup> Sanskrit *chandra*.

<sup>18</sup> Read *kamvara* (Sanskrit *kumāra*).

<sup>19</sup> This may be a mistake for *chi* (i.e. *chiraśīva*).

<sup>20</sup> Sanskrit *Parasurāma*.

<sup>21</sup> Persian *Pādshāh* or *Pādīshāh*, i.e. *Bādshāh*.

<sup>22</sup> I.e. *Shēr Shāh Sūr*.

<sup>23</sup> I.e. *Islām Shāh* (cf. the spelling *Islām Shāh*).

<sup>24</sup> Omit the *daḍa* and read *sāhikau* (i.e. *sāhiko*).

<sup>25</sup> Better read *sarva-bhūmi*.

<sup>26</sup> Sanskrit *Udayasimha*.

<sup>27</sup> Persian *kārigar*.

<sup>28</sup> Sanskrit *śrichandra*.

<sup>29</sup> This line is engraved below the latter half of the previous line.

<sup>30</sup> Sanskrit *Bhīma*.

- 15 'ra [i\*] tina madhye |<sup>2</sup> chāri va(ba)ḍā ite(ti) [i\*]  
 16 'likhitam jo<sup>4</sup> Rāmadāsa<sup>5</sup> [i\*]  
 17 'Vai[k]i lāgati  
 18 tam<sup>6</sup> 1001 [sa]hasra eka a[m\*]ke [i\*] Mewā[dy]ai<sup>7</sup> nāpaṭṭhanka 6106<sup>8</sup> tam 1  
 19 vāikai nimi[ttā\*] lāgā [i\*] śubham bhavatu [i\*] Rāma Rāma Rāma [i\*]

## No. 34—PURI INSCRIPTIONS OF ANANGABHIMA III, SAKA 1147 AND 1158

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

More than twenty years ago, the late Dr. Hirananda Sastri, then Government Epigraphist for India, copied some inscriptions engraved on the walls in the celebrated Jagannātha temple at Puri, Orissa. While examining the impressions of these records, now preserved in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund, I noticed four interesting epigraphs of the time of the Gaṅga monarch Anangabhima III whose reign is usually assigned to circa 1211-38 A.D. The inscriptions were found on the walls of the second entrance of the Pātālēśvara (Śiva) shrine within the inner compound of the Jagannātha temple, one (No. 1) being on the right wall and the rest (Nos. 2-4) on the left. Of the three records on the left wall, No. 3 was found to occupy the space below the left half of No. 2.

Some special importance attaches to these inscriptions owing to the fact that, according to a tradition recorded in the *Mādalā Pāñjī*, it was Gaṅga Anangabhima who was responsible for the construction of the temple of Jagannātha (Purushōttama) at Puri, although the records of the family attribute it to his great-grandfather Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.). Scholars now usually believe that the temple was begun by Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga but completed by Anangabhima III. Unfortunately so long no inscription either of Anangabhima III or any of his ancestors including Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (who annexed the Puri region to the Gaṅga empire) was traced in the temple in question. An interesting problem raised by the existence of these inscriptions is whether the god Jagannātha (Purushōttama) or the deities Balarama, Kṛishṇa and Subhadrā (mentioned in one of the four records) could have been originally housed in what is now called the Pātālēśvara shrine.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This line is incised below line 14.

<sup>2</sup> The *ḍaḍa* is unnecessary.

<sup>3</sup> This line looks like the first half of line 14.

<sup>4</sup> This is a contraction of *joshi*, *joiś* or *joiś* (Sanskrit *jyotiś*).

<sup>5</sup> In Sanskrit *śāśana*.

<sup>6</sup> This line looks like the first half of line 15.

<sup>7</sup> I.e. *ṭanka*.

<sup>8</sup> The letter may also be read as *ḍau*.

<sup>9</sup> The reading may also be *ṭakaḍa* 106, although the other reading is preferable as the Mewār coins could hardly have greater value than the Delhi *ṭankas*. A century later, during the reign of Rājāsīnha (1052-80 A. D.), the Dhabbuka or Dhehua coins were the popular currency of Mewār (cf. above, Appendix (*Rājaprasasti*), p. 114). The Gadhaiya Paisās of both silver and copper were also current in Mewār. See W. W. Webb, *The Currencies of the Hindu States of Rājputāna*, 1893, pp. 5-6. Webb speaks of coins (mostly copper 'black *ṭanka*' weighing 80 Ratis) issued by some of the Rājās (op. cit., pp. 6 ff.).

<sup>10</sup> Mr. P. Asharya informs me that the space inside the shrine is too small to accommodate three deities.



Inscription No. 1 consists of seven lines of writing and occupies a space of about 1½ feet in length and 10 inches in breadth. There are only five lines of writing in Inscription No. 2, of which lines 1-4 are about 1½ feet long while line 5 is nearly 2 feet in length. This inscription covers a space about seven inches wide. Inscription No. 3, consisting of eight lines of writing, occupies a space about 1½ feet in length and 10½ inches in breadth. Line 7 of this epigraph is smaller than lines 1-6, while line 8 is even smaller than line 7. Inscription No. 4, which consists of ten lines of writing, covers a space about 1½ feet long and 1½ feet wide.

The records are written in the Gaudīya characters of about the thirteenth century A.D. Their language is old Oriya with a slight admixture of Sanskrit. They have to be counted amongst the earliest Oriya inscriptions so far discovered. In regard to palaeography and orthography, the inscriptions resemble some other Orissan records of about the same period.<sup>1</sup> As usual with the medieval inscriptions of Orissa, some of the numerical figures are of the early Bengali type while others are of the Telugu-Kannada type. But the figure for 3 has been written in two different ways in Inscription No. 1, line 7, and Inscription No. 4, line 3. In the former case, it resembles the Telugu-Kannada form of the figure. The use of the pronominal adjective *i*, the locative suffixes *i* and *en* and the dative suffix *kui*, side by side with *ku*, is of grammatical interest. It seems that *kai* and *ku* have been used in two distinct senses, the former to indicate 'for' and the latter 'to'. All the four records bear dates in the Śaka era and in the years of the well-known Anka system of regnal reckoning prevalent in Orissa. No. 1 is dated in Śaka 1147 (1225 A.D.), the others (Nos. 2-4) bearing dates in Śaka 1158 (1237 A.D.).

Inscription No. 1 records the grant of three *Vāṭis* of land in a locality called Kahagōpaḍā or Chhagōpaḍā by the *Srikarāṇa* (officer of the record department or member of the writer class) Suru-sēnāpati (literally, 'the general named Suru') on Thursday, Āshāḍha-sudi 5, in Śaka 1147 and in the Anka year 15 (or the 13th regnal year) of the reign of Anaṅkabhīmadēva (i.e. Gaṅga Anaṅgabhīma III). General Suru, donor of the grant, is also known from two Srikurmam records<sup>2</sup> of Śaka 1137 (1215 A.D.) and 1163 (1241 A.D.). It is well known that the royal name is found in various forms such as *Anaṅka*, *Aniyāṅka*, *Anaṅga*, etc., although the form found in the present record (No. 1) is also noticed in the other three inscriptions under discussion. *Aniyāṅka* seems to be derived from a combination of Telugu *ani* (cf. Kannada *ani*, Tamil *aniyam*) 'battle', and Sanskrit *aṅka*, 'mark', etc., and to be Sanskritized into *Anaṅga* through the intermediate form *Anaṅka*.<sup>3</sup> One *Vāṭi*, which is equal to twenty *Māpas*, is now regarded as equivalent to twenty acres of land. The date of the inscription corresponds regularly to Thursday, June 26, 1225 A.D. The grant was made in favour of the god Purushōttama (Jagannātha), for making provision for the offering (*naivēdya*) of milk, clarified butter, rice and curds to the deity, with the cognizance (*gōcharē*) of Mahādēva Pāṭhin. The exact relation of Mahādēva Pāṭhin with the gift or gift land cannot be determined. We do not know whether he was a royal officer in charge of transactions involving deeds of gift, or a witness of such a transaction, or the original title-holder of the gift land from whom the donor may have purchased it. It is stated that the grant was made with clarified butter, curry (*vyāñjana*), curds and betel-leaf. The real significance of the statement is uncertain although a similar one is found in all the four inscriptions. But it is

<sup>1</sup> In some cases, the superscript *a* has been so written in the inscriptions as to look like the *anusvara* as in certain modern Oriya conjuncts.

<sup>2</sup> *SII*, Vol. V, Nos. 1287 and 1299.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. P. B. Desai thinks that *aṅka* is the abbreviation of *aṅkabhīma* which occurs frequently in the medieval Kannada inscriptions and literature in the sense of a sworn champion, veteran, leader, etc. Its adaptation can be traced in Telugu *aṅkabhīma*. *Aniyāṅka-Bhīma* would thus mean 'veritable Bhīma, the indomitable hero in battle'. *Aniyāṅka* was the name of the leader of the Tamil army, who seized the throne of Ceylon according to the *Mahāvamsa* (Sewell, *Hist. Ind. S. Ind.*, p. 131).



not impossible to think that it was the custom to offer land to the god for making provision for *nai-vēdyā* formally with an offering of a *bhōga* consisting of clarified butter, curry, curds and betel-leaf.

Inscription No. 2 records the grant of two *Vāṭis* and 5 *Māṇas* (i.e. 2½ *Vāṭis*) of land in the village of Kshātayī (or Chhātayī)-Utapallī (or Utapallī in the Kshātayī or Chhātayī division) by the footman (*Padātaka*, modern Oriya *Pāika*) Khaṇḍa, who was the son of Chaṇḍānā, on Monday, Makara-badi 7, in Śaka 1158 and in the Aṅka year 29 of *Rāutia* (i.e. feudatory ruler) Anaṅkabhi-madēva (Anaṅgabhīma III) falling in the victorious reign of the god Purushōttama. It is clear from this record that the Gaṅga monarch Anaṅgabhīma III considered himself a viceroy of the god whom he regarded as the real lord of his kingdom. We have seen elsewhere<sup>1</sup> how the Oriya chronicle *Mādala Pāñji* records a tradition according to which a Gaṅga king named Anaṅgabhīma dedicated his dominions in favour of the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha, as a result of which act he regarded himself as a ruler of the *Rāuta* class and his successor did not enjoy formal coronation. We also know that one of the Bhubaneswar inscriptions<sup>2</sup> of Anaṅgabhīma III mentions his empire as the *Purushōttama-sāmrajya*, 'the empire of Purushōttama', while some records<sup>3</sup> of Bhānu II, great-great-grandson of Anaṅgabhīma III, mention the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha as his overlord. The date of the inscription under review corresponds regularly to Monday, January 5, 1237 A.D. The twentieth year of the Aṅka reckoning corresponded to the twentyfourth regnal year of the Gaṅga monarch. The grant recorded in this epigraph was made in favour of the god Purushōttama for making provision for offerings to the deity with the cognizance of Viśvapati. It was made with clarified butter, curry, curds and betel-leaf as in the case of Inscription No. 1 analysed above. The meaning of the last line of the record, which speaks of the deities Halin (Balarāma), Chakrin (Kṛishṇa-Vishṇu) and Subhadra, is difficult to determine. But the mention of these three deities, in connection with the Jagannātha temple at Purī in a record of the thirteenth century is interesting. A Bhubaneswar inscription of the same century, bearing the date Śaka 1200 (1278 A.D.), states how the Gaṅga princess Chandrikā or Chandradēvī, daughter of Bhānu I, built a Vishṇu temple at Ēkāma (Bhubaneswar) and 'decorated with diadems and other ornaments Bala, Kṛishṇa and Subhadra (apparently installed in the said temple)'.<sup>4</sup>

Inscription No. 3 records the gift of one *Vāṭi* of land at Kurāṅga and another plot consisting of one *Vāṭi* at Mūraḍa by Kirttivāsa (or Kṛittivāsa)-nāyaka on Sunday, Kumbha-sudi 7, in Śaka 1158 and in the Aṅka year 29 (i.e. in the 24th regnal year) of the reign of Anaṅkabhi-madēva (Anaṅgabhīma III). According to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, in the Śaka year 1158 expired, Kumbha (i.e. solar Phālguna)-badi 7 fell on February 3, 1237 A.D., which was, however, a Tuesday and not Sunday as stated in the inscription. The grant of the above two *Vāṭis* of land was made in favour of the god Purushōttama for making provision for offerings to the deity with the cognizance of Pāthin Mahādēva who is known from Inscription No. 1. It was made with clarified butter, curds, curry and betel-leaf as in the cases of Nos. 1-2.

Inscription No. 4 records the grants of two pieces of land by the Śrikaraṇa Sura-sēnāpati, the donor of the grant recorded in No. 1, on Friday, Phālguna-badi 1, in Śaka 1158 and in the Aṅka year 31 (i.e. in the 25th regnal year) of the reign of Anaṅkabhi-madēva (Anaṅgabhīma III). According to the *Indian Ephemeris*, in the Śaka year 1158 expired, Phālguna-badi 1 fell on February 12, 1237 A.D., which was, however, a Thursday and not Friday as given in the record. The first of the two pieces of gift land measured one *Vāṭi* and was situated in a locality called Rāvaṅga-Ālasaṇā (or Ālasaṇā in the Rāvaṅga division). It was made in favour of the god Purushōttama for making provision for the supply of one *Māṇa* (probably the same as *Maṇa* equivalent to

<sup>1</sup> *Oriya Historical Research Journal*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 48 ff.; above, pp. 19 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VI, p. 73; *Journ. Kal. Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. I, pp. 251 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *SIH*, Vol. V, Nos. 1154-5, 1214; Vol. VI, Nos. 714, 938.

<sup>4</sup> See above, Vol. XIII, p. 153 (text, line 17).



40 Seers or about 82 pounds) of rice, possibly per day, to the deity with the cognizance of Mahā-dēva Pāṭhin known from Nos. 1 and 3. The grant was made with clarified butter, curds, curry and betel-leaf as in the other cases analysed above. The other piece of land measured 10 *Māṇas* (i.e.  $\frac{1}{2}$  *Vāṭi*) and was apparently situated in the same locality and dedicated to the same god. It is stated to have been granted for making provision for the supply of ten bundles (? *halā*) of fragrant flowers probably per day. This grant was made with the cognizance of a person called Kalūā-mālaṇi.

The dates of the inscriptions under discussion raise certain interesting questions, the first of which relates to the initial year of the reign of Anaṅgabhīma III. The late Mr. M. Chakravarti believed that the said Gaṅga king ascended the throne in Śaka 1133 (1211-12 A.D.)<sup>1</sup> and this suggestion has been generally accepted by scholars.<sup>2</sup> Our inscriptions, however, show that a date in his 13th regnal year (15th Aṅka) fell in Śaka 1147 (1225-26 A.D.), while the end of the 24th (29th Aṅka) and the beginning of the 25th (31st Aṅka) year of his reign fell in the month of Kumbha or Phālguna in Śaka 1158 (1236-37 A.D.). This fact would suggest that Anaṅgabhīma III ascended the throne not in Śaka 1133 but in the month of Phālguna in Śaka 1134, that is to say, about the beginning of 1213 A.D. Inscription No. 3 is dated in Śaka 1158, Kumbha-sudi 6, corresponding to February 3, 1237 A.D. This date fell in the king's 29th Aṅka or 24th regnal year, while Inscription No. 4, is dated in Śaka 1158, Phālguna (Kumbha)-badi 1 corresponding to February 12, 1237 A.D. and falling in his 31st Aṅka or 25th regnal year. Thus the end of the 24th and the beginning of the 25th regnal year of Gaṅga Anaṅgabhīma III fell on a date between the 3rd and 12th February, 1237 A.D. His accession or the beginning of his first regnal year therefore fell on a date in the corresponding period of 1213 A.D. It may be recalled in this connection that a Bhubaneswar inscription of Narasiṃha I, son and successor of Anaṅgabhīma III, is dated in Śaka 1165 and in the Aṅka year 5 (i.e. the 4th regnal year) of that king's reign and that this suggests a later date than the one proposed by Chakravarti for this prince's accession.<sup>3</sup> It has, however, to be admitted that, among other known records of the time of Anaṅgabhīma III, some<sup>4</sup> would support the evidence of the inscriptions under study while some others<sup>5</sup> would suggest a slightly earlier date for his accession. Similarly there is no uniformity in the epigraphic evidence relating to the date of the accession of Narasiṃha I.<sup>6</sup> Much of this discrepancy is no doubt due to the mistakes committed by the scribes responsible for the epigraphs.<sup>7</sup>

According to Chakravarti, the characteristics of the Aṅka system of regnal reckoning are the following : (1) 1 and all figures ending in 0 (except 10) and 6 should be omitted ; (2) the last Aṅka of one king and the second Aṅka (i.e. regnal year 1) of the succeeding king fall in the same year ; and (3) the year begins on the day of Suniyā, Siṃha (Bhādrapada) śukla-dvādaśī.<sup>8</sup> Inscriptions

<sup>1</sup> *JASB*, 1903, p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> *JAHRS*, Vol. VII, p. 233.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. III, p. 121. But this discrepancy may possibly be rectified if the Śaka year is regarded as current (see *IHQ*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 81 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> See *SII*, Vol. V, No. 1290 equating his 22nd Aṅka or 18th regnal year (Siṃha-sudi 7, Friday) with Śaka 1152.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1282 dated Śaka 1139 and the 9th Aṅka or 7th regnal year, and No. 1318 dated Śaka 1147 and the 17th Aṅka or 14th regnal year (Mithuna-sudi 11, Wednesday).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, No. 1261 dated Śaka 1176 (not 1179 as printed)=19th Aṅka or 16th regnal year (Tulā-samkrānti, badi 1, Monday), and No. 1265 dated 1179 (not 1129 as printed)=24th Aṅka or 20th regnal year (Tulā-sudi 3, Tuesday) which appear to suggest that Narasiṃha I ascended the throne in the month of Tulā in Śaka 1161 (October, 1239 A.D.). But some inscriptions point to a date several months earlier. Cf. No. 1272 dated Śaka 1163=4th Aṅka or 3rd regnal year (Rishabha-sudi 13, Thursday), No. 1305 dated Śaka 1167=10th Aṅka or 8th regnal year (Mina-sudi 6, Friday), etc.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 342 ff., for the responsibility of astrologers.

<sup>8</sup> *JASB*, 1903, p. 100.



Nos. 3-4 under review show that the 29th Añka of Anañgabhīma III was followed immediately by his 31st Añka. The year 30 was thus omitted according to rule No. 1 quoted above. But rule No. 3 does not agree with the evidence supplied by our inscriptions. According to the rule, an Añka year of a king's reign (with the exception of the 2nd Añka or 1st regnal year, according to rule No. 2) began on Simha (Bhādrapada)-sudi 12; but we have seen above how the 31st Añka or 25th regnal year of Anañgabhīma III began in the month of Phālguna. The conventional beginning of the Añka year quoted by Chakravarti therefore seems to have been stereotyped after the age of Anañgabhīma III.

The following geographical names are mentioned in the four inscriptions: Kshagōpaḍā or Chhagōpaḍā (No. 1), Kshātayī (or Chhātayī)-Utapallī or Utapallī in the division called Kshātayī or Chhātayī (No. 2), Kurāṅga and Mūraḍa (No. 3), and Rāvaṅga-Ālasaṇā or Ālasaṇā in the division called Rāvaṅga (No. 4). I am not sure about the identification of the localities. If Rāvaṅga was really the name of a district, it may be no other than the Rāvaṅga or Rāmaṅga *vishaya* mentioned in several other records.<sup>1</sup>

TEXT<sup>2</sup>

## INSCRIPTION No. 1

- 1 Siddham<sup>3</sup> Svasta(sti | ) Sākādvā<sup>4</sup> 1[14]7 [ | \*] Svast[i] [ | \*] śrī<sup>5</sup>-Anañkabhi-
- 2 madevaśya(sya) prava[rddhamā]na-vija[ya]-rāye<sup>6</sup> samata<sup>7</sup> śrā-
- 3 hi 15 Āsāḍha-su[kla] 5 Guruvāreṃ<sup>8</sup> śrīkaraṇa-Suru-
- 4 senāpatiñka bhumi darta<sup>9</sup> śrī-Pūrushotama<sup>10</sup>de-
- 5 vañku [ | \*] i naiverdya(dya ) du[gdha-ghrita]-chāula-dahī [i-māna]-
- 6 ñkai Kshagopaḍā<sup>11</sup> i Māhādeva-Pāḍhikaṃ(ñka)<sup>12</sup> gochareṃ
- 7 dadhi-ghrita-tāmvoḷa-vyañjana-sahite datta bh[u]mi vāṭi 3 [ | \*]

## INSCRIPTION No. 2

- 1 Siddham<sup>13</sup> Svasti [ | \*] Śākādvā<sup>14</sup> 1158 śrī-Puruso(sho)ttamasya pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rāje Rāutta<sup>15</sup>-śrīmad-Anañka-

<sup>1</sup> Journ. As. Soc., Letters, Vol. XVII, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> From impressions. As in Oriya the vowels *ē* and *ō* are often short, their length-marks have been omitted in the transcripts of the inscriptions to avoid confusion.

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>4</sup> Sanskrit *Śākādvāḥ*.

<sup>5</sup> The rule of *sandhi* (according to Sanskrit grammar) has been ignored.

<sup>6</sup> Sanskrit *rāje*. The word *rāye* is pronounced in Oriya as *rāje*.

<sup>7</sup> The expressions *samata* and *śrāhi* stand respectively for Sanskrit *samvat* or *samvatsarē* and *śarāḍi* (through Prakrit *sarāhi*).

<sup>8</sup> Sanskrit *Āśāḍha-śukla 5 Guruvārē*.

<sup>9</sup> Sanskrit *bhūmī=dattā*.

<sup>10</sup> Sanskrit *śrī-Pūrushōttama*.

<sup>11</sup> The intended pronunciation may be *Chhagōpaḍā*.

<sup>12</sup> Sanskrit *Māhādeva-pāḍhinaḥ*.

<sup>13</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>14</sup> Sanskrit *Śākādvāḥ*.

<sup>15</sup> This word stands for Sanskrit *Rājaputra* and is used as a viceregal title.



- 2 bhi(bhī)madevasya [śrāhī] sam<sup>1</sup> 29 aṅke abhili(li)khyamāne ||<sup>2</sup> Makara-kṛishṭa(shṣṭa) 7<sup>3</sup>  
Somavāre śrī-Puruso-
- 3 tmadevakum(ūku)<sup>4</sup> [pa]dāta[ka]-Khaṇḍa Cha[ṇḍānā]-suta darta bhumī<sup>5</sup> vāṭi-dvayaṁ  
māṇa-pa[ñcha] Viśvapati<sup>6</sup>-go-
- 4 chareṁ grāma Kṣhātayī<sup>7</sup>-Utapalli naivedy-ārtham ghṛita-vi[ṣṭa]na-dadhī-tāmvola-sahite<sup>8</sup>
- 5 \*[ta]mḍau karārtham Halī Chatrī(krī) Sū(Su)bhadrā śrī-Koñchakau karaśya ṇasyatiḥ ||<sup>9</sup>

## INSCRIPTION No. 3

- 1 [Siddham]<sup>11</sup> Svasti [\*] śrī<sup>12</sup>-Anāṅkabhi(bhī)madevasya prava[rddha\*]mā-  
2 [na]-vīja-rāye<sup>13</sup> samvatta<sup>14</sup> srāhī 29 Śākādvā<sup>15</sup>  
3 1158 Kumbha-sukla<sup>16</sup> 6 Ravī(vi)vāre śrī-Pu-  
4 rushotmadevaṅka<sup>17</sup> yī<sup>18</sup> Kīrtivāsanāya-  
5 ka-datta bhumī Kurāṅga Vāṭi 1 Mūraḍa  
6 vāṭi 1 nau(nai)vedyako(kai) [vāṭi ?] 2 ghṛita-dadhī-[vya]<sup>19</sup>.  
7 veñjana-tāmvolapatā-dāna-[sa]ge[m(ūge)]  
8 Pāṭhi-Māhādeva<sup>20</sup>-gochare ||[\*]

## INSCRIPTION No. 4

- 1 Siddham<sup>21</sup> Svasti [\*] Śyākādvā<sup>22</sup> 1158 [\*] svast[i] [\*] śrī<sup>23</sup>-Ana-  
2 kaṁ(ūka)bhi(bhī)madevaśya(sya) pravarddhamāna-vīja-rāye<sup>24</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sam is a contraction of samvat or samvatsarē.

<sup>2</sup> The *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

<sup>3</sup> The figure 7 had been at first omitted by the engraver and was later squeezed in the small space between the preceding and following *akṣaras*.

<sup>4</sup> Sanskrit śrī-Purushōttamadevāya.

<sup>5</sup> Sanskrit dattā bhūmiḥ.

<sup>6</sup> Sanskrit Viśvapati.

<sup>7</sup> The intended pronunciation may be *Chhātayī*.

<sup>8</sup> Two *akṣaras* here are indistinct.

<sup>9</sup> The meaning of this line is not clear. *Karārtham* may be intended for Sanskrit *karaṇ-ārtham*. If *taṁḍau* can be read as *maṇḍo*, the word may be associated with Sanskrit *maṇḍapa* or *maṇḍana*. But it is very doubtful. The *akṣara* *ḍau* may also be read *prai*; but the meaning of the expression is uncertain.

<sup>10</sup> There are a number of *akṣaras* after this; but their reading is uncertain.

<sup>11</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>12</sup> The rule of *sandhi* has been ignored.

<sup>13</sup> Sanskrit vijaya-rājyē.

<sup>14</sup> This expression stands for samvat or samvatsarē.

<sup>15</sup> Sanskrit Śākādvāḥ.

<sup>16</sup> Sanskrit śukla.

<sup>17</sup> Sanskrit śrī-Purushōttamadevasya.

<sup>18</sup> This is either a mistake for śrī or an alternative form of *i* as found in Inscription No. 1 above. The usual form of the following proper name is *Kīrtivāsa*.

<sup>19</sup> This *akṣara* is redundant.

<sup>20</sup> Sanskrit Māhādeva.

<sup>21</sup> Expressed by symbol.

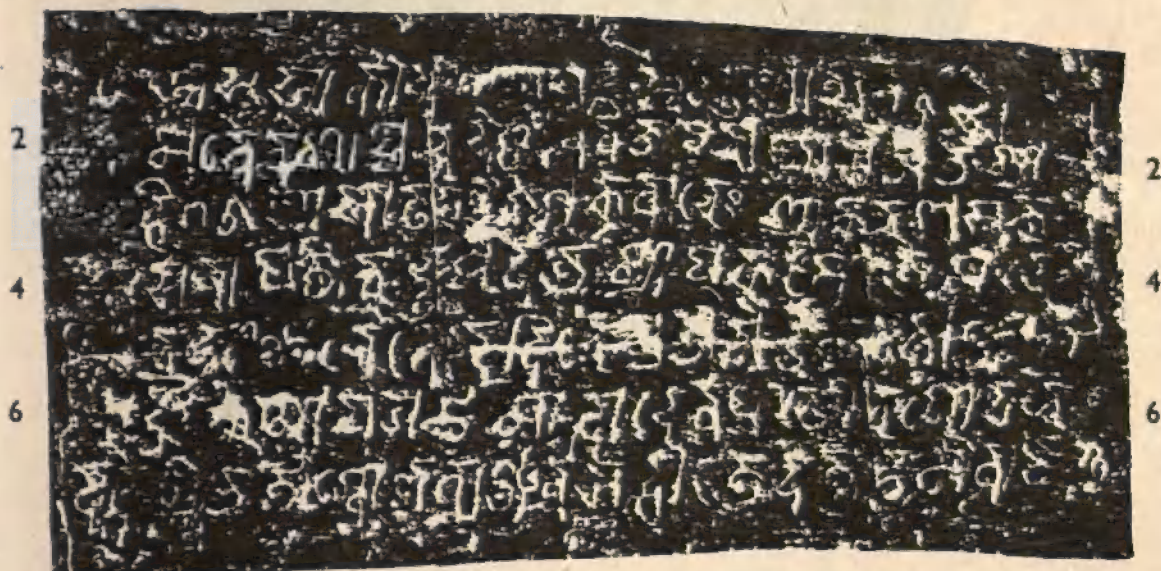
<sup>22</sup> Read Śākādvāḥ.

<sup>23</sup> The rule of *sandhi* has been ignored.

<sup>24</sup> Sanskrit vijaya-rājyē.



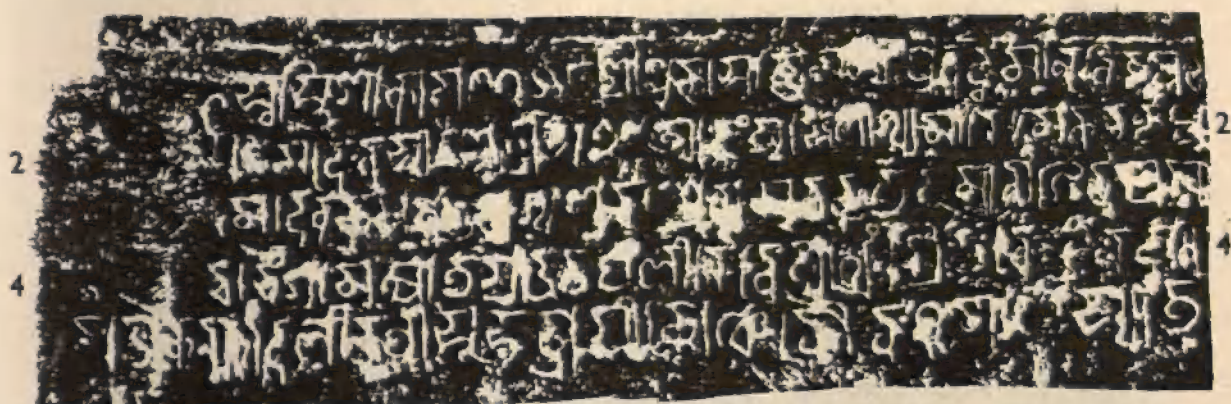
Inscription No.1



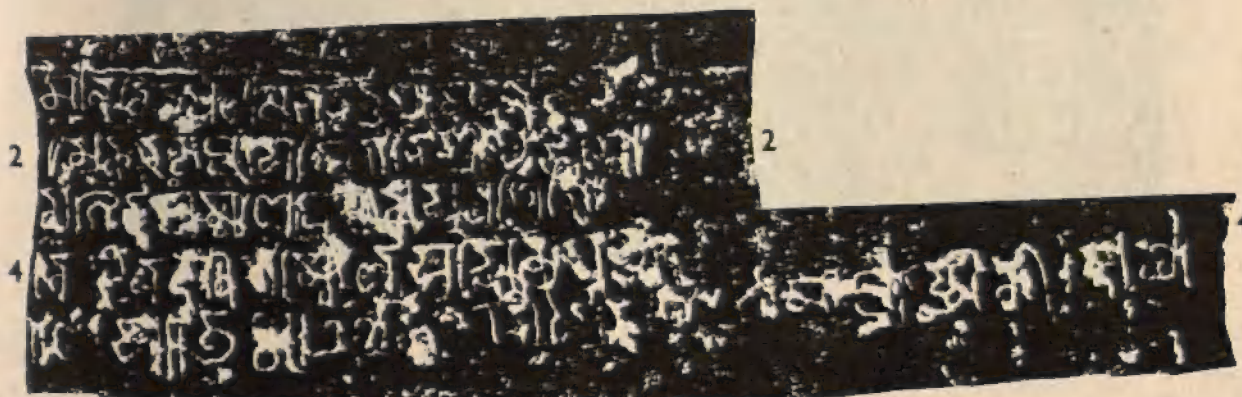
Scale: Two-Elevenths

Inscription No.2

Left Half



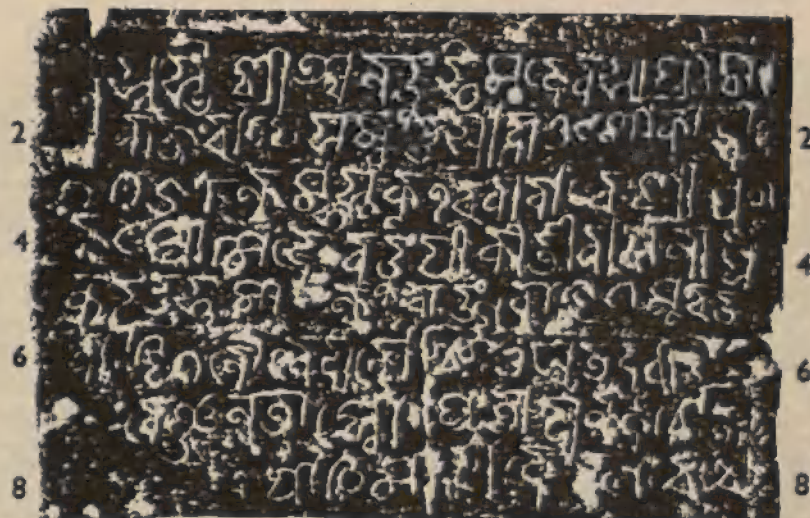
Right Half



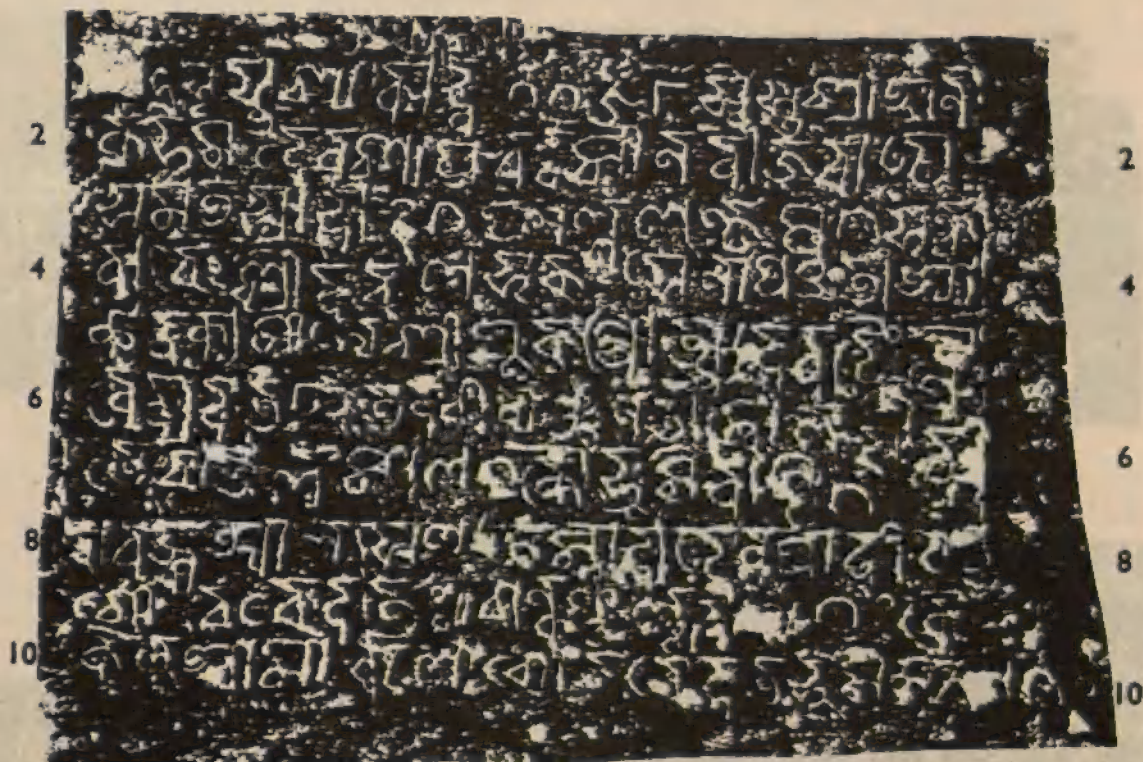
Scale: One-Fourth



Inscription No.3



Inscription No.4



Scale: One-Fourth



- 3 samata srāhi 31 Phālguna(na)-kṛishṇa 1 Su(Śu)kra-
- 4 vāreṇ śrīkarṇa-Suru-senāpatī(ti) ā-
- 5 iu-kāmārthe<sup>1</sup> śrī-Pūṛuṣhotmadēvaṅkai nai-
- 6 vedya darta<sup>2</sup> gh[ri]ta-dadhī-vyañjana-tāmvola-sahī-
- 7 te chāula-māṇa 1 kau(kai) bhūmi-vāṭi 1
- 8 Rāvaṅga-Ālasaṇāi Māhādeva-Pādhi[karṇ(āka)]
- 9 gochare dataḥ || gandha-phula-ha[lā 4] 10 kai
- 10 Kalūā-mālaṇī-gochare data bhūmi-māṇa 10 [||\*]

## No. 35—KHONAMUKH PLATES OF DHARMAPALA OF PRAGJYOTISHA

(1 Plate)

P. BANERJEE, CALCUTTA

This is a set of three copper plates, each measuring 9"×6". They are the property of the Assam State Museum, Gauhati. They were found by one Budhu Sut while tilling the ground at **Khonamukh**, a village in Mauza Barbhagiya in the Nowgong District of Assam. Khonamukh is about twenty-one miles from the Nowgong town. According to the information supplied to me by the Government Epigraphist for India, the inscription had been kept for some time at the Śivathān of the village, but was brought afterwards to Mr. L. M. Som, then Deputy Commissioner of Nowgong. And, ultimately, it was secured for the Assam State Museum.

The inscription was first published with an English translation by Mr. P. D. Chaudhury in the *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. VIII, No. 4, pp. 113 ff. The late Dr. N. K. Bhattasali, aided by Dr. R. G. Basak, suggested some corrections in respect of lines 35, 36, 37 and 40 of the inscription in the same journal, Vol. XI, pp. 1-3. A fresh and critical edition is now attempted from a nice set of inked impressions kindly supplied to me by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The plates are held together by a ring passing through the circular holes in them. Around the hole in each plate has been left some blank space, about 1½"×1½" (the width of three lines of writing) in plate 1, and about 1"×1" (the width of two lines of writing) in plates 2 and 3. Joined to the ring is the king's seal which is heart-shaped. The seal is divided into two compartments 'by a ledge running across it'. The upper portion of it shows the figure of an elephant to front while the lower portion is occupied by the legend consisting of the king's name and titles engraved in letters slightly larger in size than those employed in the grant. The seal measures 5"×3½".

The first and third plates are inscribed only on their inner side. The second plate contains writing on both the sides. The inscription consists of 58 lines of writing. The first inscribed side contains 16 lines, the second and third 15 lines each, and the fourth only 12 lines. The first side of the inscription is broken at places with the result that some letters have completely disappeared. Some inscribed portions of the fourth side (i.e. the third plate) also are either wholly or partially effaced.

<sup>1</sup> Sanskrit āyushkām-ā°.<sup>2</sup> Sanskrit śrī-Purushōttamadēvārtham naivedyam (i.e. °devanya naivedy-ārtham) datam.



The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. The formal part of the grant in lines 26-35 and 44-58 describing the locality and its boundaries, etc., is in prose. The remaining portion giving the genealogy of the donor and the donee is in verse.

The characters of the inscription belong to a variety of the alphabet used in the eastern part of India in the 12th century A.D. The letter *r* retains mostly its old form though its more developed triangular shape is also in evidence here and there (cf. *vir°* in line 25, *viśāradaḥ* in line 36, *Harēḥ* in line 41, etc.). Another peculiarity is the use of three varieties of the sign of the initial *i*. The first of these consists of two dots or ringlets with a complicated hook below. The second one is composed of two similar dots or ringlets with a circumflex above and hook below. The third variety is similar to the second except that, instead of a regular hook, it has got a slanting stroke below. *Anusvāra* is formed sometimes by a dot or ringlet alone (cf. *bhinnaṃ* and *Bhāratiyaṃ* in lines 2 and 17 respectively) but sometimes as in modern Bengali by a dot with a slanting line below it (cf. *Bhīmaṃ* in line 6, *paraṃ* in line 22, etc.). *B* and *v* are denoted throughout by the same sign.

As regards orthography, the following points call for remarks. *N* has been used in the place of *anusvāra* in *nistrinsa* in line 22 and *mīmāṃsā* in line 42. *Visarga* before the dental sibilant changes into that letter in *bhūs=sa* in lines 10-11. Final *m* is often wrongly substituted by *anusvāra*. Consonants following *r* are sometimes doubled.

The execution of the inscription is unsatisfactory. Letters or syllables are often omitted (cf. *kaṇa°* for *karāṇa°* in line 30, *rādhikrītān* for *rāṇak-ādhikrītān* in line 31, *pratīn* for *prabhritīn* in lines 31-32). There are occasional confusions of sibilants, as in *springāra°* for *śringāra°* in line 2, *sasāsa* for *śasāsa* in line 4, etc. Prakritism is to be found in *vachchharē* for Sanskrit *vatsarē* in line 43.

The present charter was issued by king Dharmapāla (son of Harshapāla and grandson of Gōpālā) of Prāgyōtisha in Assam. Two other copper-plate grants of this king are known. They are the Subhāṅkarapāṭaka and Pushpabhadra grants, both edited by Padmanātha Bhaṭṭāchārya in the *Kāmarūpasāsanāvalī*, pp. 146 ff. The introductory as well as the genealogical portion of the present inscription is also found (with but few divergences) in the Subhāṅkarapāṭaka grant. This agreement which is due to these two inscriptions having been composed by one and the same poet, named Prasthānakalasa, has helped us in restoring some of the portions missing in the present record.

The present inscription is the earliest of the three grants of Dharmapāla.<sup>1</sup> It was issued in the first regnal year of the king while his Subhāṅkarapāṭaka inscription was issued in the third year of his reign. The Pushpabhadra grant which contains no date was issued in his advanced age as Bhaṭṭāchārya has convincingly shown.<sup>2</sup>

The inscription begins with *svasti* and is followed by a laudatory verse in honour of Ardhayuvatiśvara (i.e. Ardhanārīśvara-Śiva).<sup>3</sup> It then gives in the next thirteen verses the genealogy of king Dharmapāla. There was a king Naraka by name, who was born of the Earth and Viṣṇu in his Boar incarnation. His son was Bhagadatta. Then after an undefined interval flourished in the latter's family a king named Brahmapāla.<sup>4</sup> His son was Ratnapāla<sup>5</sup> and grandson Purandarapāla

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Jenkins, Agent of the then Governor General, made mention of a grant of one Dharmapāla, dated in the year 36, when he sent a copy of the grant of Vanamāla to the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. See *JASB*, 1840, p. 766. But nothing about its contents or whereabouts is known to us.

<sup>2</sup> *Kāmarūpasāsanāvalī*, p. 147.

<sup>3</sup> The Pushpabhadra grant of Dharmapāla, which was issued in later years of the king, begins with a verse in honour of Viṣṇu. This shows that the king who was a follower of Śaivism as it appears from the present grant, in early years, became devoted to Viṣṇu in later life. [The adoration to Śiva at the beginning of the Khonamukh and Subhāṅkarapāṭaka inscriptions may be due to their author Prasthānakalasa being a Śaiva.—D.C.S.]

<sup>4</sup> No inscription of Brahmapāla has been discovered as yet. In the inscription of his son, Ratnapāla, he is simply called *Mahārājādhirāja*, while Ratnapāla has full imperial titles. See *JASB*, Vol. LXVII, 1898, p. 111.

<sup>5</sup> For Ratnapāla's reign we have two copper-plate grants, the Bargan grant and the Suālkuchi grant. See *JASB*, op. cit., pp. 99 ff., and *Kāmarūpasāsanāvalī*, pp. 89 ff.



who died as a *Yuearāja* leaving behind his son Indrapāla.<sup>1</sup> Indrapāla's son was Gōpāla. The latter's son was Harashapāla.<sup>2</sup> From him and his queen Ratnā was born Dharmapāla.

Besides carrying the genealogy of the Pāla kings of Assam three generations further from Indrapāla, the inscriptions of Dharmapāla throw no new light on the history of Prāgjyōtisha. These grants, like those of Indrapāla and Ratnapāla, are not dated in any era. Chronologically, the Pālas of Assam followed the line of Prālammbha which again was preceded by that of Sālastambha<sup>3</sup> flourishing perhaps immediately after Bhāskaravarman. Brahmapāla, the first of the Pāla rulers in Assam, was chosen, we are told in his son Ratnapāla's Bargaon grant, as king by the people to continue the line of Naraka, on Tyāgasimha (the last king of Sālastambha's family) dying issueless.<sup>4</sup> On palaeographical grounds, Hoernle<sup>5</sup> was inclined to place Ratnapāla's grants in *circa* 1010-1050 A.D. Brahmapāla, then, it appears, ruled somewhere in the neighbourhood of 1000 A.D. Regarding Dharmapāla's period of rule, it may be stated that he flourished three generations later than Indrapāla whose Gauhati plates have been assigned to *c.* 1060 A.D.<sup>6</sup> on palaeographical reasons. Thus Dharmapāla reigned somewhere in the first half of the 12th century A.D. and this is supported by the palaeography of his inscriptions.

The object of the inscription is to record a grant made by king Dharmapāla of some land in Mērupātaka, producing six thousand measures of paddy.<sup>7</sup> Mērupātaka was a plot of land carved out of a bigger area called Digalaṇḍī belonging to the district of Purujī.<sup>8</sup> The donee was *Bhaṭṭa Mahābāhu*, son of *Vishṇu* and grandson of *Ummōka* who was a *Brāhmaṇa* of the *Kāśyapa gōtra* and follower of the *Kāṇva śākhā* of the *Yajurveda* and hailed from *Madhyadēsa*.

It may be stated here that only a portion of Mērupātaka yielding six thousand measures of paddy was given by this grant to *Bhaṭṭa Mahābāhu*. Another portion of it yielding the same quantity of paddy was already in the possession of *Mahābāhu*. As it is stated in line 45 of the inscription, this portion lay on the east of what was conveyed to him by the present grant.

Regarding the localities mentioned in the inscription, the name *Prāgjyōtisha* is applied here to a city, as also in some other records of Assam. The city stood somewhere near the modern town of Gauhati. The other localities could not be identified.

## TEXT\*

### First Plate

[Metres : vv. 1-13 *Vasantatilakā* ; v. 14 *Mālinī* ; v. 15 *Āryā* ; vv. 16, 17, 19, 20 and 22 *Anuṣṭubh* ; v. 18 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; v. 21 irregular.]

1 S[*v*]asti | Vandē tam=Arddhay[*u*]vatīśvaram=ādīdēvam=indīvar-ōraga-phaṇā-maṇi-karṇa-pūra[m]<sup>10</sup>(ram|) [uttu]-

<sup>1</sup> There are two copper-plate grants of Indrapāla's reign, namely, the Gauhati plates (*JASB*, Vol. XLVI, 1897, pp. 113 ff., and *Kāmarūpasāsānāvalī*, pp. 116 ff.) and the Guākuchi grant (*Kāmarūpasāsānāvalī*, pp. 130 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> No inscriptions of Gōpāla and Harashapāla, the grandfather and father respectively of Dharmapāla, have yet been found.

\* [But see above, Vol. XXIX, p. 149.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> *JASB*, Vol. LXVII, 1898, p. 108.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 1898, p. 102.

<sup>6</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> In line 30 of the inscription the piece of land in question is described as *dvī-sahasr-ōtpattika*, i.e. producing only two thousand measures of paddy. But this is apparently a scribal mistake for *śaṭ-sahasr-ōtpattika*, for in line 43 of the record, the land granted to the donee is expressly called *dhānya-śaṭ-sahasr-ōtpattikā bhūmi*.

<sup>8</sup> It is mentioned also in the Pushpabhadra grant of Dharmapāla, line 46. See *Kāmarūpasāsānāvalī*, p. 177.

<sup>9</sup> From impressions. Minor errors in the published transcript of the inscription have not been noted in all cases.

<sup>10</sup> In the place of *karṇapāra[m]*, Padmanātha Bhaṭṭāchārya reads *kaṇṭha-ba[ndham]* in the Subhankarapātaka inscription (*Kāmarūpasāsānāvalī*, p. 150).



- 2 [āga-pīna]<sup>1</sup>-kucha-kuṭkuma-bhasma-bhinnaṁ sri(śrī)ṅgāra-raudra-rasayōr-iva sarggam=ēkaṁ-  
(kam) || [1\*] Dēvasya Sū[ka]-
- 3 [ra-tanōs=ta]<sup>2</sup>nayaḥ Pṛithivyām jāto va(ba)bhūva nṛpatir=Nnarak-ābhidhānaḥ | jitvā  
Śatakratu-puraḥ[sa]-
- 4 [ra-dikpatī]n<sup>3</sup> yaḥ Prāgyōtishā'-puri chirāya sasāsa<sup>4</sup> rājyaṁ(jyam) || [2\*] Tasy=ātmajaḥ  
samabhavad=Bhagada-
- 5 [tta-nā\*]mā dhām-ādhikō nṛpati-mauli-nighṛishṭa-pādaḥ | yat-saṅgara-śrama-viśi(shī)dad-  
asīma-śaurya[m]
- 6 [mū]rchchā priy=ēva parirabhya raraksha Bhīmaṁ(mam) || [3\*] Tasmina(smin) mahi-  
pati-kulē Kulaśaila-kalpaḥ Prāchi-
- 7 [pa]ti-pratikṛtir=nnṛpatir=vva(bba)bhūva | śrī-Vra(Bra)hmapāla iti viśruta-nāmadhēyō dhye-  
yō dvi-
- 8 [shā]m guṇavatān=cha bhay-ānurāgaiḥ || [4\*] Prādurvva(rbba)bhūva suta-ratnam=anūna-  
dhāmā śrī-Ratnapā-
- 9 [la] iti tasya yathārtha-nāmā | yasy=āsa saṅgara-jitō nṛpa-chakra-mauli-mālā-dharē
- 10 [cha]raṇa ēva mahīpa-lakshmīḥ || [5\*] Tasy=ātma-jō=jani Purandarapāla-nāmā dhām-aika-  
bhū-
- 11 s=sa sukṛti yuvarāja ēva | sāyujyam=āpa vidhi-viparyayataḥ' pitṛpām=utpādyā sādhu-  
chari[taṁ]
- 12 sutam=Indrapālaṁ(lam) || [6\*] Rājā chirāya sa mahīm praśasā(śā)sa samyak śakti-traya-  
prathita-śaurya-vi[n]i-
- 13 rjjit-āriḥ | iṣṭaiḥ prahṛishṭa-Va(Ba)labhit-kratubhiḥ kṛtīnām=agrēsaraḥ Smara iva pramadā-  
janānām(nām) || [7\*]
- 14 Tasy=ātmaabhūr=abhavad=apratima=pratāpō Gōpāla ity=avanipāla-kula-pradīpaḥ | yaḥ sīmni  
śau-
- 15 rya-dhaninām guṇinām vadānya(nyō) dākshīnya-puṇya-viduṣhām vasatī sma lōk[ē] || [8\*]  
Tasmād=va(d=ba)bhūva tanayaḥ pitṛi-
- 16 harsha-pālaḥ śrī-Harshapāla iti sādhu-jan-ōpagitāḥ | samprāpya chāru-charitaṁ chiram=āpa  
sā[khya]-

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 17 [sau]khy-āmrītaṁ Kamalayā saha Bhāratīya[ḥ](yam) || [9\*] Santarppitāḥ samara-bhūmishu  
yēna sa(śa)śvat khaḍga'-prahāra-da-
- 18 lit-āhita-kumbhi-kumbhaiḥ | rakshōga'nā[h\*] prachura-phēna-vimīśram=aśram=ushṇ-ō-  
shṇam=āśu tṛishitāḥ paritāḥ piva(ba)nti || [10\*]

<sup>1</sup> The restoration here and in the following lines is based on the reading of the Subhankarapāṭaka grant.

<sup>2</sup> Only traces of *ta* remain.

<sup>3</sup> The letter *ti* is partially extant.

<sup>4</sup> Read *Prāgyōtishā'*. The more familiar form of the name is *Prāgyōtisha*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *śaśśa*.

<sup>6</sup> The letter *nā* is only partially extant.

<sup>7</sup> Read *vidhi-paryayataḥ* for the sake of metre.

<sup>8</sup> The Subhankarapāṭaka inscription reads *śastra* (*Śāmarāpāśāsanaśālī*, p. 153).

<sup>9</sup> The letter *ga* is ill-formed.



2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16

ii.a

18 20 22 24 26 28 30

18 20 22 24 26 28 30

ii.b

32 34 36 38 40 42 44 46

32 34 36 38 40 42 44 46



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52  
54  
56  
58

४८ धीमन्निन्नाभ्यादादि तत्र नोत्तरकरो भवन्ति नोत्तरकरो भवन्ति नोत्तरकरो भवन्ति  
 ५० नोत्तरकरो भवन्ति नोत्तरकरो भवन्ति नोत्तरकरो भवन्ति नोत्तरकरो भवन्ति  
 ५२ नोत्तरकरो भवन्ति नोत्तरकरो भवन्ति नोत्तरकरो भवन्ति नोत्तरकरो भवन्ति  
 ५४ नोत्तरकरो भवन्ति नोत्तरकरो भवन्ति नोत्तरकरो भवन्ति नोत्तरकरो भवन्ति  
 ५६ नोत्तरकरो भवन्ति नोत्तरकरो भवन्ति नोत्तरकरो भवन्ति नोत्तरकरो भवन्ति  
 ५८ नोत्तरकरो भवन्ति नोत्तरकरो भवन्ति नोत्तरकरो भवन्ति नोत्तरकरो भवन्ति

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56  
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Seal



(From a Photograph)

- 19 Dēvasya tasya mahishī pravarā satinām=ātm-ānurūpa-kulajā Girij=ēva Śambhōh | Ratn-  
ābhidhā vividha-puṇya-
- 20 pavitra-kīrttir=utkīrya śītakirapād=iva nirmmitt=ābhūt || [11\*] Putras=tayōr=abhavad=  
amvu(mbu)dhi-mēkhalāyā bha[r]ttā bhuvah(va)-
- 21 s=tribhuvan-ābharapa[m] mahīpaḥ ||( ) śrī-Dharmmapāla iti dharmmaparō=pi kāmam=  
arthañ=cha pālayatē(ti) yaḥ prasamikshya<sup>1</sup> kā-
- 22 lam(lam) || [12\*] Nistrinsa<sup>2</sup>-ghāta-dalit-[ē]bha-vimukti(ka)-muktā-pushp-ōpahāra-ruchi-  
rēshu raṇ-āṅgaṇēshu ||( ) dēvaḥ paraṁ samara-sambha-
- 23 vayā viharttum=ēkaḥ śriyā vijayatē saha Dharmmapālāḥ || [13\*] Parīṇayati-ya ēkō bhūmim=  
=ēk-ātapa-
- 24 ttrām śaraṇam=upagatānām=ēkakō yaḥ śaraśya(nya)ḥ [ | ] jagati vidita-kīrttir=Dharmmapāl-  
ābhidhānaḥ
- 25 sa jayati jita-vīr-ārāti-chakrō parēndrah || [14\*] Prasthānakalasa-nāmnā kavinā gō-varuṇa-  
māna-vai-
- 26 dyēna | rachitā praśastir=amalā rājñah śrī-Dharmmapālasya || || [15\*] Svasti Prāgjyōtish-  
ādhipaty-asamikhyāt-ā-
- 27 pratihata-daṇḍa-kshapit-āsēsha-ripu-pakshah(ksha)-śrī-vārāha-paramēśvara-paramabhāṭṭā-  
raka-mahārājādhirāja-
- 28 śrīmad-dHarshapālavarṇmadēva-pād-ānudhyāta-paramēśvara-paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārā-  
jādhirāja-śrīmad-Dha-
- 29 rmmapālavarṇmadēva-pādāḥ kushalinah<sup>3</sup> || || Puruḥji-vishay-āntahpāti-Digalaṇḍī-bhūmy-  
apakṛishṭa-
- 30 dhānya-dvi<sup>4</sup>-sahasr-ōtpattika-Mērupātaka-bhūmau || || Yathāyatham samupasthita-vishaya-  
ka[ra\*]ṇa-vya-
- 31 vahārīka-pramukha-janapadān rāja-rājñi-rādhikṛitān=anany=api<sup>5</sup> rājanyaka-rājaputra-  
rājaval[1]abha-pra-

## Second Plate, Second Side

- 32 [bhri\*][tī]n yathākāla-bhāvinō=pi sarvvān mānanā-pū[r]vaka[m] samādīsa(śa)nti vīditam=  
astu bhavatām bhūmir=iyam vāstu-
- 33 [kē]dāra-sthala-ja<sup>6</sup>l-ākara-gōprachār-āvashka(śka)r-ādy-upētā yathāsamsthā sva-sīm-ōddēśa-  
paryantā hastiva(ba)ndha-naukāva(ba)ndha-
- 34 chaurōddharapa-dāṇḍapāśik-auparikara-nānā-nimitt-ōtkhēṭana-hasty-aśv-ōshṭra-gō-mahish-  
ājāvika-prachāra-sa-ja-

<sup>1</sup> The Subhankarapātaka inscription has *prasamikshya* (*Kāmarūpaśāśanāvalī*, loc. cit.).

<sup>2</sup> Read *nistrinsa*.

<sup>3</sup> The punctuation mark here (and also in lines 29, 30, 35 and 44) consists of two pairs of *daṇḍas*, and an ornament-  
tal design between them, looking like four *Nandipadas*.

<sup>4</sup> This word can be spelt with *ś* or *śh* as pointed out by Padmanātha Bhaṭṭāchārya (*Kāmarūpaśāśanāvalī*, p.

154 f., n. 8).

<sup>5</sup> Here *dui*<sup>7</sup> appears to be a mistake for *śhaj*<sup>8</sup>; cf. line 49.

<sup>6</sup> Read *rānak-ādhipikṛitān=anyān=api*.

<sup>7</sup> An *ā-mātrā* had been originally engraved after *j* through inadvertence.



- 35 la-sthala-prabhritin<sup>1</sup> vinivārīta-sa[r\*]vva-pīdā śāsanikṛitya || || Madhyadēs-ōdbhavō viprō  
yajvā Vēd-āṅga<sup>2</sup>-pā-
- 36 ragaḥ | yōgi rathika Ummōkaḥ sarvva-śāstra-vīsāra[da][h\*] || [16\*] Kāsya(śya)pō=sau Yajurv-  
vēdī Kānva(ṇva)-śākhō mahāmakaḥ [|]
- 37 Agnishtōm-ādibhir-yō(yā)gair-yēn=ēshṭam va(ba)hudhā kila || [17\*] Tasminn=adhvara-  
dhūma-tivra-vikala-vyālōla-pāṭhān vaṭūn<sup>3</sup>
- 38 k[r]īdā-pañjara-saṁyataḥ sarid-uru-prajñā-nidhānaḥ |<sup>4</sup> śukaḥ<sup>5</sup> ||(|) [ya]nrā(tr=ā)sīt khalu  
śikshayan=mu-
- 39 hur=alam<sup>6</sup> saṁsmārayan<sup>7</sup> śārikā āsan yanra(tra) cha lajjitāḥ punar=asi(pi)<sup>8</sup> viprās=chiram<sup>9</sup>  
ritvijah [| 18\*]
- 40 Tasya sūnur=abhūd=vīraḥ śā(śa)stra-śāstra-parāyaṇaḥ | nāmnā Viṣṇur=iti khyātō bhuvi  
Viṣṇur=-i-
- 41 v=āparaḥ || [19\*] Śambhōr=abhūd-yathā Gaurī Lakshmīr=iva Harēḥ priyā | tasy=āsīn=  
Manōramā-nāma apar-ākhyā<sup>10</sup>
- 42 Manasvinī | [|] [20\*] Tābhyām=ajāyata sutaḥ śrīmān=Mahāvā(bā)hur=iti vīsrutaḥ | Mīmāns-  
ābhyāsa<sup>10</sup>-niḥśēsha-
- 43 dōsha-prōsi(shi)ta-mānasah || [21\*] Rājñā śrī-Dharmmapālēna rājyē prathama-vachchha-  
(tsa)rō | dhānya-shaṭ-sasrikā<sup>11</sup> bhūmi-
- 44 r-ddattā tasya dvijanmanah<sup>12</sup> || || [22\*] Asyāḥ simā pūrvvēṇa Hākkēvaṭṭi-bhūḥ Phēṭṭasim-  
mali-Digalaṇḍi-bhūḥ
- 45 Mērupāṭaka-dhā<sup>13</sup>-shaṭ-sahasrāṇi Bhaṭṭa-Mahāvā(bā)hu-bhujyamānāni | Purujyām pūrvvēṇa  
Saṁkhu<sup>14</sup>-pāṭaka-bhūmau
- 46 kshētrāli-Vaṭavṛiksha-saha-simā | dakṣiṇēna Arjjā<sup>15</sup>-pāṭakī-bhūmau tad-vakrēṇa Bhalla(ḷā)-  
chaṇa<sup>16</sup> vṛiksha-simā [|]

## Third Plate

- 47 .....<sup>17</sup> simā dakṣiṇēna .....<sup>18</sup>  
bhūmī vṛi(bṛi)had-āli[h\*] Aśvas[tha](ttha)[vṛiksha]-si[mā] |

<sup>1</sup> Read *prabhritinām*.

<sup>2</sup> Chaudhury and Bhattasali read *Yajurvēd-āṅga*.

<sup>3</sup> Chaudhury reads this portion as *vyālōla-yāmana-vatana* and Bhattasali as *vyālōla-yāmanā navah*.

<sup>4</sup> The punctuation mark is unnecessary here.

<sup>5</sup> Chaudhury does not read this as well as the next word.

<sup>6</sup> Bhattasali reads *gurur=alam* and Chaudhury *mudgaralam*.

<sup>7</sup> The rule of *Sandhi* has been neglected here.

<sup>8</sup> Bhattasali reads *dhana-rasē* which does not yield a satisfactory sense.

<sup>9</sup> [Reads *Nēpur-ākhyā*. The metre of the stanza is irregular.—D.C.S.]

<sup>10</sup> Read *mīmāns-ābhyāsa*.

<sup>11</sup> Intended for *sahasrikā*; *sasrikā* is written perhaps for the sake of the metre.

<sup>12</sup> As the lower dot is not clear, instead of *vicarga* the sign looks like an *anusvāra*. The sixth case has been used here instead of the fourth case according to the rule *vivakṣāyām śaśhāḥ*.

<sup>13</sup> Read *dhānya*.

<sup>14</sup> Chaudhury reads *Samkha*.

<sup>15</sup> Chaudhury reads *Ajjā*.

<sup>16</sup> Chaudhury reads *Halāvaṇa*. [He seems to be right.—D.C.S.]

<sup>17</sup> About ten letters here are obliterated completely.

<sup>18</sup> About five letters here are obliterated completely.

- 48 <sup>1</sup>paśchimēna Khaṇṭāpāṭṭakī<sup>2</sup>-bhūmī<sup>3</sup>-saha-sīmā vṛi(bṛi)had-āli[h\*] | tad-vakrēṇa Jatōdī-  
pam(pam)<sup>4</sup> Svayambhūdēva-[sa]-
- 49 ha-sīmā kshētr-āli[h\*] | uttarēṇa Dēvanātha-śa(sa)tkā-sā(śā)sana-saha-sīmā A<sup>5</sup>vastha(ttha)-  
vṛiksha[h\*] | tad-vakrēṇa Khāgāli<sup>6</sup>-
- 50 bhūmī<sup>7</sup>-saha-sīmā | tad-uttarēṇa Pañchāpaṭaka-bhūmau Jādmakā<sup>8</sup>-jōla[m\*] | dakshiṇa-  
pāṭaka iti || Ēvam=a-
- 51 para-khaṇḍa-Digalaṇḍī-Mērupāṭaka-sīmāḥ [[] pūrvvēṇa Chōkkāpāṭaka-Kumāra-satka-  
śāsana-paśchima-
- 52 pāṭaka[h\*] | Kaṇṭā-phala-vṛiksha-puska(shka)riṇī-Vaṭa-vṛiksha-saha-sīmā | Pannā<sup>9</sup>vāṇa-da-  
kshiṇa-pāṭaka[h\*] | tad-va-
- 53 krēṇa Bhāvadēva-puska(shka)riṇī-u(ṇy-u)ttara-pāṭaka[h\*] Kōñchaliviḍi-vṛi(bṛi)had-āli[h\*] |  
tad-uttarē-
- 54 ṇa | paśchimēna Madhumathana-śa(sa)tkā-śāsana-pura-putta<sup>10</sup>-bhūmau(mi)-saha-sīmā vṛi-  
(bṛi)had-āli[h\*] | ta-
- 55 tō dakshiṇēna Vaṭavṛiksha-saha-sīmā | tatō dakshiṇēna Pāñchāka-bhūmi-[Mau]sarōla<sup>11</sup>-jōla-
- 56 u(l-ō)ttara<sup>12</sup>-pāṭaka[h\*] | pūrvvēṇa Va(Ba)labhadra-puska(shka)riṇī-u(ṇy-u)ttara-pāṭaka-  
saha-sīmā | tata(taḥ) pūrvvēṇa Chōkkā-pāṭa-
- 57 ka-bhū-sīmni<sup>13</sup> jōla-paśchima-pāṭaka[h\*] | vṛi(bṛi)had-āli[h\*] | Sāhaḍā-jōṭaka-vṛikshaḥ  
Digalaṇḍī-bhūmī Kama-
- 58 ṇḍa[la]-gōtrasya<sup>14</sup> śri-Dāṇḍu<sup>15</sup> paśchimē ēk-āṇśa<sup>16</sup>.....

## Seal

- 1 Svasti [[] Prāgjyōtish-ādhipati-ma-
- 2 hārājādhirāja-śrī-Dharmma-
- 3 pālavarṃmadēvaḥ ||

<sup>1</sup> Chaudhury does not read the first six *akṣaras* of this line.

<sup>2</sup> Chaudhury reads *pāṭakī*.

<sup>3</sup> Chaudhury reads *bhūmau*.

<sup>4</sup> I am not sure of the reading. Chaudhury reads *dvīpaḥ*. [The reading appears to be *Chātādīpaḥ*.—D.C.S.]

<sup>5</sup> This may be the same place as Khaggāli mentioned in the Pushpabhadra grant of Dharmapāla, line 61 (*Kāmarūpaśāsanāvālī*, p. 178). Chaudhury does not read this place name.

<sup>6</sup> Chaudhury reads *bhūmau*.

<sup>7</sup> Chaudhury does not read this word.

<sup>8</sup> [The reading may be *Pannya*.—D.C.S.]

<sup>9</sup> [The reading may be *prati*.—D.C.S.]

<sup>10</sup> Chaudhury reads *Māsarōla*.

<sup>11</sup> Chaudhury does not read this word.

<sup>12</sup> Chaudhury reads *bhūmiḥ* in place of *bhū-sīmni*.

<sup>13</sup> Chaudhury does not read these letters.

<sup>14</sup> The reading may also be *śri-dāṇḍu* intended for *śri-dāru* (tree) which may be the same as *suvārpa-dāru* mentioned in the Nowgong grant of Balavarman, line 48 (*Kāmarūpaśāsanāvālī*, p. 80). Chaudhury reads *śri-dāu*. [The reading seems to be *Dāum*.—D.C.S.]

<sup>15</sup> Read *ēk-āṇśa[h]*.



## No. 36—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM BHILSA

(1 Plate)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

**Bhilsā** or **Bhēlsā** (24 N, 76 E), standing on the bank of the Betwā (ancient Vētravati), is the headquarters of a District of the same name in the old Gwalior State now forming a part of the State of Madhya Bhārat. Near it, on the opposite bank of the river, lies the village of Beasagar representing the ancient city of Vidiśā or Vaidiśā, capital of the Ākara or Daśārṇa *janapada*, roughly corresponding to East Malwa. As the principal city in this area, Vidiśā gave place to Bhilsā in the early medieval period. Such facts as the issue of the Vadner plates<sup>1</sup> of the Kalachuri king Buddharāja in the Kalachuri year 360 (608 A.D.) from Vaidiśā and the mention of Vidiśā in Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-samhitā*<sup>2</sup> (sixth century) and Rājasēkhara's *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*<sup>3</sup> (earlier part of the tenth century) show that the old city retained some of its importance even in the post-Gupta period. But soon we notice the total eclipse of Vidiśā and the rise of Bhāillasvāmin or Bhailasvāmin, of which *Bhilsā* or *Bhēlsā* is a later corruption. **Bhāilla**<sup>4</sup> or **Bhailasvāmin** was originally the name of an image of the Sun-god worshipped in a great temple at the place which became gradually famous under the deity's name.

An inscription<sup>5</sup>, noticed by F. E. Hall at Bhilsā nearly a century ago, has the passage *Bhāillasvāmi-nāmā ravi=avatu bhuvāḥ svāminam Kṛishṇarājām*. This shows that Bhāillasvāmin was regarded as a representation of Ravi or the Sun-god and that the record was incised during the rule of king Kṛishṇa. This ruler has been supposed to be the Rāshtrakūṭa monarch Kṛishṇa III (circa 939-68 A.D.).<sup>6</sup> Another inscription, discovered at Bhilsā and supposed to be written in characters of the tenth century, is stated to contain a eulogy of the said god;<sup>7</sup> but, as will be shown below, the earliest Bhilsā inscription referring to the temple of Bhāillasvāmin bears a date in the second half of the ninth century. About 1030 A.D., Albēruni mentions the city of Bhailsān (Bhāilla<sup>8</sup> or Bhailasvāmin) and places it on the road from Mathurā to Ujjayinī and Dhārā.<sup>9</sup> He further says that it was 'a place most famous among the Hindūs' and that 'the name of the town is identical with [that of] the idol worshipped there'. A charter<sup>10</sup> of the Chandēlla king Madanavarman, dated V.S. 1190 (1133 A.D.), was issued from his camp near Bhailasvāmin, apparently meaning the deity who seems to be also mentioned as 'Bhāsvat on the bank of the Mālvānadi (Vētravati?)' in an earlier Chandēlla record<sup>11</sup> of V.S. 1011 (954 A.D.). An inscription<sup>12</sup> from Udaypur (founded by and named after Paramāra Udayāditya) in the Bhilsā District, dated V.S. 1229 (1173 A.D.), speaks of the surrounding area as Bhāillasvāmi-mahādvādaśaka-maṇḍala (i.e. the district called Bhāillasvāmin consisting of twelve sub-divisions) which included Bhṛīṅgārikā-chatuḥṣaṣṭi-

<sup>1</sup> Bhandarkar's List, No. 1207.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter XVI, verse 32.

<sup>3</sup> G.O.S. edition, p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> See *JASB*, Vol. XXXI, 1862, p. 111; above, Vol. XXIX, p. 21, note.

<sup>5</sup> An inscription (No. 159 of App. B, 1952-53) in the Gwalior Museum, recently examined by me, seems to lend some colour to this identification. The epigraph, assignable to a date about the tenth century on palaeographical grounds, records the death of a warrior in a battle with the Karmāṭas who may have been no other than the Rāshtrakūṭas.

<sup>6</sup> *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State, Samvat 1979, No. 25; Hariharnivas Drivedi, Gwalior Rājyake Abhilekh* (in Hindi), p. 101, No. 743.

<sup>7</sup> Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Part I, p. 202; cf. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. I, p. 59.

<sup>8</sup> Bhandarkar, op. cit., No. 231.

<sup>9</sup> Above, Vol. I, pp. 124 ff. (cf. *Mālvānadi-tīra-sthīt= Bhāsvataḥ* in verse 45).

<sup>10</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 344 ff.



pathaka (i.e. a sub-district called Bhṛīṅgārikā consisting of sixty-four villages) governed by a *Daṇḍa* (i.e. *Daṇḍanāyaka*) probably having his headquarters at Udayapura (i.e. Udayapur, the findspot of the record). The name of the district was no doubt derived from that of its chief city which again assumed the name of the deity worshiped there.

In 1233 or 1234 A.D., Sultān Iltutmish of Delhi sent or led an army against Malwa and the Muhammadans 'took the fort and city of Bhilsā or Bhīlasān'. While describing the said expedition, Minhājuddīn's *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*<sup>1</sup> says that, at Bhilsā, the Muhammadans destroyed a temple which was one hundred and five *gaz* in height. The same work seems to indicate that the temple was built three hundred years earlier thus referring its construction to a date about the tenth century, although, as indicated above, we have now evidence regarding the existence of the Bhāillasvāmin temple at Bhilsā as early as the second half of the ninth century. However, the glory of the god Bhāilla° of Bhāillasvāmin did not totally eclipse with the demolition or desecration of his temple in 1233-34 A.D. But it was not destined to continue for a long time. According to Badāūn's *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*,<sup>2</sup> in 1292 A.D., during the reign of the Khilji Sultān Jalāluddīn Firūz of Delhi, his nephew 'Alāuddīn, governor of Karra, obtained permission 'to proceed to Bhilsā and attacked that country and brought much booty thence to present to the Sultān, and the idol which was the object of worship of the Hrudūs he caused to be cast down in front of the gate of Badāūn to be trampled upon by the people'. Thus ended the worship of the god at the city which received his name and is still continuing to enjoy it in its colloquial form.

#### A. Inscription of V. S. 935

In December 1952 and January 1953, I was travelling in certain areas of Madhya Bhārat and Rājasthān in search of inscriptions. In that connection I visited Gwalior during the last week of December 1952. There I had an opportunity not only of attending the Fifteenth Session of the Indian History Congress but also of inspecting a number of stone inscriptions exhibited in the local museum under the Archaeological Department of the old Gwalior State (now Madhya Bhārat). One of these records was a stone inscription collected from Mahalgāṭ at Bhilsā. It has been noticed in the Annual Report of the State Archaeological Department for Sāhvat 1970 (Inscription No. 8) as well as in H. N. Dvivedi's *Gwalior Rājyake Abhilekh* (p. 3, No. 10), published by the same Department. According to the account published in these works, the inscription is fragmentary and illegible and its purport not clear. On a careful examination of the record, however, I found that the major part of the inscription could be satisfactorily made out. It was also found that it is the earliest among the known inscriptions mentioning the temple of Bhāillasvāmin at Bhilsā.

The inscription under discussion contains only twelve lines of writing and covers a space about 16" in length and 13" in height. The writing is considerably damaged in lines 10-12. A portion has broken away from the left hand side of the inscribed stone and this has caused the loss of one or two *aksharas* at the beginning of lines 3-9.

The characters of the record belong to the North Indian Alphabet of the ninth century, sometimes called early Nāgarī. Its language is corrupt Sanskrit. As to the orthography of the inscription, it may be said that it exhibits some errors of spelling. The record bears the date : [Vikrama] Sāhvat 935, Vaiśākha-sudi 3. This date falls in 878 A.D.

The inscription records the grant of an *akshayanikā* made in favour of the āyatana or temple of the illustrious Bhāillasvāmin. The expression *akshayanikā* is apparently a mistake for

<sup>1</sup> Elliot and Dowson, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 328 ; cf. Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p. 217 ; Raverty, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, trans., pp. 622-23.

<sup>2</sup> Ranking's trans., Vol. I, p. 96.



*akshaya-nivikā*<sup>1</sup> which means 'a permanent endowment (providing a periodical income to be regularly and perpetually enjoyed by the donee)'. The donor was a merchant of the Pāravāḍa<sup>2</sup> community (*jāti*). His name was Haṭiāka and that of his father Chachchhiāka. It is stated that the grant was made by the libation of curds and water at the various *tīrthas* or bathing *ghāṭs* of the locality. This reminds us of the fact that the inscription was actually found at Mahalgāṭ at Bhilsā. The inscribed stone seems to have been originally embedded in the stairs of the *ghāṭ* in question. We know that grants were made in ancient India by the donor by pouring water in the donee's name or, when the latter was a person present to receive the donation, in the cavity of his folded hands.<sup>3</sup> The mention of curds along with water in the same context in the inscription under review is interesting.

The endowment consisted of the income derived from three *vīthīs*. The word *vīthi* is used in Sanskrit literature in the sense of 'a market, a stall, or a shop in a market',<sup>4</sup> although in some parts of ancient India it was often used in the sense of a territorial unit smaller than a district.<sup>5</sup> That the word *vīthi* in the inscription under review means 'a stall or shop in a market' is suggested by certain early medieval records of the Malwa region, incorporated in the Siyadoni (Jhansi District, U.P.) inscription<sup>6</sup> (in corrupt Sanskrit). *Vīthīs* are frequently mentioned in these records as lying in *haṭṭas* or market-places and as objects belonging to persons or deities, or gifts made in favour of deities worshipped in a local temple, or standing on the boundaries of other *vīthīs*. They are sometimes stated to have stood on the *haṭṭa-rathyā* or market-road and often to have faced this or that direction. Some of the epithets (such as *āchchhannā*, *avaliptā*, *kṛit-ōpasannā* and *uṇṇaka-sahitā*), applied to the *vīthīs*, are also used in the records in relation to houses. An *āvāsaniḥ* or house is stated to have been granted with all the rooms and *vīthīs* in it (*asy-ābhyantarē samasta-griha-samētām samasta-vīthi-samētām*) and in this connection it is further said : *yaḥ-kē-pi vīthīshu pravasaṭi sa cha gōshṭhī-bhāvitam bhāṭakam dadāti dāyādasya adhikāram n=āsti*. The reference to *bhāṭaka* (rent) for staying at the *vīthi* makes its nature fairly clear. As will be seen from our discussion below, the word *vīthi* has been used in the Siyadoni inscription and the record under discussion in exactly the same sense.

The first of the three *vīthīs*, the rent of which appears to have been assigned by the merchant Haṭiāka as an *akshayanivikā*, is described as follows : *vaṇik(nig)-Vuvāka-satka-vīthi bhōgādhi(dhī)nā-(natvēna) grihitā pa 13 (or 130) [sā] cha mayā pradat=ā(t=ā)grahāram(ratvēna) Nārāyaṇasya-(pāya)*. The word *satka* is a Sanskritized form of Pali *santaka* and means 'belonging to'. The passage *bhōg-ādhiṇā grihitā* seems to mean 'taken under possession'. This suggests that the *vīthi* in question was purchased by Haṭiāka from its owner Vuvāka. Unless such was the case, Haṭiāka could not have included its income in the *akshayanivikā* created by him.

The suggestion appears to be supported by the following grant recorded (in corrupt Sanskrit) in the Siyadoni inscription : *śrī-Vishṇu-bhaṭṭārakasya vaṇika-Śrīdharēṇa Mahāditya-sutēna vilē-pana-sanmārjjana-pūjāpana-dhūpa-pradīpa-naivēdy-ārtham śrīmad-Ādivarāha-drammasya pād-aik-am pradattam ētad-arthē māsān=māsam prati dīyamānam Pañchiyaka-dramm-aikam sāsanam likhitam ankē paṇ dra 1 ētad-arthē sā cha vīthi Nāga-satkā dakṣiṇ-ābhīmukhā uṇṇaka-sahitā kṛit-ōpasannā bhōg-ādhiṇā tishṭhati. .... asyā vīthyā mōchāpana-kālē apara-vīthi anurupā sāsanē likhāpya*

<sup>1</sup> Some early medieval inscriptions of the Malwa region use the form *akshayanīmī* or *akshayanīmikā* (above, Vol. I, pp. 160, 165).

<sup>2</sup> This may be the same as the Por, Porwār or Porwāl caste, often called Prāgvāta-varṇa in inscriptions. See Bhandarkar's List, No. 287 (cf. also Nos. 1523, etc.); Wilson's Glossary, s.v. *Porwāl*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Successors of the Śālavāhanas*, p. 192. The practice is still prevalent in some parts of the country.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Śiṣupālavadha*, IX, 32.

<sup>5</sup> Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 71; *Dacca University History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 23.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. I, pp. 173 ff.



*mōktavyā*.<sup>1</sup> The passage quoted above seems to record the grant of a quarter Ādivarāha-dramma (a coin apparently named after Pratihāra Bhōja I Ādivarāha, circa 836-85 A.D.) per month and, for this purpose, it appears to have been so arranged that a Pañchiyaka-dramma (another coin possibly equal to a quarter Ādivarāha-dramma)<sup>2</sup> would be paid monthly out of the rent of a *vīthi* belonging to Nāga but made *bhōg-ādhiṇā* (probably under a lease) by the donor who agreed that the said *vīthi* could be taken away only after substituting another of its kind for it. In the inscription under study, in what we have read as *pa* (followed by a number) in lines 4, 6, 7 and 11, *p* has a sign above it resembling an old medial *ō* mark, although medial *ō* is written differently in other cases occurring in the record. The mark as well as the fact that the *akshara* in question is followed by a number suggests that this *pa* in our record is a contraction. Possibly it stands for the coin called Pañchiyaka-dramma which, as known from its mention in the Siyadoni inscription quoted above, was current in the Malwa region in the early medieval period. Thus our inscription seems to say that the *vīthi* in question, which belonged to Vuvāka and fetched a monthly or annual rent of 13 or 130 Pañchiyaka-drammas, was purchased by Haṭiāka and was granted by him as an *agrahāra* in favour of the god Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu) worshipped in the Bhāillasvāmin temple apparently as a subordinate deity. The custom of installing the images of various gods and goddesses in the temple (or in shrines built in the temple precincts) of a well-known deity is not only prevalent even today but is also evidenced by numerous epigraphs including the Siyadoni inscription referred to above. The word *agrahāra* usually means an area of land granted in favour of Brāhmaṇas as a rent-free holding. But in inscriptions we have sometimes reference to other kinds of *agrahāras* such as the *Vaiśy-āgrahāra* (i.e. land given as a rent-free holding in favour of certain Vaiśyas).<sup>3</sup> In the record under study, the *vīthi* in question was made what may be called a *dēv-āgrahāra*. In connection with this grant, the inscription uses the word *mayā* (i.e. 'by me') instead of *tēna* (i.e. 'by him') required by the context. This coupled with the fact that the other two *vīthi*s, as will be shown below, were granted for the merit of the donor's parents probably suggests that the first of the three *vīthi*s was granted for his own merit.

The second of the three *vīthi*s belonged to a merchant whose name cannot be fully read. It was situated at Khahanāsithi which seems to have been the name of a market place. Its rent was *pa* 50 (i.e. 50 Pañchiyaka-drammas). The third *vīthi* belonged to a person named Gōvinda. Its rent was *pa* 40 (i.e. 40 Pañchiyaka-drammas). These two *vīthi*s were purchased by Haṭiāka who granted them in favour of the Mothers (i.e. the Mother-goddesses worshipped in the Bhāillasvāmin temple or in shrines in its precincts) for the merit of his parents. The rent of the three *vīthi*s was expected to meet the expenses of the regular offerings (*niyata-bhōga*) to the god and goddesses in question. The intention of the donor seems to have been that the *vīthi*s themselves could be utilised (*samālabhyāḥ*), probably implying their sale or mortgage, at critical junctures (*sandhi-pātē*) or emergencies. The concluding part of the inscription is very much damaged and the purport of this section is not clear.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it refers to the **existence of the temple of Bhāillasvāmin at Bhilsā as early as 878 A.D.** So long we had no definite evidence regarding the worship of the said god at Bhilsā before the tenth century. In regard to the name of the god Bhāillasvāmin, it is possible to suggest that the deity was originally installed by and named after a person called Bhāilla. Such a personal name is not unknown in the records

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. I, p. 178, text lines 37-38.

<sup>2</sup> The word *dramma* was derived from the Greek *drachma* weighing originally 67·5 grains, although the Indo-Greeks adopted the Persian Siglos standard of 86·45 grains (Rapson, *Indian Coins*, pp. 3, 6). The silver coins of the Ādivarāha type appear to have followed the 67·5 grains standard (cf. Smith, *Cat. C. Ind. Mus.* pp. 241 f.). The Pañchiyaka-dramma seems to have been a much heavier copper coin like the Yaudhēya *drammas* (cf. *ibid.*, p. 182, coin No. 18 b).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *JRAS*, 1952, p. 5.



of the Malwa region. An inscription<sup>1</sup> in the Gwalior Museum, recently examined by me, mentions one Bhāilla-bhaṭṭa, although, as the epigraph is palaeographically assignable to a date about the ninth or tenth century, it is uncertain whether the person in question was named after the Sun-god of Bhilsā. That sometimes other representations of the god in different parts of the Malwa region were named after the famous deity of Bhilsā is possibly suggested by a Siyadoni (Jhansi District, U.P.) epigraph<sup>2</sup> of V.S. 1005 (948 A.D.), which mentions a god named Bhāillasvāmin installed in a temple of that locality by a merchant named Vikrama; but it is also possible to think that Bhāillasvāmin of Siyadoni was named after another person called Bhāilla. In the latter case the Siyadoni Bhāillasvāmin may not have represented the Sun-god. Vā(Bā)illa-bhaṭṭa, mentioned in a Gwalior inscription<sup>3</sup> as a person, after whom the god Vishṇu established in a local temple was called Bāillabhaṭṭa-svāmin, may be a variant form of the same personal name.<sup>4</sup>

Of geographical names, the inscription only mentions Khahanāsithī. It was probably situated in the Bhilsā area. The inscription also indirectly refers to its findspot (i.e. Mahalgāṭ at Bhilsā) as *iha* (i.e. 'here').

TEXT<sup>5</sup>

- 1 Siddham<sup>6</sup> Samva(Sarhva)t 935 V[ai]śākha-sudi 3 ady=ēha ch=ānyōnya-tīrthē<sup>7</sup> vapi-
- 2 [k-śrī]-Haṭṭīkēna Chachchhiāka-sutēna Pāravā[ḍa]-jātyēna<sup>8</sup> sva-
- 3 ya-dadhē-jalābhyām<sup>9</sup> akshayanikā<sup>10</sup> pradanā(ttā) |<sup>11</sup> śrī-[Bhā]illasvā-
- 4 ..<sup>12</sup> yatanē [ | \*] Vanik(ṇig)-Vuvāka-satka-vithī bhōg-ādhi(dhī)nā<sup>13</sup> grihītā pa<sup>14</sup> 13<sup>15</sup>
- 5 ..<sup>16</sup> cha mayā<sup>17</sup> pradat=ā(tt=ā)g[rah]ārām<sup>18</sup> Nārāyaṇasya(nāya) aṇya(nya)-vanik(ṇig)-[Jñā]-
- 6 ..[pā]ka-satka-vithī bhōg-ādhi(dhī)nā Khahanāsithyām<sup>19</sup> grihīta(tā) pa<sup>20</sup> 50
- 7 ..pa cha<sup>21</sup> Gōvinda-satka(tkā) tasy=aiva<sup>22</sup> vithī bhōg-ādhi(dhī)nā grihītā pa<sup>23</sup> 40

<sup>1</sup> No. 169 of App. B, 1952-53.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. I, p. 177.

<sup>3</sup> For the same name and its variants, see also above, Vol. I, p. 168; Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 287, 1537; Cunningham's Reports, Vol. III, p. 43, etc.

<sup>4</sup> From impressions.

<sup>5</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>6</sup> Read *ch=āny-ānya-tīrthēṣu*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *jātyēna*.

<sup>8</sup> The intended reading seems to be *svayam dadhi-jalābhyām*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *akshayanīkā*.

<sup>10</sup> The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

<sup>11</sup> The lost *akṣhara* seems to have been *myā* so that the reading of the passage is *Bhāillasvāmy-āyatanē*.

<sup>12</sup> I.e. *bhōg-ādhi(nā)tvēna*.

<sup>13</sup> This *akṣhara* has a sign (resembling an old medial *ō* mark) at the top. It seems to be an abbreviation of *Pañchīyaka-dramma* which was the name of a coin current in the Malwa region in the early medieval period. Note the same contraction in lines 6, 7 and 11 below.

<sup>14</sup> We are not sure whether a figure has been broken away after this. See, however, line 11 below, where the same number is possibly given as 130.

<sup>15</sup> The lost *akṣhara* may have been *sā*.

<sup>16</sup> In the context, *tēna* is more suitable. Could the author mean *ātmanāḥ puṇyēna* (i.e. *puṇy-ārtham*) as opposed to *mātā-pitri-puṇyēna* in line 8 below?

<sup>17</sup> Better read *\*hāratvēna*.

<sup>18</sup> The implication is possibly *Khahanāsithī-haṭṭē*.

<sup>19</sup> The original reading may have been *api cha*.

<sup>20</sup> This may suggest that the *vithī* in question was in the direct possession of the owner while the two other *vithīs* were under tenants paying rent for them to their owners.



- 8 [ā]bhyām vīthyām<sup>1</sup> sām(mā)tā-pitri-puṇyēna (ny-ārtham) Mārtarāpām<sup>2</sup> pradatā(ttē) | [ā]bhi[r=a]-  
 9 ..<sup>3</sup> niyata-bhōgaṇm=utpadyatē<sup>4</sup> [ | \*] tē(tāḥ) hi samālabha(bhyāḥ) samdi(dhi)-pātē=nya-  
 (nya)[ch=cha]  
 10 ..... turma<sup>5</sup> ..... chatubhi chatubhi mā<sup>6</sup> ... ōbha .... i..... i.... kā  
 11 ..... dātavya pa' 130 pa' 5 ..... hē  
 12 ..... svītasya<sup>7</sup> syam vaṇik(ṇig)-dātavyam=iti [||\*]

B. *Eulogy of Sun-god, composed by Chhittapa*

In course of my tour in Madhya Bhārat and Rājasthān about the end of 1952 and the beginning of 1953, already referred to above, I reached Bhilsā on the 20th of January 1953. While putting up at the local Dak Bungalow, I had the opportunity of inspecting a number of antiquities gathered in the compound of the Dak Bungalow itself. I was told that the relics had been collected by a local enthusiast named Rājmal Jain Maḍavaiyā but that the Archaeological Department of the old Gwalior State (now Madhya Bhārat) had recently taken interest in them and arranged them as exhibits in a sort of an open air museum.<sup>8</sup> Some of the antiquities were found to be valuable from the historical and aesthetic points of view and I was really very sorry to see them exposed to damage by the sun and rains. It appeared to me that they were safer when they were hidden in the earth. In the interest of antiquarian studies in India, it is extremely desirable that the exhibits of the open air museum in the compound of the Bhilsā Dak Bungalow should be properly preserved in a suitable building.

As Bhilsā was once the famous seat of the Sun-god Bhāilla° or Bhailasvāmin, two stone inscriptions among the exhibits of the open air museum attracted my special attention. Both the records are mutilated; but an interesting fact about them is that they contain each a eulogy of the Sun-god. There is little doubt that the inscribed stone slabs were originally embedded in the walls of the Bhāilla° or Bhailasvāmin temple at Bhilsā.

The first of the two epigraphs is extremely damaged. The right hand side of the stone has broken away and the writing of the lower lines is completely obliterated. Of the first six or seven lines of the inscription a few expressions only can be satisfactorily deciphered. Each of the lines contains about thirty *aksharas* in a space about 17" in length. The characters are Nāgarī and the epigraph may be palaeographically assigned to a date about the eleventh century. The language of the record is Sanskrit. The inscription begins with one of the several forms of the *Siddham* symbol which is followed by the passage *Om namaḥ Sūryāya*. Then follow the stanzas in praise of the Sun-god. The first half of verse 1 in line 1 begins with the expression *Udayagiri* and seems to end with the word *vihāya*. The second half of the stanza begins with *amva(mba)ra-chūḍāma°*, the following letters of the line (line 1) being broken away and lost. Line 2 begins with the expression *anitā°* possibly introducing the first or third foot of a different verse. The mention of

<sup>1</sup> Read *imē vīthyau*. This seems to refer to the gift of the second and third *vīthīs* mentioned in lines 6-7.

<sup>2</sup> Read *Mātrīpām* or better *Mātrībhyāḥ*.

<sup>3</sup> The intended reading seems to be *ābhīr=api* referring to the three *vīthīs* granted.

<sup>4</sup> Read *bhōga utpa°*.

<sup>5</sup> The reading may be *pītur=mātus=cha* referring to the two gifts made in the name of the donor's parents.

<sup>6</sup> Read *chaturbhīḥ=chaturbhīr=mā°*. The reference may be to a period of four months (*māsaiḥ*).

<sup>7</sup> For this contraction, see lines, 4, 6 and 7 above.

<sup>8</sup> The intended word may be *svīkṛitasya* although its exact implication in the present context cannot be determined.

<sup>9</sup> See *Quinquennial Administration Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State, for the Sakhvats 1998-2002 (Years 1942-46)*, pp. 1-2.



*Udayagiri* and *ambara-chūdāmaṇi* in verse 1 suggests that the stanza speaks of the Sun-god. About the beginning of line 4 we have the word *jayati* while about the end of line 6 we can read *mōhahara-dīpaka namas=tē*. As the latter passage undoubtedly refers to the Sun-god and occurs in a stanza far removed from the beginning of the inscription, it seems that the whole record was a *prastā* of the deity in question.

The other inscription is more interesting. In the *Quinquennial Administration Report of the Archaeological Department* of the old Gwalior State, referred to above, it has been described as follows: "..... a loose fragment picked up in ruins is written in old Nāgarī script assignable to the 12th century A.D. on palaeographical grounds. This is broken at the top and left side. It seems to have been a *prastā* recording the merits of a distinguished personage, perhaps a king or a minister, who is compared to the Sun but whom, unlike the Sun, Rāhu could not hold in his grips. As the inscription is badly mutilated, its object cannot be made out. The *prastā* was composed by Mahākavi-chaṅkavartī Śrī-Dvittapa(?) at the instance of Daṇḍanāyaka Śrī-Chandra."<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere in the same work, while repeating the same views, it is said that the record 'does not convey any sense nor any purport can be extracted from it'.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately most of these statements are wrong. In the first place, the major part of the writing on the stone, mutilated though it is, can be satisfactorily deciphered. Secondly, the theme of the record is not the *prastā* of a king or minister but the *stuti* of the Sun-god. Thirdly, the name of the author of the eulogy is not *Dvittapa* but *Chhittapa* who is fortunately well-known from several sources. It may be pointed out in this connection that Dvivedi's *Gwalior Rājyake Abhilekh* (also a publication of the Archaeological Department of the Gwalior State or Madhya Bhārat), referred to above, contains a similar misleading note on the same inscription.<sup>3</sup> Dvivedi quotes the poet's name quite confidently as *Dvitraya* which is, however, even more erroneous. While the *Report* reads one of the three *aksharas* of the name wrongly, Dvivedi's reading of all of them is wrong.

The piece of stone bearing the inscription is fairly big in size. The writing occupies only its upper part and covers an area about 38" in length and about 11·5" in height. The top and left sides of the inscribed stone have broken away. The number of *aksharas* lost at the beginning of the lines is about four in some cases but slightly more in others. Thus line 4 of the extant part of the record originally contained seventy *aksharas* (without counting the five cases of the use of the single or double *daṇḍa*) of which only four are now lost. There are traces altogether of twelve lines of writing in the inscription; but the last line is less than half the other lines in length. Of the first line only traces of the lower part of a few *aksharas* at the end can be seen. It is impossible to determine whether one or more lines of writing are lost above this although for the sake of convenience it may be regarded as line 1 of the original record. Many of the *aksharas* in line 2 are also either completely or partially broken away. Even in the extant part of the epigraph some letters here and there are more or less rubbed out. The reading of many of the effaced passages could be ascertained only on repeated examination while that of a few of them still remains undetermined or doubtful.

The characters of the inscription are Nāgarī and may be assigned to a date about the eleventh century. Two floral designs in line 11 and the ornamental lengthening of the head of medial *ē* and that of the tail of medial *i* or *ē* in some cases are interesting to note. Medial *ē* has been written both as a *prishṭha-mātrā* as in Gaudī and as a *śirō-mātrā* as in modern Nāgarī. In some cases, the form of *ē* resembles that of *s*; cf. *kaṣṭhalam* in line 3, *śray*=*ā* in line 6, etc. The language of the record is Sanskrit. With the exception of a few passages at the end in lines 11-12, the whole record is written in verse. The metre of all the stanzas is *Anuṣṭubh*. In regard to orthography, the

<sup>1</sup> See op. cit., p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 69, No. 2.

<sup>3</sup> See op. cit., p. 92, No. 666.



inscription closely resembles other epigraphs of the area and period in question. The record bears no date; but, as will be shown below, there is reason to assign it to a date in the eleventh century.

The inscription under discussion originally contained at least twenty-three stanzas in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre. They are all addressed to the Sun-god and the last of them speaks of the composition as a *stuti* (eulogy). Out of these, the text of ten stanzas (verses 6, 8, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 18, 20, 22) only have been fully deciphered, although there is some doubt about the reading of a few letters in one (verse 17) of them. Of the remaining thirteen stanzas, two (verses 1-2 in line 1) are completely lost, while the other eleven (verses 3-5, 7, 10, 12, 14, 16, 19, 21, 23) are partially preserved. The meaning of some of the damaged verses is not clear.

Verse 5 refers to the sage Agastya who is famous in the solar mythology of India not only as the son of Mitra (the Sun-god) and Varuṇa but also as one who prevented Vindhya (the Vindhyan range) from his attempt to obstruct the sun's passage in the sky. Verse 6 says how the Sun-god's youngest brother (i.e. Vishnu, the youngest of the twelve Ādityas including the Sun-god, according to some accounts<sup>1</sup>) cut off the head of Rāhu, although the demon's life was spared as a result of his entreaty. Verse 8 represents the sun's rays as the source of the splendour of such objects as the jewel on the hood of Śeṣha-nāga, the pearls in the bed of the sea and the stars in the sky. The next stanza (verse 9) says that the sun's rays, when they come into contact with the moon, the horizon and the clouds, become respectively the moonlight, the twilight and the rainbow. In regard to the idea that the moonlight is nothing but the sun's rays reflected on the moon, it may be pointed out that it was fairly popular with ancient Indian writers.<sup>2</sup> The ancient Indian conception about this is made quite clear by Mallinātha in his commentary on the *Raghuvamśa*, III, 22 : *atra Varāha-saṁhitā-vachanam 'salīlamayē śaśini ravē=śīdhitayō mūrchchhitās=tamō naiśam kṣhapayanti darpaṇ-ōdara-nihitā iva mandirasy=āntar'=iti; yathā darpaṇ-ōdara-nihitā ravi-śīdhitayas=tad-gatam=andhakāraṁ nāśayanti tathā svataḥ salīlamayē chandrē tāḥ pratiphalitā naiśam tumō ghnant=īty=arthaḥ*. The other idea, reflected in the verse in question, that the rainbow is produced by the sun's rays falling on the dripping clouds is also very interesting. Although it is supported by modern scientific observation, it does not, however, appear to have been quite popular with ancient Indian writers.

Verse 11 illustrates the maxim *prēṃṇō hi kuṭilā gatiḥ* (love's way is tortuous) by pointing out how Svarbhānu (i.e. Rāhu) prefers the moon to the sun in spite of the latter having his own name (Bhānu) and how the sun hides himself from the lotus (at night) in spite of the latter's attachment for him. Verses 18 and 20 are remarkable for their pleasant idea and sweet expression and are really worthy of a great poet. Verse 23 refers to the conclusion of the eulogy. Then follow references in prose to the author of the said eulogy, the person who was responsible for tracing the inscription on the stone and the devotee of the Sun-god who got the stone inscribed and apparently embedded it in a wall of the temple of the deity at Bhilsā. The eulogy is stated to have been the composition of the *Mahākavichakravartin Paṇḍita śrī-Chhittapa*. The name of the *lēkhaka* who traced the writing on the stone with a view to facilitating the work of the engraver cannot unfortunately be made out. The person who got the eulogy written and the stone inscribed for embedding it in a wall of the Sun-god's temple was *Danḍanāyaka śrī-Chandra*. We have seen above how a *Danḍa* (*Danḍanāyaka*) was probably in charge of a sub-division of the Bhāillasvāmin (Bhilsā)

<sup>1</sup> See *Mahābhārata* I, 123, 66-67, XIII, 150, 14-15; *Harivamśa*, I, 9, 48; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, VI, 6, 39; etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Raghuvamśa*, III, 22; Hayunthal plate (lines 24-25) of king Harjaravarman of Assam (*Kāmārūpaśāsan-āvalī*, p. 51); etc. Prof. P. C. Sen Gupta points out to me that the same idea can be traced in ancient Indian astronomical works such as Varāhamihira quoted in Prithūdaka's commentary on Brahmagupta's *Khaṇḍakhadyaka* (Chapter VIII), the *Sūryasiddhānta* quoted in the commentary of Utpala (966 A.D.) on Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, etc.



district according to an inscription of 1173 A.D. Chandra of the inscription under study appears to have been a similar Sub-divisional Officer of the Bhilsā region. He was apparently a devotee of the Sun-god of Bhilsā and got a eulogy of the deity composed by the poet Chhittapa who may have been an inhabitant of the same area.

The inscription ends with the *akshara chha* placed between double *danḍas*. This *chha* is really one of the many variants of the *Siddham* symbol.<sup>1</sup> While at the beginning of records the symbol appears in several forms (variations of a sign resembling the modern Oriya 1 or 2 as reproduced in Ojha's *Prāchīnalipimālā*, Plate LXXIX, with the occasional addition, in the former variety, of a cipher below or at the right), at their end it is usually found in the form of *chha* or *tha* or a symbol standing midway between the forms of these two *aksharas*.<sup>2</sup>

The importance of the inscription lies in the mention of the poet Chhittapa, who enjoyed the title *Mahākavichakravartin*, as the author of the *khaṇḍakāvya* in praise of the Sun-god, quoted in the record.

A number of stanzas of a poet named Chhittapa are found in the Sanskrit anthologies and some other works. But no complete work of the poet has so far been discovered. The *pratikas* of all the stanzas attributed to Chhittapa have been quoted in alphabetical order by F. W. Thomas in the excellent introduction of his edition of the *Kavindravachanasamuchchaya*.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately there was a confusion about the poet's name which is sometimes quoted also as Chittapa, Chhittipa, Chhinna and Chhitrama. Moreover stanzas attributed to this poet in some sources are assigned in others to 'an unknown author' (*kasy=āpi*) or to various authors such as Simhadatta, Navakara, Dākshipātya, Akālaśalada and Hanumat or to such works as the *Bhōjaprabhandha*. Six stanzas of Chhittapa are quoted in the *Sarasvatikāṇṭhābharaṇa* of the Paramāra king Bhōja (circa 1010-55 A.D.), one in the *Kavindravachanasamuchchaya* compiled before the end of the twelfth century, and forty-nine in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛita* compiled by Śrīdharaḍāsa at the court of king Lakshmaṇa-sēna of Bengal in 1205-06 A.D. Poet Chhittapa therefore could not have flourished much later than the middle of the eleventh century. The following stanza of the poet, quoted in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛita* (III, 36), throws further light on his age :

Vālmikēḥ katamō=si kas=tvam=athavā Vyāsasya yēn=aisha bhōḥ  
ślāghyaḥ syāt=tava Bhōja-bhūpati-bhuja-stambha-stutāv=udyamaḥ |  
paṅguḥ parvatam=ārurukshasi vidhu-sparsaṁ karēṇ=ēhasē  
dōrbhyām sāgaram=uttitirshasi yadi brūmaḥ kim=atr=ōttaram ||

This shows that Chhittapa was a contemporary and probably a court poet of a king named Bhōja who has been identified with the celebrated Paramāra monarch of that name. Thomas rightly says, "The rather numerous citations in the *Sarasvatikāṇṭhābharaṇa* are, therefore, by a contemporary". His ascription of Chhittapa to the tenth century is, however, apparently due to oversight, as the poet must have flourished in the eleventh century when his contemporary and patron, Paramāra Bhōja, ruled. The title of *Mahākavichakravartin* may have been conferred on Paṇḍita Chhittapa by the same king. Possibly Chhittapa was an eminent poet at Bhōja's court. The Bhilsā region is known to have formed a part of the dominions of the Paramāras. Chhittapa's friend, *Danḍa-nayaka* Chandra, therefore, seems to have been an officer in the employment of Paramāra Bhōja.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XVII, p. 352 ; *Proc. IHC*, 1939, pp. 471ff.

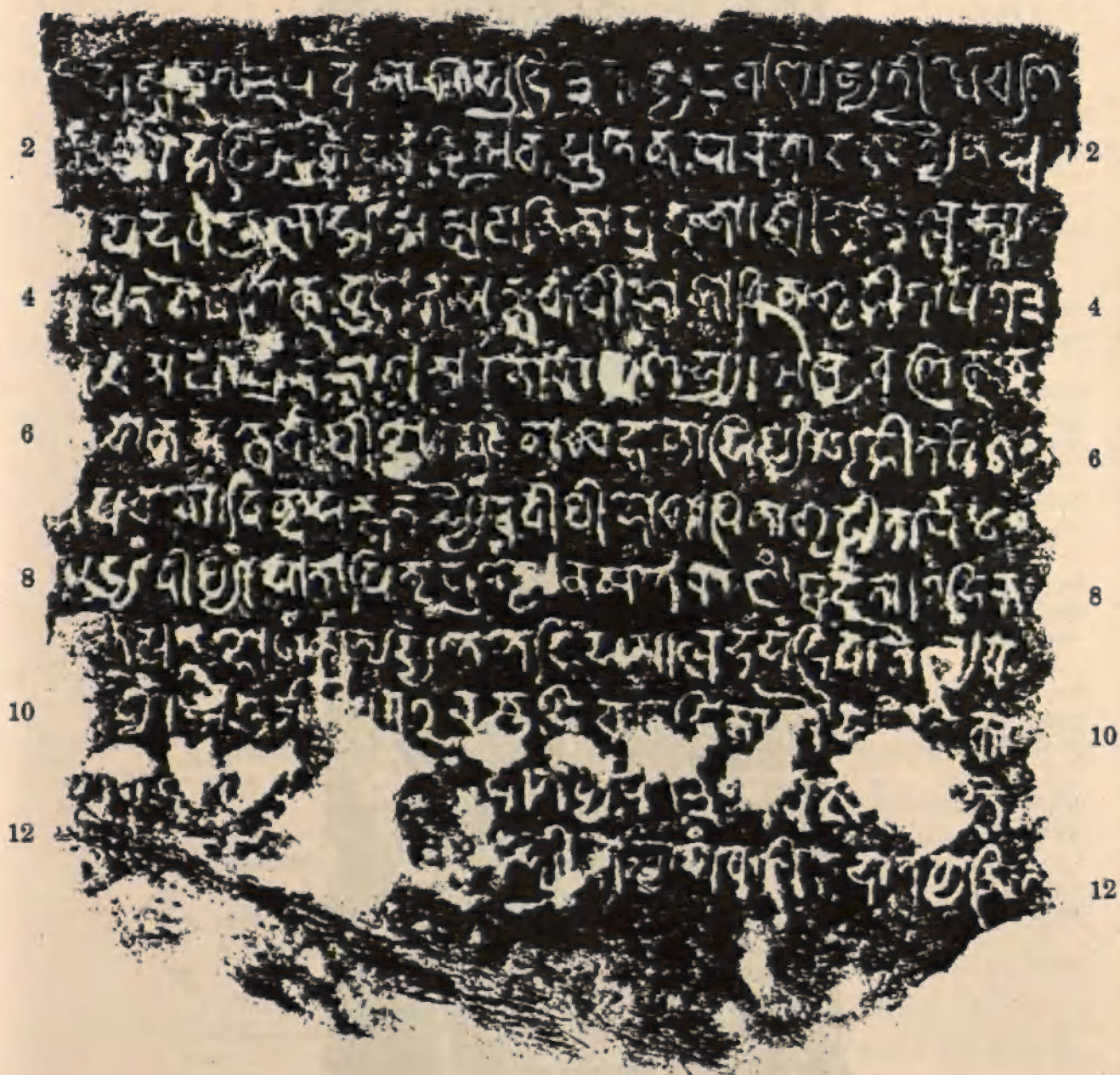
<sup>2</sup> For *chha* see above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 140-1 (text, lines 4 and 15), Vol. XXV, p. 63 (text, line 94), p. 221 (text, line 141) ; etc. See also *Naishadhīya*, XVI, 98 (cf. *Journ. Or. Inst.*, Baroda, Vol. III, No. 4, June 1954, p. 368) ; Hēmachandra's *Ēkāṅkarakōśa*, v. 13 ; *Śālvatākōśa*, Poona, 1930, p. 74. For *tha*, see above, Vol. XVIII, p. 298 (text, line 30), Vol. XIX, p. 81 (text, line 41). For the intermediate sign, see *ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 80 (text, line 38). Consult the Plates in all the cases. The mark is sometimes found at the end of a stanza or section of a record.

<sup>3</sup> Published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1912, pp. 37-40.



# TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM BHILSA

A. INSCRIPTION OF V.S. 935





B. EULOGY OF SUN-GOD, COMPOSED BY CHHITTAPA

2  
4  
6  
8  
10  
12

2  
4  
6  
8  
10  
12

SCALE : ONE-FOURTH



Our inscription not only sets at rest the confusion regarding the poet's name but also offers us the only *kāvya* of the author so far discovered. Its importance to the students of the history of Sanskrit literature is therefore inestimable.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 .....[ ] 1\*] .....[ ] 2\*] ..... [grihṇāti]\*
- 2 .....t | .... myētē vīta-ni ... [trishṇā-hiṇō lilēkha tē] || [3\*] ..... nūnam tējaśvinō=nyasya na tva[m] nām=āpi mṛishyasi || [4\*] Ohuluk-āchānta-sapt-avdhi(bdhi)r=Agastyō=nyē=pi tādrīśāḥ |
- 3 ..... rāga-vyājēna bhartt[u]m bhikshām nu yāchatē || [5\*] Rāhus=tvad-rōchishē druhyān=na hatas=tē=nujanmanā | śirō lūtv=āpi dushtē=rau yāchanā-kausalarū hi tat || [6\*] Tējaś=tav=ārddram=ārddrēshu krūrām krūrēshu jṛimbhatē | bhakt-ābhiprāya-nighnasya cham-drā-
- 4 ..... kshatē || [7\*] Phaṇā-maṇishu Śēshasya muktā-maṇishu tōyadhēḥ | tārā-maṇishu cha vyōmnaś=tava rōchir=vvirōchatē || [8\*] Tava saṁkrāntam=ēṇāmkē chakravālē payōmuchī | jyōtir=jyōtsn=ēti saṁdhy=ēti suradhanv=ēti gīyatē || [9\*]
- 5 .....[tē] lākshā-mada-rāgaḥ kapōlayōḥ | payōdhara-taṭē tē=rohchih pratichyāḥ kumkumadravaḥ || [10\*] Svarbhānus=tvām na grihṇāti kriḍā-lōlaḥ kalāvati | antarddhatsē tvam=avji(bji)nyāḥ prēmṇō [h]i ku[tilā] gatih || [11\*] Na tath=ōnnidram=avj-ā(bj-ā)syā-
- 6 ..... si padminīm(nīm) | nūnam vikatthanō=rthēna [śa]vdē(bdē)na tvām Vikarttanāḥ || [12\*] Dyām=ālimg=āvji(bji)nī[m] chumva(mba) śray=āpāchīm vraj=ōttarām(rām) | raja prāchyām pratichyām=vā(chyām vā) dina-śris=tvān=na muncha[ti] || [13\*] Prāta[r=hi?] rahasā ya[t\*] tvām dina-lakshmyā
- 7 ..... [rō]chamānam punaḥ sā tvām=ahnām=antē=nugachchhati || [14\*] Pūrvvam=utthiyatē prātaḥ pāschāt=samviśyatē niśi | ahō sugrihinī-vṛttam=ushasā tē=nugrihyatē || [15\*] Namas=tasmai prabhā[tā]ya g.....[dyām sthirāyatē] | ...
- 8 ..... d[i]vaṁ tvam=upagūhasi || [16\*] Kapōla-[bhittau?] svachchhāyām sva-chchhāyām tvām vilōkayan | di[vō] dēvyāś=chinta[?]yā tad=ōpāvēśam viśamkasē || [17\*] Kara-sparśē=pi tē nātha dyaaur=nnimilita-tārakā | y=āsau sarvvām[ga-samkrāntā na vidmaḥ kiṁ kari-shyati || ] [18\*]
- 9 ..... chaṁdra-tāḍamkaḥ pr[ā]chyā[m] saṁdhy-ānśukam divaḥ | hriyatē =h=[ō]du-hāraś=cha pūrṇa-pātram tav=āgamē || [19\*] Prāchyām=udgachchhatō yātuḥ pratichīm śliśhyatō divam(vam) | svadatē nātha va(ba)h[v]īshu pratipattih priyāsu [tē || ] [20\*]
- 10 ..... grihṇāsi puṇyāni cha mahātmanām(nām) | na tathā sita-ti(tē)jāmsi viyatō=bhyudgatē tvayi || [21\*] Tamō bhē[tu]m yathā vā(bā)hyām tath=āntaram=ap-īśishē | tav=ōdayē yathā rātris=tathā nidr=āpi naśyati || [22\*] Na[rō] .....
- 11 ..... tma-gu[ṇa]-saṁpan-nunūshayā | inō=sy=arkkō=si sūryō=si par-yāpt=ēty=ēva tē stutiḥ || [23\*] ||<sup>2</sup> kṛitir=iyām mahākavi-chakravartti-paṁḍita-śrī-Chchhitt-apasya [ ] ||<sup>3</sup> ||<sup>4</sup> lēkha.....<sup>5</sup>
- 12 ..... [ma]m[ga]m [mahā]-ś[r]iḥ || kārīt=ēyam darḍanāyaka-śrī-Chandrāṇa || chha ||

<sup>1</sup> From impressions.

<sup>2</sup> The letters of this line are almost completely lost. Considering the number of letters in the lines, it may be supposed that this line contained two and a quarter stanzas in *Anuśṭubh*.

<sup>3</sup> There is an ornamental floral design between the double *daṇḍas*.

<sup>4</sup> There is another similar floral design between these double *daṇḍas*.

<sup>5</sup> The reference here is to the *lēkhaka* meaning the person responsible for tracing the record on the piece of stone for facilitating the work of engraving and probably not to the engraver.



## No. 37—BHANJA GRANT FROM KHICHING

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

On December 1, 1941, a copper-plate grant was dug up from the compound of the Thākuraṇī temple at Khiching (ancient Khijjiṅga) which is an important locality in the old Mayurbhanj State in Orissa. Since then the plate was lying at the Museum at Baripada, headquarters of the State. About the end of December 1948, I met Mr. Paramananda Acharya, then State Archaeologist of Mayurbhanj, at Delhi, where we had assembled for the eleventh session of the Indian History Congress, and received from him information about the discovery. Mr. Acharya then kindly agreed to send the plate to me for examination and publication. The plate reached me sometime afterwards at the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, where it was properly cleaned and several sets of its impressions and photographs were prepared. My sincere thanks are due to Mr. Acharya for his kindness in allowing me to publish the inscription.

This is a single copper plate measuring about  $8\frac{1}{2}$ " by 7". On a projection at its top centre, is affixed a circular seal which is about  $2\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter. At the lower end of this seal, which is designed in the form of an expanded lotus, is carved, on a counter-sunk surface, the emblem of a lotus on stalk, above which there is a couchant bull facing proper right and flanked by a few indistinct devices. Above the bull is the legend in two lines: (1) *Śrī-Māhadā-* (2) *bhañjadēvasya*, 'of Māhadābhañjadēva.' It will be seen from our discussion on the inscription below that the name of the Bhañja king who issued the charter, as it is found in the body of the epigraph, does not quite tally with the name as given in the legend on the seal. It may also be pointed out that, although the seal resembles that attached to other records of the Ādi-Bhañja royal family of Khijjiṅgakōṭṭa (Khiching), in the present case the legend is found not below but above the couchant bull. The design of the seal of the Ādi-Bhañja kings as well as their custom of using single copper plates for their charters was possibly borrowed from the Bhauma-Karas to whom they may have originally owed allegiance. The plate is written on both sides, the obverse bearing seventeen lines of writing and the reverse sixteen lines. The letters are fairly deeply incised; but they have suffered here and there owing to corrosion. The plate weighs 102 tolas.

The characters employed in the inscription belong to the Gaudīya alphabet and may be palaeographically assigned to a date not much earlier than the eleventh century A. D. The style of writing is cursive and even careless. As is expected in a record of the age and region concerned, *b* has always been indicated by the sign for *v*. But sometimes *v* and *ch* have the same form; cf. *kulaṭ=ēva* (line 27), *khichinga*, *charaṇ°* (line 14), *chā* (line 28). In the case of many other letters also, two or more forms have very often been employed. In the passage *bhava-bhaya-bhidurō* (line 2), the letter *bh* has three different forms. The letter *t* has been written in both the Dēvanāgarī and the Bengali fashion; cf. *nripati* (line 6) and *prathitaḥ*, *tasy=ā°* (line 10). *D* is sometimes undistinguishable from *ḍ* and has in some cases a form resembling that of *bh*. For the various forms of this letter, see *dakṣhō* (line 5), *prativa(ba)ddha* (line 16), *pradattō°* (line 20), *dattā* (line 21), *gar-āda(di)bhi°*, *yadā* (line 22), *d=aphala* (line 23), *para-dattā* (line 25), *m=udā°* (line 32), etc. *P* and *y* have several forms and are often undistinguishable from each other; cf. *tapō°* (line 4), *rūpaḥ*, *putra* (line 8), *nripati* (line 9), *punya(nya)* (line 19), *r=yasya* (line 22), *para-dattā* (line 25), *vi(sa)padi* (line 29), etc. *R* has various forms; cf. *bhidurō* (line 2), *śuraḥ* (line 11), *rājā* (line 12), *para-dattā* (line 25), *vī(vi)nasva(śva)ra* (line 28), etc. Often *n* is written exactly like *r*; cf. *nīdhana* (line 5), *nripati*, *ripu-vana-da(dā)dnala* (line 6); but, in many cases, it has its usual form; cf. *r=vviniṭō* (line 7). For various forms of the medial *u* and *ū* signs, see *bhū(bhu)* (line 1), *ku* (lines 13 and 27), *mu* (lines 20 and 31), *hu* (lines 21 and 27), *nu* (line 24), *vu(bu)* (line 32), etc. For peculiar forms of some other aksharas, cf. *khyā* (line 8), *ksha*,



*kshā* (line 5), *yā* (line 25), etc. The inscription contains the initial vowels *ā* (line 3), *i* (line 30) and *u* (line 20) and the figure for 3 (line 33).

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is written partly in verse and partly in prose. There are some verses describing the members of the Ādi-Bhañja family at the beginning of the charter. These are more or less the same as found in many other records of the family, all of which were discovered in the Mayurbhanj region of Orissa.<sup>1</sup> As usual there are some imprecatory and benedictory verses at the end of the record. From the view-point of orthography also the present inscription resembles those of the other members of the Ādi-Bhañja dynasty. There are many cases of errors of grammar and metre as well as wrong spelling due to carelessness on the part of the scribe and the engraver. The verse referring to the reigning monarch has been adopted from the records of the earlier members of the family by simply changing the king's name; but it has not been noticed that the change does not suit the metre at all.

The charter is dated in the year 3 apparently referring to the regnal reckoning of the reigning monarch. The letters indicating the month and day are doubtful. The date of the record does not therefore help us in determining the actual age of the charter. But there is reason to believe that the ruler who issued it flourished sometime in the eleventh century A. D. As will be seen below, the issuer of the present charter was a son of the Ādi-Bhañja king Raṇabhañja, two of whose records are known to be dated respectively in the years 288 and 293<sup>2</sup> of an unspecified era. There can be little doubt that this era is no other than the reckoning used by the imperial Bhauma-Kara dynasty of Orissa. We have recently shown that the Bhauma-Kara era started from 831 A. D.<sup>3</sup> Thus the dates of Raṇabhañja's inscriptions would appear to correspond to 1119 and 1124 A. D. It is, however, difficult to believe that these Bhañjas could have continued their independent rule in the Mayurbhanj region for a long time after the expiration of Bhauma-Kara suzerainty in lower Orissa by the Śōmavarṇās of upper Orissa in the first half of the eleventh century<sup>4</sup> and the extermination of the Śōmavarṇās from the said region by the great Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga about the beginning of the next century.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, the practice of writing numbers by symbols instead of figures of the decimal system, which is exhibited by Raṇabhañja's records, seems to have become obsolete in Orissan epigraphy before the middle of the eleventh century. It therefore seems that, as in some other early medieval Orissan records like the Santiragrama grant<sup>6</sup> of the Bhauma-Kara queen Daṇḍimahādēvī and the Talmul plate<sup>7</sup> of Dhruvānanda, the symbol looking like that for 200 in the inscriptions of Raṇabhañja actually stands for 100. The reading of the dates of Raṇabhañja's records may thus be really the years 188 and 193 of the Bhauma-Kara era, corresponding respectively to 1019 and 1024 A. D. The present inscription may therefore be assigned to a date about the middle of the eleventh century A. D.

The charter begins with a verse in adoration to Bhava, i.e. Śiva. Verse 2 says how the Gaṇadaṇḍa,<sup>8</sup> called Virabhadra, came out by breaking the egg of a pea-hen in the great hermitage called Kōṭṭāsrama. He is said in the next half verse to have been a king reared by the sage Vasishṭha and an expert in killing his enemies. The following verse says that in his family,

<sup>1</sup> N. N. Vasu, *Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj*, Vol. I, pp. 141 ff., 144 ff.; H. P. Sastri, *JBORS*, Vol. IV, pp. 175 ff.; P. C. Ghosh, *JASB*, Vol. XL, Part I, pp. 168 ff.; *IHQ*, Vol. XIII, pp. 427 ff., 429 ff.; above, Vol. XXV, pp. 155 ff., 159 ff., 162 ff., 173.

<sup>2</sup> Bhandarkar's List, No. 1487; above, Vol. XXV, pp. 156-57.

<sup>3</sup> *IHQ*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 148-55; above, Vol. XXIX, p. 191, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 289-300.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, loc. cit.; above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 241.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 79 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 183 ff.

<sup>8</sup> H. P. Sastri wrongly reads *galad-aṇḍa* in the Khandadbuli plate (*JBORS*, Vol. IV, p. 173).



called Ādi-Bhañja, was born a heroic son<sup>1</sup> named Kōṭṭabhañja. In the next verse Raṇabhañja is introduced not, however, exactly as the son of Kōṭṭabhañja. It may be pointed out here that the verse in our record closely follows the language of the inscriptions of Raṇabhañja's sons, while in Raṇabhañja's own Jamdapir plate, as will be shown below, the verse in question describes Digbhañja, represented in that inscription as the father of Raṇabhañja. This omission of the name of Raṇabhañja's father in his son's charters is compensated in one case by describing him as born in the family of Kōṭṭabhañja. Just as in the case of the sons of Raṇabhañja in their records, the next verse of our plate introduces śrī-Mahanmadāhavabhañjadēva as the son of Raṇabhañja, as a resident of Khichinga-kōṭṭa and as a devotee of Hara (Śiva). As will be seen from our discussion below, *Mahanmadāhavabhañja* may not be the correct form of the name of the issuer of the charter. It has to be noted that the two verses describing Digbhañja and his son Raṇabhañja in the latter's own records are found to be used in the charters of his sons (including the present inscription), which omit Digbhañja altogether, to describe Raṇabhañja and his particular son who issued that charter. The prose portion (lines 16-20) that follows these verses records the grant of the village called Mōkuga, attached to the Phamsarā(?) *vishya*, made by the king in favour of one Kalasarma (probably Kālasarman), son of Pālaka. The grant was made in the name of *Bhagavat* Śaṅkara-bhattāraka, i.e. the god Śiva. The donor seems therefore to have been a Śaiva.

The importance of the record under discussion lies in the fact that it reveals the name of a new king of the Ādi-Bhañja dynasty of Khijjīnga-Kōṭṭa. He is represented as the son of Raṇabhañja; but his name is given as *Māhadābhañja* in the legend on the seal and *Mahanmadāhavabhañja* in the body of the epigraph. With the exception of only one record, the genuineness of which has been doubted, all the Bhañja grants begin with an account of the following two persons: (1) *Ganadaṇḍa* Virabhadra, and (2) a hero called Kōṭṭabhañja born in his family. It seems that, while Virabhadra was a mythical personage, Kōṭṭabhañja was the real founder of the Ādi-Bhañja dynasty of rulers. The earliest records of the family belong to the grandsons of this Kōṭṭabhañja. The Adipur plate (No. 1)<sup>2</sup> records two grants, the first of them being that of Narēndrabhañja who was the son of Vibhramatuṅga and grandson of Kōṭṭabhañja. The last few lines of the inscription record a second and apparently later grant made by Raṇabhañja, another son of Vibhramatuṅga, in the year 293 (193?). This seems to suggest that Narēndrabhañja was an elder brother of Raṇabhañja. Probably Narēndrabhañja died without leaving any issue and was succeeded by his brother. The Adipur plate (No. 2)<sup>3</sup> also records one grant of Narēndrabhañja and another of Raṇabhañja. There is little doubt that this Raṇabhañja is the same as the Ādi-Bhañja king of that name who issued the Jamdapir (Bamanghati) plate (No. 1)<sup>4</sup> in the year 288 (probably 188). This is definitely indicated by the dates of his grants found in this record and in the Adipur plate (No. 1). In the Jamdapir inscription, the name of Raṇabhañja's father is given as Digbhañja. The son of Kōṭṭabhañja, who was the father of Narēndrabhañja and Raṇabhañja, was therefore called both Vibhramatuṅga and Digbhañja, the former (not ending with the word *bhañja*) being merely a *biruda*.

After Raṇabhañja, the Ādi-Bhañja throne passed to several of his sons who appear to have become kings one after another. The Ukhunda plate<sup>5</sup> was issued in the fourth regnal year of Pṛithvibhañja, son of Raṇabhañja. It is interesting to note that the name of Digbhañja-Vibhramatuṅga is omitted in this record and that Raṇabhañja is pertinently described as born in the family (*tasya*=*ānvayē*) of Kōṭṭabhañja. Three other sons of Raṇabhañja were Rājabhañja who

<sup>1</sup> In some records of the family, the word *putraś* belongs to the following verse and refers to Kōṭṭabhañja's son Digbhañja.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 155 ff.

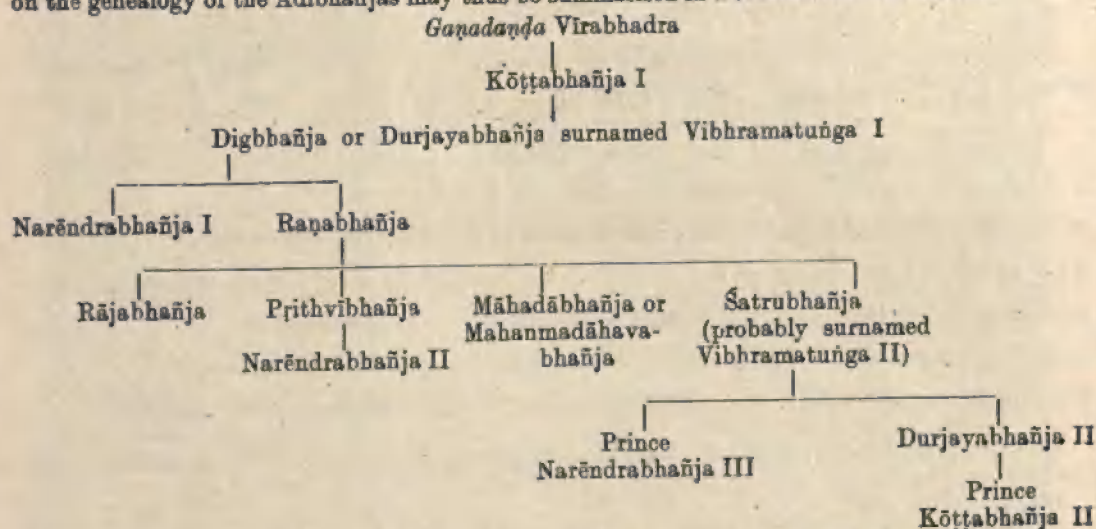
<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 159 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj*, Vol. I, pp. 141 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *IHQ*, Vol. XIII, pp. 427 ff.



issued the Jamdapir (Bamanghati) plate (No. 2),<sup>1</sup> Śatrubhaṇja who issued the Kesari Plate<sup>2</sup> and Māhadābhaṇja or Mahanmadāhavabhaṇja of the Khiching charter under discussion. The order of succession amongst these sons of Raṇabhaṇja, who claim to have been residents of Khijjiṅga-kōṭṭa (with the exception of Śatrubhaṇja who may have ruled a part of his father's kingdom side by side with one or more of his brothers), cannot be determined. In the Khandadeuli plate<sup>3</sup> of Narēndrabhaṇja, his father Prithvibhaṇja seems to be described as the *aupāyika* son of Raṇabhaṇja. This may suggest that Prithvibhaṇja claimed to be an adopted son of Raṇabhaṇja. The Kesari plate, which does not strictly follow the draft of the Ādi-Bhaṇja records discussed above and may be later than the records of the other sons of Raṇabhaṇja, describes Śatrubhaṇja as the son of Raṇabhaṇja, grandson of Durjayabhaṇja and great-grandson of Kōṭṭabhaṇja. It seems that Durjayabhaṇja was another name of Digbhaṇja-Vibhramatuṅga.<sup>4</sup> This record also speaks of the queen Anakaḥdēvi and the crown-prince Narēndrabhaṇja who may have been a son of Śatrubhaṇja. The only other known inscription of the Ādi-Bhaṇja family is the Adipur plate (No. 3)<sup>5</sup> of Durjayabhaṇja who was a son of Vibhramatuṅga and grandson of Raṇabhaṇja. The genuineness of this grant has been doubted and it has been assigned to the fifteenth century. It is, however, not improbable that the record actually belongs to a grandson of Raṇabhaṇja. This supposition would suggest that Raṇabhaṇja had, besides Rājabhaṇja, Prithvibhaṇja, Mahanmadāhavabhaṇja and Śatrubhaṇja, another son named Vibhramatuṅga, or that Vibhramatuṅga was the *biruda* of one of the known sons of Raṇabhaṇja. Now this record mentions the queen Chihipamahādēvi and the crown-prince Kōṭṭabhaṇja who may have been a son of the reigning monarch. The style of mentioning the queen and the crown-prince connects the record with the Kesari plate. The name of king Durjayabhaṇja also reminds us of the fact that the Kesari plate alone mentions Digbhaṇja-Vibhramatuṅga under this name. It thus seems possible to suggest that, amongst the sons of Raṇabhaṇja, it was Śatrubhaṇja who had the *biruda* Vibhramatuṅga and was the father of Durjayabhaṇja of the Adipur plate (No. 3). But whether Narēndrabhaṇja, son of Śatrubhaṇja, was the same as Durjayabhaṇja cannot be determined. The above discussion on the genealogy of the Ādibhaṇjas may thus be summarised in a tabular form as follows:



<sup>1</sup> *Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj*, Vol. I, pp. 144 ff. It is not possible to take Rājabhaṇja as a son of Digbhaṇja (cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 1489 and p. 379).

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 162 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *J.O.R.S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 175 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXV, p. 151.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 173.



The name of the issuer of the charter under discussion, viz. Mahanmadāhavabhañja, is rather peculiar. It cannot be ignored that merely the king's name, shorn of epithets excepting *Sri* or *Srimat*, is expected in this context and that the *charaṇa* of the verse containing the lengthy name has actually several syllables in excess. It has also to be noticed that the legend on the seal offers apparently the same name in the shorter form as *Māhadābhañja*. The expression *Mahanmadāhava* is impossible according to Sanskrit grammar. If, as Mr. P. B. Desai suggests to me, the intended reading of the passage in question is *śrīman-Mahadāhavabhañja*, we may have a good name, viz., Mahadāhavabhañja. But, even in that case, the name of the same ruler as found on the seal remains inexplicable unless it is conjectured that *Māhadā* was a colloquial abbreviation or mistake for *Mahadāhava*.<sup>1</sup>

The Ādi-Bhañjas of Khiching claimed descent from *Gaṇadaṇḍa* Virabhadra, born of a pea-hen's egg. The pea-fowl was probably the totem of this family of rulers. This fact seems to be connected with the name of the old State of Mayurbhanj (*Mayūra-bhañja*) which, however, may have also been the name of a person. Whether Virabhadra, probably also called Ādi-Bhañja, was further known by the name *Mayūrabhañja* because of his birth from a pea-hen's egg cannot of course be determined in the present state of our knowledge. The epithet *Gaṇadaṇḍa*, applied to him, cannot be satisfactorily explained. Possibly Virabhadra was identified with Śiva's creation of that name who was the leader of the god's *Gaṇa* or host of attendants. Kōṭṭāśrama, birth-place of Virabhadra, seems to be given the Sanskrit name Kauts-āśrama in the Khandadeuli plate. But it may actually represent Khijjiṅga-kōṭṭa or a locality in its suburbs.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the location of Khiching-kōṭṭa (*Khijjiṅga-kōṭṭa* of other records) and Kōṭṭāśrama has already been determined.<sup>2</sup> Mr. P. Acharya suggests to me the identification of the village of Mōkuga with the present Mokuna about four miles from Khiching. If this identification is accepted, the Phamsarā(?) *vishaya* must also have been situated in the Khiching region.

#### TEXT\*

[Metres : verses 1, 7 *Āryā* ; verses 2-5 *Upagītī* ; verse 6 *Vasantatilaka* ; verses 8-10 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 11 *Drutavilambita* ; verse 12 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

#### Obverse

- 1 Siddham<sup>a</sup> Svast[i] [ ||\* ] Sakala<sup>a</sup>-bhū(bhu)van-aika-ma(nā)-
- 2 [thō] bhava-bhaya-bhīdurō [Bhavō Bhavā]<sup>a</sup>nīśaḥ [ |\* ] vivō(vi)va(dha)-samādhī-
- 3 [vi]vi(dhi)jñāḥ sa[rvva]jñā(jñō) vaḥ śivāy=āstha(stu) [|| 1\*] Āśi[t\*] Kōṭy-āśrama<sup>a</sup>-ma[hā]-
- 4 tapōvan-ādhiśṭhānē [ |\* ] māyūr-āṇḍam bhitvā(ttvā) gaṇadaṇḍō(ṇḍō) Vi-
- 5 rabhadr-ākhyāḥ [|| 2\*] Pratipaksha-nidhana-dakṣhā(kaḥō) Vāśiṣṭha-muni-pa(pā)-
- 6 [lī]nō(tō) nṛpatiḥ [|| 3\*]<sup>a</sup> Tasy=Ādi-Bhañja-vansē(varṣē) ripu-vana-da(dā)vānala[h\*]

<sup>1</sup> For mistakes in the legend on the seals attached to royal charters, see above, Vol. XXIII, p. 88 ; Vol. XXIX, p. 182, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXV, p. 154.

<sup>a</sup> From the original plate and impressions.

<sup>a</sup> Expressed by symbol

<sup>a</sup> The space between *ka* and *la* was left blank for fixing the seal.

<sup>a</sup> These four *akṣaras* are partially or wholly covered by the lower front end of the seal.

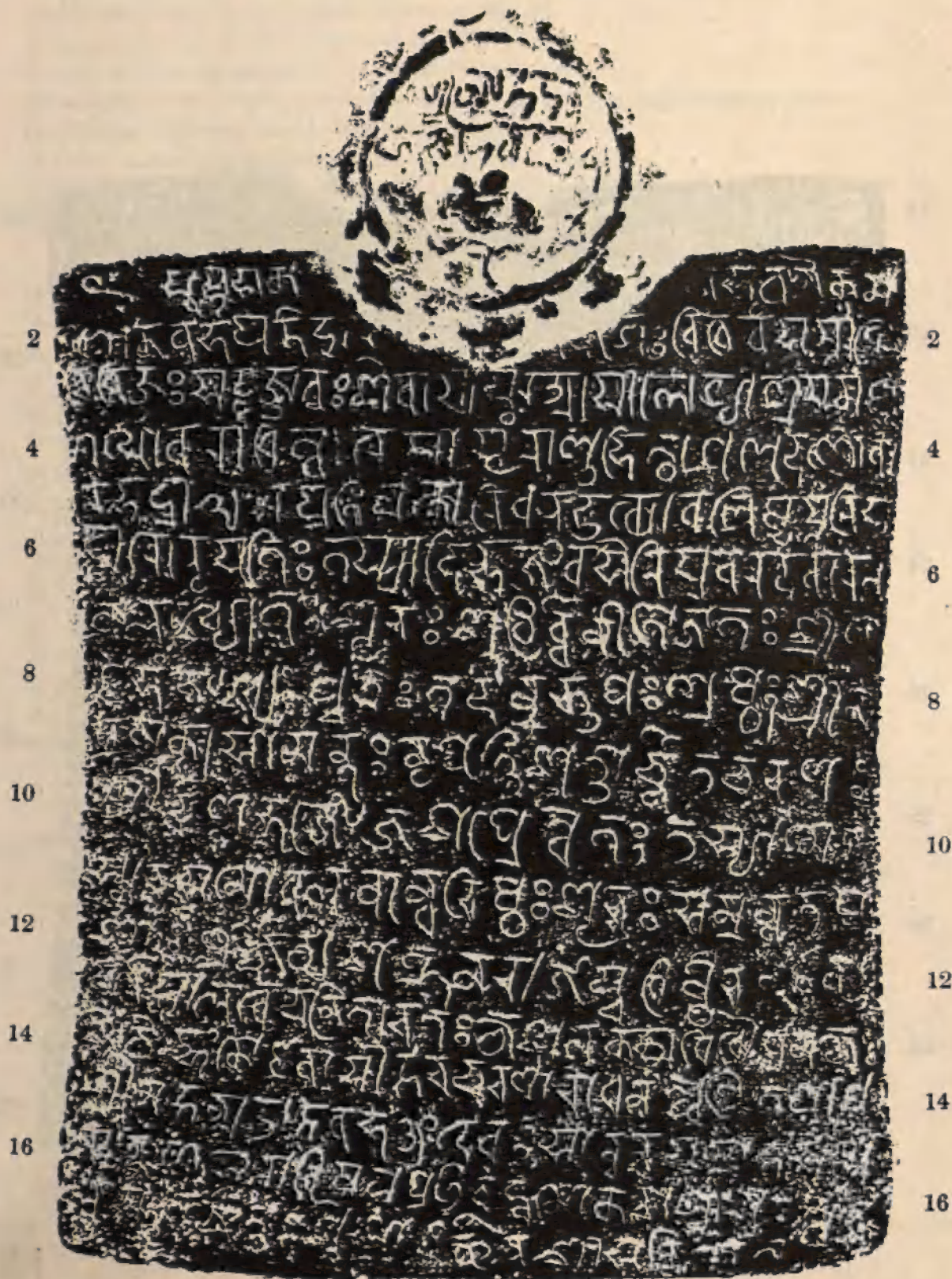
<sup>a</sup> Read *Kōṭṭāśrama*. The form of *kō* is peculiar. For the sake of metre, it is better to read *\*rama iti*.

<sup>a</sup> This is only a half verse in the *Upagītī* or *Udgītī* metre.



# BHANJA GRANT FROM KHICHING

Obverse



SCALE : FOUR-FIFTHS

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18		18
20		20
22		22
24		24
26		26
28		28
30		30
32		32



- 7 vala<sup>1</sup> khyātaḥ | śūraḥ śuchir=vvinītō jātaḥ śri-[Kō]-  
 8 ttabhañj-ākhyah(khya)-putraḥ [|| 4\*] Tad=ānurūpaḥ śrēṣṭhaḥ śrīma-  
 9 n=a(d=a)maṁkya(samkhyā)<sup>2</sup>-sāmantaḥ [ | \*] nripatti(ti)-satt-ā(t-ā)rchohita-charapaḥ  
 10 Śrī-Raṇabhañjō jagat-prath[i]taḥ [|| 5\*] Tasy=ātmaja[h\*]  
 11 smara-samō va(ba)lavān=varishṭhaḥ śūraḥ samunnata-[ya]-  
 12 śāḥ pra[v]ijitya śatrūna(trūn) [ | \*] rājā Yudhishṭhira iv=[ā]-  
 13 vani-pālānē cha nitya[m\*] rataḥ kuśala-kamma(rma)-vidhan prama(sa)tkah(ktah) [|| 6\*]  
 14 Khichingakōṭṭa<sup>3</sup>-vāsī Hara-charaṇ-ārādhana-kshayita-pāpa[h | ]  
 15 Śrī-Mahanmadā<sup>4</sup>havabhañjadēvaḥ s-ānunaya[m\*] prāha [bhūpā]-  
 16 lāna(lān) [|| 7\*] Phamśarā<sup>5</sup>-vishaya-prativa(ba)ddha-Mōk[u]ga-grāmaḥ [sa-ja]-  
 17 [la-sthala(laḥ)] chatuḥ-[si(sī)m]-āvachhi(chchi)na(nnaḥ) āsani(nī)kṛitya

## Reverse

- 18 [P]ālaka-putrāya<sup>6</sup> Kalasarmāyaḥ(ya)<sup>7</sup>  
 19 mātā(tā)-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha punya(ṇya)-yasō(śō)-bhivṛiddhayē bhaga-  
 20 vanta[m\*] Śaṅkara-bhaṭā(tā)rakam=udi(ddi)śya pradattō=smābhiḥ | u-  
 21 ktaṁ cha dharmma-śāstra(strē) [ | \*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Śa(Sa)-  
 22 gar-āda(di)bbhir=yasya<sup>8</sup> yasya yadā rbhūmiḥ tasya<sup>9</sup> tasya [ta]-  
 23 dā pa(pha)la[m || 8\*] Mā bhūd=a-phala-śaṅkā vaḥ para-datt=ēti p[ā]-  
 24 [rthi]vāḥ [ | \*] sva-dattāt=phalam=āttanya<sup>10</sup> para-datt-ānu[pā]-  
 25 lanē [|| 9\*] Sva-dattā[m\*] para-dattā[m\*] vā yō harēddasurā<sup>11</sup> [||\*]  
 26 [sa] vishṭhāyām kṛimi bhu(r=bhū)tvā pitṛibhiḥ[ḥ saha] pach[y]a-  
 27 [tē] [|| 10\*] api cha [ | \*] Kshitinri(r=ī)ya[m\*] kulaṭ=ēva va(ba)hu-priy[ā]  
 28 [hata-śa]riram=i[daṁ] chā(cha) vī(vi)nasva(śva)ra[m\*] | su[kṛi]tam=adya  
 29 [na] chēta(chēt) kriyatē dhruvaṁ vī(sa)padi dha[kshya]ti vō=[nu]-  
 30 śaya(y-ā)[na]laḥ [|| 11\*] [Iti]<sup>12</sup> kamala-dal-āmū<sup>13</sup>(mbu)-vinda(ndu)-lāla(lōlām) śri-  
 31 yam=udvikshya<sup>14</sup> manushya-jivitaṁ cha [ | \*] sakalam=ida-  
 32 [m=u]dāhu(hi)taṁ cha vu(bu)[d\*]dhvā a(na) hi purū(ru)shauḥ(shaiḥ) para-  
 33 kīrttayō vilōpyāḥ [||\* 12] Samvat [3] ....<sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These two *aksharas*, probably incised in duplication of the preceding letters, are superfluous.

<sup>2</sup> To rectify the metre, we should better read *asaṁkhyāta*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *Khichinga*<sup>o</sup> for the sake of metre. It seems that the name was the same as it is today but that it was Sanskritised as *Khichinga*.

<sup>4</sup> *Dā* looks like *ḍā*; but cf. the third *akshara* of line 22. The king's name does not suit the metre. The stanza is taken from Raṇabhañja's records with the replacement of *Śrīmad-Raṇabhañjadēvaḥ* by *Śrī-Mahanmadahava-bhañjadēvaḥ*.

<sup>5</sup> The name may possibly also be read as *Pāmsurā*.

<sup>6</sup> Some space was left out here for fixing the seal.

<sup>7</sup> The name is possibly *Kālāśarman*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *°bhiḥ* | *yasya*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *bhūmiḥ=tasya*.

<sup>10</sup> Read *°ānantyam*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *harāla vasundharām*.

<sup>12</sup> The *akshara* *ti* has been incised on *tē* which had been previously engraved.

<sup>13</sup> The *akshara* read as *mū* looks more like *māha*.

<sup>14</sup> The word expected here is *anuchintya*.

<sup>15</sup> The name of the month, etc., cannot be satisfactorily deciphered.



## No. 38—HATUN ROCK INSCRIPTION OF PATOLADEVA

(1 Plate)

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, NEW DELHI

Towards the end of May 1941, Sir Aurel Stein sent to Mr. K. N. Dikshit, the then Director General of Archaeology, a photograph of a rock inscription which was received by him from the British Political Agent at Gilgit. In a letter dated the 8th May 1941, Major G.C.L. Crichton, Political Agent, Gilgit, wrote to Sir Aurel Stein at Srinagar as follows: "Captain A. W. Redpath, Assistant Political Agent, Gilgit, when touring in this Agency noticed some writings engraved on a rock near a place called Silpi in Punial. Silpi is just south of the junction of the Ishkoman and Gilgit rivers. Thinking that the writings might be of Archaeological interest, Captain Redpath had them photographed and has suggested sending the prints to you. . . . . As far as Captain Redpath knows, the writings have not previously been photographed or reported to the Archaeological Department. I trust they will be of interest to you".

In his letter of the 17th May 1941, to Major Crichton, Sir Aurel wrote: "It is certainly in Sanskrit and in Brāhmī characters of the type known in Kashmir as Śāradā. As far as I can judge without being able at present to refer to any palaeographic tables, the writing is not likely to be later than the 8th-9th century A.D. and may be a good deal earlier. The photograph of the left portion of the inscription permits me on hasty examination to read a number of words which make it certain that it contains a record emanating from a local ruler of some importance, which invests it with interest.

"Being pressed by urgent tasks in different fields and not being an expert epigraphist, I cannot undertake the decipherment and publication of the inscription. For this, the available photographs, especially of the right hand portion, would not suffice. I am sending the photographs to the Director General of Archaeology, suggesting preliminary examination by a competent epigraphical scholar.

"For a full decipherment, a proper paper impression (estampage) will be needed. I believe, such could be conveniently secured with the help of my old surveying assistant, Khan Sahib Afrazgul Khan, who I believe has seen such estampages taken while with me, and whose skilful application to varied tasks has often been appreciated by me."

As I was at that time at the headquarters of the Department as the Deputy Director General, Mr. Dikshit passed on the photographs to me for examination and report to Sir Aurel. The photograph, particularly that of the right half of the epigraph, was unsatisfactory and the decipherment was made more difficult by the small size of the prints and the several cracks, some of them quite large, appearing on the engraved portion of the rock. I could, however, make out a good part of the inscription and, in my preliminary report, pointed out to Sir Aurel that it contained the name of a Shāhi ruler of Gilgit whose name along with that of another ruler of the same dynasty was also known from the Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts recovered from Gilgit.

In reply Sir Aurel wrote to me on July 12, 1941, from Srinagar: "I was specially pleased to come in your reading upon the title *Paṭōla-shāhi* and in your quotation from the Gilgit Mss. upon the full title *Shāhānushāhi* known from references to Kushāna rulers. Ever since I first read that title correctly in the SHAONANO SHAO of the Kushāna coins I have been interested in Indian renderings of the ancient Iranian title (see my paper on 'Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins' in *Indian Antiquary*, 1888; also the notes on Shāhi chiefs in my translation of the *Rājatarānginī*).

"The late survival of the full imperial title in a small Hindukush territory is very curious. This makes me particularly wish for any approximate dating you would propose for the inscription on palaeographic grounds. I was unable myself to refer in camp to any copy of Professor Bühler's *Indian Palaeography* on this point.



" I am much obliged to you for your reference to the notice on the Gilgit Mss. excavated in 1938 as contained in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*. I confess to be unaware of this periodical and of the account of the excavations therein recorded. The couple of small *stūpas* close to the one opened in 1930 were seen by me in 1931. I am glad that they were preserved from 'irresponsible' digging, but should have been glad to receive information about their subsequent excavation by the Archaeological Department of Kashmir "

Later I sent some impression material to the Political Agent at Gilgit ; but the attempt to take proper estampages was not very successful. He therefore sent me an estampage (rather a tracing) on cloth prepared by Khan Sahib Afrazgul Khan, with the help of which and also the unsatisfactory photographs previously received, the text now published has been prepared. The inscription is engraved on a rock<sup>1</sup> which is situated not near Silpi as previously reported by the Political Agent, but, as Sir Aurel informed me later in 1942 on the authority of Afrazgul Khan, five miles above it, about one mile south of the hamlet of **Hātūn** on the right bank of the Ishkuman river. It has seven lines of writing in a **script** which may be called proto-Śāradā. In Bühler's opinion, epigraphic Śāradā dates from the end of the 8th to the beginning of the 9th century A.D., though as a literary script it may have been much older. The script used here is earlier than that of the inscriptions of Brahmor and Chatrahi<sup>2</sup> and may therefore have to be placed in the 7th century, perhaps even a little earlier. The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit with a few mistakes here and there. One **orthographical peculiarity** is that a consonant is doubled before *y*, e.g., in *amātya* (l. 3), *maddhyē* (l. 4), though it is not doubled in the association of *r*, e.g., *pravardhamāna* (l. 2).

The **date** of the inscription is given both in words and numerals as the **13th day of the bright half of the month of Pausa in the year 47**. For the numeral figures, decimal system has been used. They are not shown by symbols as is the case in the manuscripts from Gilgit. Obviously both the systems were known in this region at the period of our record, the manuscripts using the old system of notation by symbols and the inscriptions using the decimal system. The earliest epigraphic instance of the use of the decimal notation as pointed out by Bühler<sup>3</sup> goes back to the 6th century, while its use in manuscripts would date from the beginning of the Christian era.

The inscription refers itself to the augmenting reign of the **P.M.P. Paṭṭolādēva Shāhi**, who was born in the **Bhagadatta-varṇa** and enjoyed the **biruda Nava-Surēndrādityanandidēva**, and records the construction of a town called the new **Makarapura** by Makarasirṇha who was the great lord of elephants (*mahāgajapati*), the chief minister (*mahāmātyavara*) and the great lord of the feudatories (*mahāsāmāntādhipati*) of the king and who was always devoted to the feet of the illustrious Shāhi lord. Makarasirṇha is referred to as **Kāñchudīya**, i.e. belonging to a clan of the name of **Kāñchudī**, and the **Sarāṅgha** of Giligittā. The town is said to have been built in the forest, .... māla by name, after damming (*apakriṣhya*) a streamlet (?) the name of which is not clear.<sup>4</sup> The town seems to have been near the village of **Hātūna** situated in the district (*vishaya*) of **Haṇṇesarā** which has obviously to be identified with modern Hunza.<sup>5</sup> Hātūna is certainly the present village of Hātūn near which the inscribed rock is.

The inscription is of great historical importance and has several interesting features. First of all is the occurrence of the name **Giligittā** for Gilgit. The origin of this name is still uncertain ; obviously the name is not Sanskritic. But it is interesting to note that the name was known in the same phonetical form over twelve hundred years ago. This proves as untenable the opinion of some scholars that the name is of recent origin.

<sup>1</sup> [The inscribed area measures 136 inches by 37 inches.—Ed.].

<sup>2</sup> Vogel, *Chamba Inscriptions* (Arch. Surv. Imperial Series), Plate X.

<sup>3</sup> Bühler, *Indian Palaeography, Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII, Appendix, pp. 82-83.

<sup>4</sup> [For the meaning of *apakriṣhya* and the name of the canal (*kulyā*), see below, p. 231, note 4.—Ed.].

<sup>5</sup> [For the reading of the names of the village and the district, see below, p. 230, note 8.—Ed.].



Next we come to the word *Sarāṅgha*. This is also of non-Sanskritic origin and is obviously connected with the Middle and New Persian *Sar-hang* meaning 'head of the army of gathering'. Its origin has to be sought in the Iranian *sar*, 'head' (Indo-Aryan *śiras*) and the old Persian *hanga* (Skt. *saṅgha*), 'company'. Even now the Indianised form of the word can be traced in the term *Sarang*, 'head of the crew of a steamer'.<sup>1</sup> The term *Kāñchudī*, as was pointed out to me by Sir Aurel, must be connected with the racial designation of Kanjūti applied to the people of Hunza and known as Kanjūt to its neighbours.

According to the inscription, king Paṭṭolādēva was born in the lineage of Bhagadatta who is no other than the homonymous son of Naraka mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. It is interesting to note that the same lineage is claimed also by Bhāskaravarman, the ruler of Prāgyōtisha (Assam) and the contemporary of Harsha of the Pushabhūti family, ruler of Kanauj and Thaneshvar (7th century A.D.). How the rulers of two widely separated territories, one in the mountainous region of the north and the other in the extreme east, came to trace their descent from the same ancestor, it is difficult to explain. It may be that both had the same object in view, namely, to establish their origin to a reputed Kshatriya family stated to be descended from the god Viṣṇu himself. Of course the name of Prāgyōtisha was well known in Kāśmīr in ancient times. Kalhana refers to it on three occasions, once in connection with a story in the *Mahābhārata*<sup>2</sup> and twice with the kings of Kāśmīr. In Book II (vv. 146 ff.) it is stated that Mēghavāhana, who became the king of Kāśmīr on the restoration of the Gōnanda dynasty, won the hands of Amṛitaprabhā, daughter of the king of Prāgyōtisha, in a *svayamvara* ceremony. There is also a reference to the Assian kings' descent from Viṣṇu and the parasol of Varuṇa which was carried there by Naraka. Kalhana also mentions this country in connection with the *digvijaya* of Mukṭāpīḍa Lalitāditya (8th century).<sup>3</sup> But what is strange is that immediately after the territories of the Bhūṭtas and Daradas, he mentions Prāgyōtisha to be followed by only mythical regions in the north. In the first instance also, while Amṛitaprabhā is mentioned as a princess of Prāgyōtisha, her father had a *guru* who was obviously a Tibetan.<sup>4</sup> Can these instances indicate that there existed a tradition in Kāśmīr of a second Prāgyōtisha in the north of Kāśmīr in the neighbourhood of the Darada country? Or, was it that the kings of Prāgyōtisha in Eastern India were in some way connected with the region in the north of Kāśmīr? If we can trace such a tradition that would offer an easy explanation for connecting the family of Paṭṭolādēva with Bhagadatta. The kingdom of the Assam rulers might have extended to a part of the hills but not certainly so far to the west.

Another point is that the Gilgit area is immediately across the Hindukush adjoined by Iranian territory and Stein has pointed out that in Wakhan the epic tradition of Iran was fully alive among the people. He also informed me that, even in the south, the Ishkuman valley is partly occupied by modern immigrants from Wakhan, speaking an Eastern Iranian tongue, and its present ruling family came from there. Thus it is not unlikely that, in an earlier period, to the Indianised descendants of the Iranian Kushānas a derivation of their traditional family claim from a legendary hero of the *Mahābhārata* might well have appealed. But in the absence of historical records nothing can be established. The Chinese sources do not help us much as Chinese authority over these parts ended much earlier and after the Islamisation of the territory all such traditions seem to have been altogether lost.

Following the discovery in 1931 of the now wellknown Buddhist Mss. in a *stūpa* in the mountainous region 3 miles to the north of Gilgit,<sup>5</sup> Pandit Madhusudan Kaul of the Kāśmīr

<sup>1</sup> See Yule, *Hobson Jobson*, s.v. *Sarang*.

<sup>2</sup> M.A. Stein, *Chronicles of Kashmir*, Vol. II (Bk. VIII, v. 2811).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 137 (Bk. IV, v. 171).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 73 (Bk. III, v. 10).

<sup>5</sup> Hackin, *Journal Asiatique*, 1932, pp. 14-15.



Archaeological Department carried on further excavations in 1938 and found 3 or 4 more Mss. in the same *stūpa*. One of these is a fragment of the *Mahāmāyūrī*<sup>1</sup> which mentions the name of *Shāhānushāhi* Paṭōlashāhi śrī-Nava-Surēndrādityanandidēva. The Ms. was written for ensuring a long life for the king. This king is obviously identical with the ruler mentioned in the inscription under consideration. The Ms. further gives us the name of his queen as Anaṅgadēvi. Names of two other rulers of this dynasty are also found in the colophons of the Gilgit Mss. discovered earlier in 1931. Dutt notices one of them whose name with full titles appears in the colophon as Śrīdēva Shāhi Surēndra Vikramāditya Nanda<sup>2</sup> who is mentioned there as a devout lay worshipper. He along with Śamīdēvi-Trailōkadēvi-bhaṭṭārikā, probably his wife, and one Vihali were the chief donors of the Ms. Dutt connects this colophon with Ms. B of the *Bhaishajyaguru* edited by him. I examined the colophon of this Ms. carefully and found that it was the gift of the devout lay worshipper Vasamta and his associates while the page, where the name of the ruler appears, formed the obverse of an unnumbered folio and might have belonged to a different Ms. I came across the name of another ruler of the same dynasty in another colophon also found on an unnumbered leaf, who is styled there as Paṭōladēva Shāhi Vajrādityanandī and is therefore different from the Paṭōladēva of our inscription. No further information is available from the colophon and it cannot be said definitely whether he was a predecessor or a successor of Surēndra Vikramāditya. One thing is, however, certain. Palaeographically both the Mss. are earlier than the *Mahāmāyūrī* Ms. and the Hātūn inscription and therefore the ruler of the last mentioned document must be styled Paṭōladēva II. Unfortunately nothing is known of these rulers from any other source. There is no indication as to whether the year 47 mentioned in the Hātūn inscription has to be referred to any particular era or represents only the regnal year. The main objection against its being the regnal year is that Paṭōladēva has to be allotted a rule of at least half a century and that he was of quite an advanced age when this inscription was engraved. This by itself is not impossible but seems unlikely when we consider that the Saptarshi or Laukika era was prevalent in these parts, in which the centuries were invariably omitted and the year 47 may therefore very well denote a date in the Laukika era. Unfortunately the details of the date given in the record do not admit of verification and we have to leave the point undecided, though the dating in the Laukika era would seem to be more reasonable.

Now, who were these Shāhi rulers? Dutt seems to think that they belonged to the Shāhiya dynasty of Udaḥāṇḍapura (Ohind). But it can not be so. Lalliya Shāhi, the founder of the Hindu Shāhiya dynasty was a contemporary of king Śaṅkaravarman of Kashmir (883-902 A.D.) But the dynasty of the Ādityas of Gilgit—we may call them so as all the rulers bore the title of *Āditya*—was definitely earlier in date. Moreover, the region where this inscription and the Mss. have been found is outside the territory of the Shāhis of Ohind and is in the Darada country. According to Stein, the kingdom of the Daradas extended from Chitral and Yasin, 'across the Indus region of Gilgit, Chilas and Bunji to the Kishanganga valley in the immediate north of Kashmir'. In the last two books (Taraṅgas vii and viii) of his work, Kalhaṇa gives the names of several Darada chiefs such as Achalamāṅgala, Jagaddala, Maṇidhara, Yaśōdhara and Viḍḍasiha. None of them, however, is given the title of Shāhi except Vidyādhara Shāhi, a contemporary of Harsha of Kashmir (1089-1101 A.D.). This single instance is enough to show that Kalhaṇa knew of their Shāhi origin. The Daradas are known from very ancient times. They are mentioned in the first book of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* and were known to Herodotus as occupying almost the same region as indicated above. They are mentioned in the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* and were known also to Ptolemy, Strabo and Pliny. Dutt's statement that 'about the 10th or 11th century, some Shāhi princes managed to create small

<sup>1</sup> Shastri, *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XXX, No. 1 (July 1939), pp. 11-12 and Pl. 1443. See also M. S. Kaul, *Gilgit Excavation Report*, 1938.

<sup>2</sup> Nalinaksha Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. 40, and Text of the *Bhaishajyagurusūtra*, p. 32.



independant states for themselves in the mountainous regions of Citral, Yasin, Gilgit, etc., generally known as the country of the Dards<sup>1</sup> is not therefore borne out by facts. We have shown above that the Darada Shāhis were in occupation of those parts from a much earlier time. Stein recognised, on the authority of Cunningham, that the title *Shāh*, 'has been borne for centuries back by the Dard rulers of Citral and Yasin', but was not sure whether it was of Muhammadan origin or was connected with the royal title of the Shāhis of the Kabul valley.<sup>2</sup>

According to Tibetan sources, the Gilgit region was known as Brūśa whose rulers seem to have some connection with the rulers of Udyāna (Swat). According to the same source, the kings of Brūśa had the title of *dēvaputra*. We know that this title was borne by the Kushāṇa rulers; but neither the inscription under consideration nor the Mss. from Gilgit give this title to any of the rulers of the Āditya dynasty. It is known that the Bon religion was once popular in Brūśa and Bon priests from this country were invited to Tibet.<sup>3</sup> The Ms. of Bastan 'byuñ gives the name of one of the kings of Brūśa as Sad-Zver.<sup>4</sup> This ruler cannot, however, be identified at present. Probably he was one of the earlier rulers who flourished before Buddhism had been firmly established in the Gilgit region.

These rulers of Gilgit were probably of Iranian origin as the use of the title *Shāhi* indicates. The name Paṭōla is also un-Indian. Due to their close connection with the Iranians, we need also not be surprised at the use of the title *Sarāmgha* of Iranian origin.

I cannot identify Makarapura. The ancient name may have now been replaced by one of Muslim origin. The stream referred to in the inscription may be a branch of the Ishkuman river if not the main river itself. The other places with the exception of the forest mentioned in line 6, have been identified above. I edit the inscription from the photograph and the tracing supplied by the then British Political Agent at Gilgit.

## TEXT

- 1 Om<sup>1</sup> svasti ||<sup>2</sup> sa[m]vatsarē [sa]ptachatvā[rīm]śa[ti]tamē 47 Pōshya(Pausha)-śukla-trayō[da]śyārñ 13 śrī-Bhagadatta-vañśa(vañśa)-saṁbhūta-paramabhāṭṭa-
- 2 raka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśva(śva)ra- Paṭōladēva-Shāhi-śrī-Nava-Sur[ē]ndrāditya-nandi[dē]va-pravardhamāna-rājyē
- 3 nirantara-śrī-Shāhidēva-pāda-bhakta-Kā[n̄chu]dīya-mahāgajapa i-mahāmāṭṭyavara-mahāsā-dha(ma)-
- 4 ntādhipati-Giligittā-Sarāmgha-Makarasirghē[na]<sup>3</sup> Haṇēsarā-vishayā(yā) Hātūna-<sup>4</sup> [grā]ma-maddhyē

<sup>1</sup> Dutt, *ibid.*, Introduction, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Stein, *Chronicles of Kashmir*, Vol. I, p. 337, note on verse 713; Cunningham, *Numismatic Chronicle*, Third Series, IX, p. 281.

<sup>3</sup> Helmut Hoffmann, *Quellen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Bon-Religion* (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jahrgang 1950, Nr. 4), p. 312.

<sup>4</sup> I am indebted to Prof. Hoffmann for this information.

<sup>5</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>6</sup> Stop is indicated by a curve followed by a *daṇḍa* as found in the Gilgit and Bower manuscripts.

<sup>7</sup> Read \*śimlāna.

<sup>8</sup> [The reading is *Haṇēsara-vishayāt=Hātūna*°, though *te=Ha* is grammatically wrong.—D.C.S.]



HATUN ROCK INSCRIPTION OF PATOLADEVA

2 4 6

2 4 6

1. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
2. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
3. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
4. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
5. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
6. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥







- 5 [pūrva]-prāntam<sup>1</sup> yāva[t\*] hasta-saha[srāṇi] dvātrīm(trim)śa<sup>2</sup> 32000 [dvātrimśa]<sup>3</sup>-sahasra  
ohat. shkaṁ ka(?)<sup>4</sup> makaravāhinī [nā]<sup>5</sup>
- 6 ma kuly[ām]<sup>6</sup> apakṛishya [Rēvānsō?]<sup>7</sup>māla nāma aṭavyā[m]<sup>7</sup> abhinava-[Ma]karapur-ākhyam  
paṭṭanam kṛitam ||
- 7 yāvaśch(oh-cha)ndr-[ārka]-prithvī [pitṛi-māṭṛi-kalatra]<sup>8</sup> sarva-sattv-ōpakāraṇam<sup>9</sup> kṛitam=  
iti[||\*]

## TRANSLATION

Om. Hail ! In the year 47, on the 13th day of the bright half of Pausa in the prosperous reign of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Paṭōladēva Shāhi*, the illustrious *Nava-Surēndrādityanandidēva*, born in the lineage of *Bhagadatta*, *Makarasimha*, the great lord of the elephants (*mahāgajapati*), the chief minister (*mahāmātya*), the great lord of the feudatories (*mahāsāmāntādhipati*) and the chief of the army at *Giligittā* (*Giligittā-Sarāmgha*), who belongs to the *Kāñchudi* clan and is constantly devoted to the feet of the great *Shāhi* lord, has founded, in the forest, *Rēvānsōmāla*(?) by name, the city called the new *Makarapura*, after putting a dam in the stream named *Chat. shkaṁka*(?) (of the length of) one thousand cubits (*hastas*) extending to the eastern limit of the village of *Hātūna* in the district (*vishaya*) of *Haṇṣarā*, (the city extending over ?) thirtytwo thousand *hastas*(?)<sup>10</sup>

(Let this last) so long as the moon, the sun and the earth (*last*). This is done for the welfare of the father, the mother, the wife<sup>11</sup> and all beings.

<sup>1</sup> The reading of the first two letters in this line is not certain. The first letter looks like *mra* on the tracing but may be read as *sra* in the photograph. The letters *prāntam* seem to be clear on the photograph. The intended reading may be *pūrva-prāntam*.

<sup>2</sup> On the photograph there seems to be a letter before *śa* which looks like *la*. But the tracing does not show any sign of such a letter. Obviously this is due to a defect in the rock.

<sup>3</sup> The reading of these three letters is not certain. Due to cracks these are illegible on the photograph. The tracing is not certain either. Elsewhere in this record enumeration in words precedes that in figures.

<sup>4</sup> The reading of these letters is not certain. The first seems to be a *cha* from the photograph. The second syllable is certainly a *t* in conjunction with another letter which is uncertain. The third syllable seems to be certainly *shkaṁ*. The fourth letter looks like a *ka* on the photograph but on the tracing it looks quite different. This was obviously the name of the stream. Can this be the ancient name of the *Ishkuman* river or one of its tributaries ? [The reading seems to be *hasta-chatushk[ā\*]k*. The preceding four *aksharas*, read as *dvātrimśa-sa*, are doubtful. *Chatushka* means 'a tank' from which the newly excavated canal called *Makaravahini* (*Makaravāhīnī-nāma-kulyā*) was taken out to the forest. The meaning of the word *apakṛishya*, literally 'having drawn out', has been misunderstood by the author.—D.C.S.]

<sup>5</sup> On the tracing, this letter looks like *ra*.

<sup>6</sup> *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

<sup>7</sup> The reading of these three letters is uncertain. The photograph clearly shows three letters of which the first looks like *rē*. The second letter may be *vā* or *dhā*. The third is a conjunct of which *sō* is certain but not the first component which I have tentatively read as *n*. [The reading seems to be [*Kha*]asō Read °māla-nām-aṭavyām.—D.C.S.]

<sup>8</sup> Not clear in the photograph. [The reading seems to be °*earthmāna-k[ā]laś=cha(ñ=cha)*.—D.C.S.]

<sup>9</sup> Read °*ōpakārāṭham*.

<sup>10</sup> I am not at all certain of the meaning of this portion. Does 32,000 indicate the expenses ? But one would have expected, in that case, the mention of some kind of coins. Does it read, after 32,000, *Dināra* ? But in *Kāshmir* a *Dināra* was a copper coin of a very small value. [For the meaning of the *Kashmirian Dināra*, see *Stein. op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 308 ff. For the reading and meaning of the passage, see note 4 above.—D.C.S.]

<sup>11</sup> For the reading of the passage, see note 8 above.—D.C.S.



## No. 39—BHUBANESWAR INSCRIPTIONS OF BHIMADEVA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

Bhīma or Bhīmadēva was an alternative form of the name of the Gaṅga monarch Anaṅgabhīma III,<sup>1</sup> also called Aniyaṅkabhīma or Anaṅkabhīma and Anantavarman. The reign of this king is usually assigned to the period Śaka 1133-60 corresponding to 1211-38 A. D.,<sup>2</sup> although, as we have shown elsewhere,<sup>3</sup> some inscriptions suggest a little later date for his accession. About half a century ago, the late Mr. M. Chakravarti transcribed the date portion (lines 2-5) of an inscription 'on the north jamb of the porch' of the celebrated Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar (Puri District, Orissa), which refers to the said Gaṅga monarch under the name Bhīmadēva.<sup>4</sup> Chakravarti's reading of the epigraphic passage in question runs as follows: *Jayati sakala-varṇa-jaṇ-ālaṅkṛita-rāja-śrī-Bhīmadēv-ābda . . . tṛitīyāyē Guru-vārē*. About fifteen years ago, I secured an impression of this inscription and published my transcript of the epigraphic text prepared on its basis.<sup>5</sup> The impression, which showed that the record is damaged, was quite unsatisfactory owing to insufficient inking. Nevertheless it helped me in correcting some of the mistakes in Chakravarti's reading of its date portion quoted above.

Recently I had an opportunity of examining some excellent impressions of the same inscription, which were prepared about twenty-five years ago under the supervision of the late Dr. H. Sastri and are now preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund. The impressions bear a note to the effect that the inscription was found 'on the north wall (right) outside the third entrance' of the Liṅgarāja temple. On a careful examination of the record, I was very sorry to find that its transcript published by me on the basis of an unsatisfactory impression is by no means free from errors. Indeed, as is now found, some of the most important passages of the inscription could not be correctly read from that impression. It is now also found that, in spite of the bad state of its preservation, the inscription can fortunately be deciphered fully with the help of the impressions preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. In the study of the inscription again I received considerable help from another fragmentary epigraph belonging to the reign of the same king and engraved on the same wall. The two records (Nos. 1 and 2) are incised respectively above and below a third inscription of the time of the same Gaṅga king, Anaṅgabhīma III, the date portion of which also was transcribed by Chakravarti in his article referred to above.<sup>6</sup> As these two epigraphs give a unique information regarding the religious life and policy of the Gaṅga monarch, they are edited in the following pages. As already pointed out above, an inaccurate transcript of Inscription No. 1 was formerly published by me; but Inscription No. 2 is being published here for the first time.

Inscription No. 1 is written in eleven lines while Inscription No. 2 has thirteen lines of writing. Owing to a break in the stone, all the letters of line 4 of the former record, together with the first few *aksharas* of the following line, are only partially preserved. Unfortunately the date of the inscription was quoted in this damaged part. The preservation of the latter epigraph is, however, even more unsatisfactory as a big portion of the stone is completely peeled off with the result that the beginning of lines 1-10 is totally lost. The number of letters thus lost is the highest in line 5 (about

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> *JASB*, 1903, p. 118.

<sup>3</sup> Above, pp. 200-01.

<sup>4</sup> *JASB*, loc. cit., Extract No. 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VI, No. 1 (July, 1939), p. 76.

<sup>6</sup> *JASB*, loc. cit., Extract No. 4.



nine *aksharas*) and the smallest in line 10 (about two *aksharas*). The two records cover spaces measuring respectively 16 inches by 19 inches and 18½ inches by 19 inches. We have said that a third inscription is engraved between these two, below Inscription No. 1 and above Inscription No. 2. The space covered by this epigraph measures 9 inches by 19½ inches. There are in this in all eight lines of writing ; but the letters of the left half of the last line are partially preserved owing to the peeling off of a portion of the stone.

The inscriptions are written in the Gaudīya script as used in Orissa about the thirteenth century A.D. Their language is corrupt Sanskrit. Nothing needs special mention in regard to the palaeography, language and orthography of the records as in these respects they resemble closely other Orissan epigraphs of the same age.

Both the inscriptions are dated in the Aṅka reckoning of the reign of Bhīmadēva (Anāṅgabhīma III). Unfortunately the portion containing the date is damaged in both the cases. The preserved parts of the letters in lines 4-5 of Inscription No. 1, however, appear to suggest the reading : *trayō-viṃśati-samvatsarē Makara-kṛishṇa-trītiyāyām Guru-vārē*, i.e. Thursday, Makara(Māgha)-badi 3, in the 23rd Aṅka or 19th regnal year of Gaṅga Anāṅgabhīma III. The astronomical details would tally with the 9th January, 1230 A.D., which may be the date of the record. As regards the date of Inscription No. 2, owing to the miserable state of the preservation of the passage, we only know that it was Chaitra(Mina)-sudi 15 of a particular Aṅka year of the same Bhīmadēva (Anāṅgabhīma III). Under the circumstances, it is impossible to determine whether the date of this record is earlier or later than that of Inscription No. 1. We have to admit that the introductory passages are the same in both the inscriptions and that they are not found in any other known record of the Gaṅga king in question. These facts may suggest that their drafts were prepared by the same person within a short period of time. We cannot, however, ignore the fact that the two records are not engraved one immediately below the other but have another inscription incised between them. This third epigraph bears a date in Śaka 1140 (1218 A.D.) and has the introductory part occluded in an altogether different style. If both the inscriptions under study actually bore dates falling about the year 1230 A.D., we have to assume that they were engraved above and below an already existing record of 1218 A.D.

As regards the date of this third inscription, which has been indicated above, we owe a word of explanation to the world of scholars. As already stated, the date portion of the record was transcribed by Chakravarti. His reading of the passage in question runs as follows : *Śākābd-aikādaśa-śatē chutvāriśat-ādi(dhī)kē-paṁchamakāśi mbha(vī)ra-Anāṅgabhīmadēvasya pravaddhati-samvatsarē...* (year illegible).....*Dhanu-kṛishṇa-pratipadi Bhauma-vārē*. He took the year to be Śaka 1145 and suggested the date, on the basis of the astronomical details (*Amānta*), to be Tuesday, the 9th January, 1224 A.D. I had recently an occasion to examine some good impressions of the inscription, which are preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, and found that Chakravarti's transcript of the passage quoted above contains several errors.

The first three lines of the epigraph actually read :

- 1 Siddham<sup>1</sup> svasti śrī-Śākāvdh-ai(bd-ai)kābha(da)śa-sa(śa)tē chū(cha)tvārvē(rim)śat-ādi-(dhi)kē paramavai-
- 2 [sh]ṇav-Ānāṅkabhīmadēvasya pravahati samvasarē(samvatsarē) daśaṅka-tādi[tē] (daś-āṅka-gaṇitē ?) sū(su)-

<sup>1</sup> Expressed by symbol.



3 varṇa-Dhanū(nuḥ)-krishṇa-pratipadi Bhaumavārē Sa(śa)[mbhō\*]ś=charaṇ-āravi.<sup>1</sup>

The date of the inscription is therefore not Śaka 1145, as suggested by Chakravarti, but really Śaka 1140. The astronomical details of the date (Dhanus-badi 1, Tuesday) tally regularly with the 4th December 1218 A.D., which is probably associated in the epigraph with the 10th Aṅka or 8th regnal year of the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhimadēva (Anaṅgabhīma III).

Inscription No. 1 begins with the symbol for *siddham* which is followed by the expressions *svasti iti*. Then follows the date (Aṅka 23 or regnal year 19, Makara or Māgha-badi 3, Thursday) in the regnal reckoning of *Rāutta* (i.e. a feudatory) Bhīmadēva (Anaṅgabhīma III). There are three epithets describing the king, of which the first one is of considerable interest. It says that the Gaṅga monarch, described as a subordinate ruler, was the son of Purushōttama (i.e. the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha of Purī). We have seen elsewhere<sup>2</sup> how the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III dedicated his kingdom in favour of the said deity and considered himself a *Rāuta* or *Rāutta* (i.e. feudatory) of the latter and how his successors, as they regarded themselves subordinates to the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha, did not enjoy formal coronation at the time of their accession. In this context, the claim of Anaṅgabhīma III to have been the son of the god in the present record (as well as in the other one to be discussed below) assumes special importance. The claim to be the god's son was undoubtedly meant to be the same as that preferring to be the god's feudatory. The second epithet of the Gaṅga king in the inscription under review represents him as the lord of the whole earth as far as the four oceans. As we have elsewhere<sup>3</sup> shown, this is a conventional claim preferred by the imperial rulers of ancient and medieval India. The third epithet of the king seems to say that he was surrounded by a large number of learned men.

The inscription records the grant of a perpetual lamp in favour of the god Kīrttivāsa (Kṛittivāsa or Śiva worshipped in the Liṅgarāja temple) and, for making provision for the same, a piece of land which was called Vāṅkilāṇḍā, measured 2½ *Vāṇis* (about 45 acres according to modern calculation) and was situated in the southern part of the village called Uchisama-grāma. The grant was made by the *Sēnāpati* (i.e. general, apparently of the Gaṅga king) Ira (or possibly Iśvara) who belonged to the Kāśyapa *gōtra* and was the son of Surāṇḍi and grandson of Chaṇḍēśvara. There is an endorsement at the end of the inscription in line 11, which seems to record the grant of another piece of land measuring 6 *Māṇas* (i.e.  $\frac{3}{10}$  *Vāṇis*), situated in a locality called Balabhadrapura.

In spite of the loss of the beginning of no less than ten lines of writing in Inscription No. 2, it is clear that its first three lines offer the same text as lines 1-3 of Inscription No. 1. Lines 4-5 of Inscription No. 2 quote the date of the record. As has been pointed out above, this date cannot be determined owing to the fragmentary state of the passages in question. The inscription records

<sup>1</sup> The inscription has some interest to the student of the social history of medieval Bengal. The remaining lines of the epigraph read as follows :

4 nda-[bha]ktēna Sāṇḍilya-sagōtra-sama(mu)dbhūtēva(na) Vaidya-Daṇḍapāpīdattē-

5 na yāvad=dēvōpabhōga-paristha(sthā)panā yāvad=ātm-ōpabhōgya-

6 dravyaṁ śrī-Kīrtti(Kṛitti)vāsadēvasya purattab(taḥ) sa(śa)śvad=āhāvātē(d=āhṛitya) prakāśarā(nā)-

7 ya ghṛit-ākhaṇḍa-dipa-dvayaṁ dattan=ā(m=ā)-chandr-ārka-pravarttanāya [ | \* ] yē anyē a-

8 [dhikāriṇō ..... vi]lumpakās=ta(s=tē) dēvasya ch=ā[jā] [yā\*] vadhavaṅgata (bandhanān=gatāḥ ||)

It is interesting to note that the donee was a Vaidya named Daṇḍapāpī-datta who belonged to the Sāṇḍilya *gōtra*. Amongst the Vaidyas of Bengal, those having the cognomen *Datta* belong usually to four *gōtras*, viz. Kāśyapa, Sāṇḍilya and Maudgalya (cf. Bharatamallika's *Vaidya-kula-pañjikā* entitled *Chandraprabhā*, Calcutta, B.S. 1299, p. 7). The crystallisation of the professional community of the Vaidyas into a caste seems to have begun earlier than the date of the present record.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. XXX, pp. 17 ff.; also *JKHRS*, Vol. I, pp. 251 ff.; *Or. Hist. Res. Journ.*, Vol. I, pp. 45 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *JRASB*, Vol. V, 1939, pp. 407 ff.; *Sarāpa Bhārati*, Hoahyarpur, 1954, pp. 315 ff.



the grant of three *Vāṭis* (60 acres in modern calculation) of land in a village situated in the *Kōṇṭha-rāṅga vishaya* in favour of the god *Kirttivāsa* (*Kṛitivāsa*) apparently for making provision for *naivēdya* or daily offerings to the deity. The name of the donee as well as that of the village in which the gift land was situated is totally lost. Another piece of land measuring one *Vāṭi* was granted by the same donor for the provision of what is called *Pāṇiyapatrī*, the intended reading probably being *pāṇiya-pātrī* (Sanskrit *pāṇiya-pātra*, also called *dhārā-pātra*). It is a water jar which is usually hung in many parts of India above a *Śiva-liṅga* and through a small hole at the bottom of which water trickles down continuously on the *Liṅga* so that the god enjoys nonstop ablution. The donor seems to have arranged for the proper supply of water for the purpose through the following persons :

(1) *Pāṭhin Mahādēva*, (2) *Paṇḍita Purushōttama*, (3) *Gōvinda Karaṇa* and (4) *Śiunāta* (*Śivanātha*) *Karaṇa*. One *Mahādēva Pāṭhin* is mentioned in some records of the time of *Anaṅgabhīma III*, found in the second entrance of the *Pātālēśvara* shrine within the *Jagannātha* temple at *Purī*. It is not possible to determine whether he was the same as the person mentioned in the inscription under discussion.

The following geographical names are mentioned in the two inscriptions: (1) *Uchisama-grāma*, (2) *Vāṅkilāṇḍā* in *Uchisama-grāma*, (3) *Balabhadrapura*, and (4) *Kōṇṭha-rāṅga-vishaya*. Of these the *vishaya* or district of *Kōṇṭharāṅga* appears to be no other than *Kōṇṭhārāvaṅga-vishaya* mentioned in the *Purī plates*<sup>1</sup> of *Bhānu II*.

### TEXT<sup>2</sup>

#### *Inscription No. 1*

- 1 Siddham<sup>3</sup> svast[i] iti [\*] Bhagavat-Puru[shō]ttama<sup>4</sup>-putra-
- 2 chatuḥ-sāgara-paryant-ādhipati-saka[la]<sup>5</sup>-
- 3 vaddha<sup>6</sup>-jan-ālamkṛita-Rāu[ttā\*]<sup>7</sup>-śrī-Bhīmadēv-āvdē(bdē)
- 4 \*trayō[viśamti]<sup>8</sup>-samvatsarē Makara-kṛiṣṇa-tṛi-
- 5 [tī]yāyām<sup>10</sup> Guru-vārē Magha(ghā)-nakshatrē Kāśvya(śya)pa-[sa\*]gōtrasya
- 6 [Cha]ṇḍēśvara-nāmaṇḍ pautrasya Kāśya(śya)pa-sagōtrasya

<sup>1</sup> *Journ. As. Soc., Letters*, Vol. XVII, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> From impressions.

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>4</sup> The *akshara ru* has a cursive form and *shō* is imperfectly formed. But there is no doubt about the reading which is supported by Inscription No. 2.

<sup>5</sup> In place of *la*, *na* had been originally incised and was later made *la*. The reading *sakala* is supported by Inscription No. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Inscription No. 2 reads *vi* instead of *va*; but unfortunately the following letters of the expression are lost in that record. We may suggest the emendation *vidvāj-jan-ā*.

<sup>7</sup> This restoration is suggested by Inscription No. 2. Some traces below the line may suggest that *ta* or *tta*, originally omitted, was later actually inserted.

<sup>8</sup> Only the upper part of the letters of this line can be seen. The letter *yō* looks more like *gō* while the vowel-mark of *vi* and *ti* is not clear. Only the *anusvāra* of *śam* is clear.

<sup>9</sup> Read *vinśati*.

<sup>10</sup> The letter *it* is completely lost and the following two *aksharas* are only partially preserved.



- 7 Surāṇḍi-nāmnah putrasya Kāśya(śya)pa-sagōtrasya Sēnā-  
 8 pati-<sup>1</sup>Ira-nāmnah Uchisama-grāmē<sup>2</sup> dakṣiṇa-bhāgē Vā-  
 9 ākilāṇḍā-bhūmi-pād-ādika-vāṭivā(kā)-dvaya<sup>3</sup> śrī-Kīrttivā<sup>4</sup>.  
 10 sadē[va]sy=āgrētē<sup>5</sup> akhaṇḍa-dīp-[ai]kaṁ(kam) ahaṁ dadāmi  
 11 ||o|| Va(Ba)labhadrapuriyē(ya)-bhūmi-māṇa-śaṭ pu[tkā(ṇy-ā)]rthē [||\*]

## Inscription No. 2

- 1 . . . . . <sup>6</sup>[ga]vat-Purushōttama-putra-  
 2 . . . . . <sup>7</sup>[rya]nt-ādhipati-sakala-vi-  
 3 . . . . . <sup>8</sup>utta-śrī-Bhīmadēv-āvdē(bdē)  
 4 . . . . . <sup>9</sup>[rē Chai]tra-śukla-Pau-<sup>10</sup>  
 5 . . . . . <sup>11</sup>Chitrā-nakṣatrē sa-  
 6 . . . . . <sup>12</sup>sya Kōṇṭharāṅga-visha-  
 7 . . . . . <sup>13</sup>[grā]mē bhūmi-vāṭikū-tra-  
 8 . . . . . <sup>14</sup>vāsādēvāya naivēdyam<sup>15</sup> pu-  
 9 . . . . . <sup>16</sup>[vā]ṭik-aikaṁ pāṇiyapātrīm(trīm) shaṁ da  
 10 . . . <sup>17</sup>[pā]ṇiyam=[pā]ṭhi-Mā(Ma)hādēva-paṇḍita-Puru-  
 11 shōttama-Gōvinda-karaṇa-Śiunāta-karaṇē-<sup>18</sup>  
 12 shv=adhikārē dātavyō<sup>19</sup> mayā kim=va(m=ba)hun=ē=  
 13 [ti ||o||]

<sup>1</sup> The rule of *Sandhi* has been ignored here. The intended reading of the name may have been *Isvara*.

<sup>2</sup> The reading of the name may also be *Dachisama*.

<sup>3</sup> Better read *dvayēna*.

<sup>4</sup> Better read *Kīrtti*°.

<sup>5</sup> Read °*agrataḥ*.

<sup>6</sup> The lacuna can be filled up with the letters *Siddham svasti iti Bha*° as found in Inscription No. 1.

<sup>7</sup> The lacuna has to be filled up with the letters *chaituḥ-sāgara-pa*° as found in the other epigraph.

<sup>8</sup> As indicated above, the intended reading of the lost part may be °*dvaj-jan-ālanḍita-Rā*°.

<sup>9</sup> The last expression in the lacuna must have been *samvatsarē*; but the letters indicating the year cannot be determined.

<sup>10</sup> There is a *daṇḍa* here apparently to cover some empty space at the end of the line.

<sup>11</sup> The lacuna apparently contained the letters °*ruṇamāsyām* . . . . *vārē*; but the name of the week-day cannot be determined.

<sup>12</sup> The name of the donee in the sixth case-ending must have found a place here.

<sup>13</sup> The first letter of this line seems to have been °*yē*; but the name of the village cannot be determined.

<sup>14</sup> The lacuna may be filled up with the letters °*yam śrī-Kīrtti(Kīrtti)*°.

<sup>15</sup> For *naivēdyam*, *naivēdy-ārtham* was apparently intended.

<sup>16</sup> We have to fill up the lacuna probably with °*nar=api*. For *pāṇiyapātrīm* apparently *pāṇiyapātr-ārtham* was intended.

<sup>17</sup> The lacuna has to be filled up with the letters °*dāmi* (cf. Inscription No. 1, line 10).

<sup>18</sup> Read *Śivanātha-karaṇānām=adhī*°.

<sup>19</sup> Read *dātavyam*.



## Inscription No. 1

[illegible]



1 वक्रयकृवाहमेयुम्  
 2 अहियनिमलवि 2  
 3 उरुणीजीमदवाहि  
 4 यदिवशुक्राय 4  
 5 विजानन्तं 5  
 6 अहिरुवाहावे 6  
 7 अमरुतिवाहिक 7  
 8 यदिवशुक्राय 8  
 9 अहिरुवाहावे 9  
 10 यदिवशुक्राय 10  
 11 अहिरुवाहावे 11  
 12 यदिवशुक्राय 12



## No. 40—TWO NAGA INSCRIPTIONS

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

Recently I had an occasion to examine the impressions of two inscriptions relating to the worship of the **Nāgas** or serpents in ancient and medieval India. The first of these records is engraved on the pedestal of a Nāga image now preserved in the **Lucknow Museum**. The second epigraph is incised on a stone slab which was discovered at **Biharsharif** (Patna District, Bihar) or in its neighbourhood but is now exhibited in the Patna Museum.

The **Nāgas** enjoy a prominent place in ancient Indian legends and folklore. There are literary references to numerous **Nāgas**, the most famous among them being **Śeṣha** or **Ananta**, **Vāsuki**, **Takshaka**, **Dhṛitarāshṭra**, **Ēlāpatra** or **Airāvata**, **Karkōṭa** or **Karkōṭaka**, **Kauravya**, **Śaṅkha**, **Maṇi** and others. The cult of the **Nāgas**, allied to that of another class of semi-divine beings called **Yaksha**, was widely prevalent in ancient India.<sup>1</sup> The worship of snake-deities is popular in different parts of India even to this day.<sup>2</sup> In ancient times, there were many great centres of the **Nāga** cult in Northern India. The chronicles of Kashmir speak of the worship of several **Nāgas** in that land, the most important among them being **Nila** who had his abode in the waters of the **Vitastā** and was regarded as the guardian deity of Kashmir.<sup>3</sup> An illustrious royal house of ancient Kashmir, represented by the celebrated **Muktāpīḍa Lalitāditya** (eighth century), claimed descent from the **Nāga Karkōṭaka**, who is also famous in the *Mahābhārata* episode of **Nala**, king of the **Nishadhas** probably living near the **Pāriyātra** (the Western **Vindhyas** and the **Aravalli** range).<sup>4</sup> The **Nāga** kings **Ēlāpatra** and **Chakravāka** are mentioned in certain old **Barhut** inscriptions<sup>5</sup> and were probably worshipped in pre-Christian times in the region in question. In Buddhist literature, **Ēlāpatra** is mentioned as the **Nāga** of **Takshaṣilā** (in **Gandhāra**),<sup>6</sup> where the great serpent-sacrifice of the **Kuru** king **Janamējaya** is sometimes supposed to have taken place.<sup>7</sup> Numerous ancient **Nāga** images have been discovered at **Mathurā** and in its neighbourhood. An inscription<sup>8</sup> of the year 26 of the **Kanishka** era, corresponding to 104 A.D., records the installation of a *Śilāpaṭṭa* by some persons, described as 'the sons of the actors of **Mathurā**, who are being praised as the **Chāndaka** brothers', at the *sthāna* of **Bhagavat Dadhikarṇa**, lord of the **Nāgas**. The existence of a temple of **Dadhikarṇa-nāga** at **Mathurā** during the age of the **Kushāṇas** is also indicated by another inscription<sup>9</sup> on a pillar base originally belonging to the **Huvishka** monastery of that place. It states that the object was the gift of **Dēvila** who was 'a servant of the shrine of **Dadhikarṇa**'. Another **Mathurā** inscription<sup>10</sup> on a **Nāga** image, dated in the year 8 of **Kanishka's** reign (78-101 A.D.),

<sup>1</sup> See **James Fergusson**, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, 1873; **J. Ph. Vogel**, *The Indian Serpent Lore*, 1926; **N. K. Bhattasali**, *Iconography of the Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, pp. 212 ff.; **K. K. Gupta** in *Proc. I.H.C.*, 1939, pp. 223-29 (The **Nāgas** and the **Nāga** Cult in Ancient Indian History); etc. An inscription at **Gurzala** and another at **Macherla**, both in the **Andhra** State, invoke the presence of the eight **Nāgas**, viz., **Śeṣha**, **Vāsuki**, **Takshaka**, **Karkōṭa**, **Abja**, **Mahāmbuja**, **Śaṅkha** and **Kulika**, to decide the auspicious or inauspicious nature of the grants recorded in the epigraphs. See *ARSIE*, 1910, p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. **Vogel**, op. cit., pp. 247 ff.; **Bhattasali**, loc. cit.; **Whitehead**, *The Village Gods of South India*, 1916; **V. N. Mandlik**, *JBBRAS*, Vol. IX, pp. 188-89 (Serpent Worship in Western India); etc.

<sup>3</sup> See **Vogel**, op. cit., pp. 220 ff.; **Kalhana's Rājataranginī**, I, 28, 182, etc.

<sup>4</sup> **Vogel**, op. cit., pp. 214-15; *IHQ*, Vol. XXI, p. 311.

<sup>5</sup> **Barua and Sinha**, *Barhut Inscriptions*, pp. 71-72.

<sup>6</sup> **Vogel**, op. cit., pp. 106 f., 208 ff., 216.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 205.

<sup>8</sup> *ARASI*, 1908-9, p. 159.

<sup>9</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 102 f., No. 13.

<sup>10</sup> Above, Vol. XVII, p. 11.



records the consecration of a tank and a garden dedicated to *Bhagavat* Bhūmi-nāga. A Nāga image, discovered at Chhargāon (five miles to the south of Mathurā), bears an inscription stating that the Nāga was installed by two persons in their own tank. The epigraph ends with the *maṅgala*: "May the *Bhagavat* Nāga be pleased!" But no name is applied to the Nāga in this case. This reminds us of the custom of erecting a *Nāga-kāshṭha* (i.e. a pole with its top fashioned in the shape of a serpent), at the centre of a tank at the time of its consecration, which is prevalent in some parts of India even to this day.<sup>1</sup>

The popularity of the Nāga cult in the Mathurā region is also indicated by the *Harivaṃśa* episode of the famous Kāliya-nāga who lived in the waters of the Yamunā<sup>2</sup> as well as by the well-known conception of Balarāma as the incarnation of Ananta-nāga. The episode of Akrūra in the world of serpents, as given in the *Harivaṃśa* and referred to in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, is also interesting to note in this connection. Akrūra is stated to have reached the abode of the snakes in the Nether World by diving down in the waters of the Yamunā. There he found the Nāga Ananta or Śeṣha worshipped by the other Nāgas.<sup>3</sup> The description of the Nāga deity here is strikingly reminiscent of the iconography of Balarāma as indicated by Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*<sup>4</sup> and also known from sculptures.<sup>5</sup>

A great centre of Nāga cult in the eastern part of Northern India was Rājagriha (modern Rājgir in the Gaya District, Bihar), the ancient capital of Magadha, and its neighbourhood. A tradition recorded by Hiuen-tsang<sup>6</sup> seems to suggest that a Nāga named Nālanda was the guardian deity of the city of Nālandā (modern Baggāon in the Patna District), not far away from Rājgir. According to the *Mahābhārata*,<sup>7</sup> there were temples of the Nāga gods, Svastika-nāga and Maṇi-nāga, at Rājagriha which was also the abode of the Nāgas, Arbuda and Śakravāpin. Ancient Nāga images have been discovered at Rājgir and the area around it and the Maṇiyār Maṭh at Rājgir has been supposed to represent an old Maṇināga-maṭha.<sup>8</sup> A sculpture, discovered in the ruins of Maṇiyār Maṭh, is known to bear the representation of two male Nāga figures with a diminutive female figure between them and these three figures have tentatively been identified respectively with Maṇināga,

<sup>1</sup> Bhattacharya, op. cit., p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vogel, op. cit., pp. 87 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 92: "Now Akrūra dived down in the pool of the Yamunā and in the Nether Region (*Rasātala*) he beheld the world of snakes. In the middle thereof, he saw the thousand-headed lord of the serpents who carried a plough in one hand and whose frame was supported by a mace. His lofty banner was a golden fan palm. He was of white complexion and was wrapped in a dark-coloured garment. He wore a single ear-ring and, being intoxicated, he slept. He was seated at his ease on the shining seat formed by the mass of his coils. Long-armed he was; his breast was covered by a wreath of golden lotus flowers and his limbs were anointed with red-sandal. He was worshipped by the chiefs among the Nāgas headed by Vāsuki. The two Nāgas, Kambala and Aśvatara, holding chowries, were fanning the deity who was seated on the seat of justice. The other snakes, Karkōṭaka foremost, attended him and laved their monarch by means of golden jars. Seated in his lap was Vishnu, dark like a thunder cloud, and wearing a yellow garment, his breast adorned with the Śrīvatsa". In Buddhist tradition, Kambala and Aśvatara are sometimes called the Nāgas of the Gaṅgā. See Vogel, op. cit., p. 118.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. LVIII, 36: "Baladēva must be made having a plough in his right hand, with eyes lively from drink, and wearing a single ear-ring. His complexion is fair like a conch-shell, the moon or lotus-fibre".

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity (The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. II)*, p. 452.

<sup>6</sup> Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 165.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Vaṅgavāsi edition, II, 21, 9: *Arbudaḥ Śakravāpī cha pannagau śatru-tāpanau, Svastikasy-ālayaḥ-ch=ātra Maṇināgasya ch=ōttamaḥ*. The place of Maṇināga is also located near Rājagriha elsewhere in the same work (III, 84, 104-108).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *ARASI*, 1905-6, pp. 103 ff.; Vogel, op. cit., pp. 218-9; Ghosh, *A Guide to Rājgir*, p. 16; etc. The existence of a Maṇināga-maṭha in Orissa is known from the Kanas plates (above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 328 ff.). Elsewhere (*JBSR*, Vol. XXXIX, Parts 1-2, pp. 41 ff.) we have suggested that Maṇināga was sometimes identified with the popular Yaksha deity Maṇibhadra or Māṇibhadra who was regarded as the guardian of caravans. For the name Māṇibhadra and the god's association with the safety of a merchant's journey in Jain tradition, see also Dhanapāla's *Bhaviṣṭīśatakā* (tenth century) in *Journ. Or. Inst.*, Vol. II, pp. 352, 354.



Svastika-nāga and Sumāgadadhā, supposed, on the basis of a damaged inscription (of doubtful import) on the sculpture itself, to have been the sister of the Nāga brothers, Maṇi and Svastika.<sup>1</sup> In connection with the suggestion regarding the female snake-deity Sumāgadadhā, it is interesting to note that the worship of the Nāginis does not appear to have been popular in other parts of India in ancient times. Although Nāginis figure in some of the epic and Puranic episodes, the Nāgas are always more prominent in ancient Indian literature. We have many lists in early works enumerating the names of numerous Nāgas<sup>2</sup>; but there is hardly any list of the names of Nāginis. Curiously enough, a Nāginī cult is known to have developed in Eastern India. Elsewhere<sup>3</sup> we have seen how the snake-goddess worshipped in various parts of Bengal and Bihar in the medieval period under such names as *Bhaṭṭinī* Maṭṭuvā contributed to the growth of the cult of Manasā whose worship is now popular in Eastern India. The continuity of Nāga worship at Rājgir down to quite recent times is indicated by an inscription<sup>4</sup> of V.S. 1837 (1781 A.D.), recording the setting up of the footprints of Śālibhadra-nāga.

#### A. Takshaka Image Inscription in Lucknow Museum

The Nāga image inscription in the Lucknow Museum, referred to above, shows that the representation in question is of none other than the great **Takshaka-nāga**.

One of the most famous of the Nāgas in ancient Indian literature is Takshaka.<sup>5</sup> He seems to be mentioned in the *Atharva Vēda*<sup>6</sup> and *Sāṅkhāyana Gṛihya Sūtra*<sup>7</sup> as Takshaka Vaiśālēya. The *Kauśika Sūtra*<sup>8</sup> and the *Vishnu Smṛiti*<sup>9</sup> prescribe food offering for the protection of the house to various deities including Takshaka and Upataksaka. Takshaka is the chief Nāga hero in the *Mahābhārata* stories about the Kuru kings, Parikshit and his son Janamējaya. He killed Parikshit and escaped death with great difficulty in the wellknown serpent sacrifice of Janamējaya.<sup>10</sup> Takshaka also figures prominently in the episode of the burning of the Khāṇḍava forest (lying near Kurukshētra, i.e. in the modern Eastern Punjab), which was his abode.<sup>11</sup> This story of the *Mahābhārata* states how the Fire-god consumed the forest with the help of the Kuru hero Arjuna and his friend, Yādava Kṛishṇa, during Takshaka's absence in Kurukshētra and how Takshaka's son Aśvasēna escaped from the burning forest with the greatest difficulty. There are several references in the *Rāmāyaṇa*<sup>12</sup> to Rāvaṇa's victory over the Nāga king Vāsuki and his conquest of the Nāga capital Bhōgavatī, in connection with which the king of Laṅkā is stated to have carried away Takshaka-nāga's wife.

Considering the importance of Takshaka in the Indian serpent lore, his worship seems to have been widespread in ancient India. The prevalence of the **Takshaka cult** in Kashmir is referred to in the *Mahābhārata*<sup>13</sup> as well as in Kalhaṇa's *Rājataranginī*<sup>14</sup> and Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṇkadēvacharita*.<sup>15</sup> Unfortunately very little is known as regards the worship of Takshaka in other

<sup>1</sup> JNSI, Vol. XII, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Mahābhārata*, I, 35, 65 and 229; V, 102; *Harivamśa*, Harivamśaparvan, 3, 31 and 196; *Matsya Purāṇa*, 6; *Padma Purāṇa*, Sṛisṭīkhaṇḍa, 6, etc.; Vogel, op. cit., pp. 190 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 138-39.

<sup>4</sup> Vogel, op. cit., p. 219.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., pp. 203 ff.

<sup>6</sup> VIII, 10.

<sup>7</sup> IV, 18, 1.

<sup>8</sup> LXXIV, 8.

<sup>9</sup> LXVII, 5.

<sup>10</sup> Vogel, op. cit. pp., 66 ff., 69 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., pp. 62, 77 ff.

<sup>12</sup> III, xxxii, 13-14; VI, vii, 3 and 7; VII, xxiii 4-5.

<sup>13</sup> III, lxxx, 970.

<sup>14</sup> I, 222.

<sup>15</sup> XVIII, 170.



parts of Northern India. As to the survival of the Takshaka cult in modern times, we may only refer to his shrine near Navali or Naoli in the old Indore State (now in Madhya Bharat). Here the snake deity is worshipped under the name Takshakēśvara or Tākḥājī whose image represents the Nāga as standing with a sevenfold hood, the coils being visible on both sides. He has two arms possibly holding a cup and a fruit in his hands. The deity is accompanied by a male and a female attendant, the former holding a serpent in his right hand.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, in the absence of any inscription on the sculpture, it is impossible to determine whether the image was identified with Takshaka-nāga even in earlier times.

Under the circumstances, the only early image of Takshaka so far discovered in India and definitely known as such, seems to be that now housed in the Lucknow Museum with the Exhibit No. G-72.<sup>2</sup> The sculpture is stated to have been purchased for the Museum in 1925 from the late Professor B. C. Bhattacharya of Durgakund, Banaras. But its exact findspot is unknown.

The pedestal of this Nāga image bears an inscription in one line only, which was apparently meant to serve the purpose of a label. The characters belong to the Northern Alphabet and may be assigned to the eighth century A.D. on grounds of palaeography. The orthography of the record exhibits the influence of local pronunciation.

The inscription begins with the *siddham* symbol and ends with a double *danḍa*. The first of the two *danḍas* has a triangular sign attached to the left of its central part. This characteristic of the *danḍa* is also noticed elsewhere. In between the *siddham* symbol and the double *danḍa* there are only six *aksharas* which read: *śrī-Takshaka-nāga*, the intended reading no doubt being *śrī-Takshaka-nāgaḥ*, 'the illustrious Nāga Takshaka'. Nothing is said in the inscription regarding the person by whom and the purpose for which the image was set up. But there is little doubt that it was installed in a temple for worship.

#### B. Patna Museum Inscription of V.S. 1452 and Śaka 1317

The inscribed stone slab in the Patna Museum, referred to above, bears the exhibit No. 10601 and, as Mr. S. A. Shere, Curator of the Museum, kindly informs me, looks like the broken piece of a door jamb. The slab measure 4' 9" by 1' by 5", and contains four lines of inscription on one side only. It was presented to the Patna Museum in January 1943 by the Sub-Divisional Officer of Biharsharif in whose quarters it had been lying for some time uncared for. Nothing is known as regards its discovery and original findspot. But it appears that it was found at Biharsharif itself or in its neighbourhood.

The inscription was noticed by Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri in a very short note entitled "Evolution of Māgadhi Script", published in *JBORS*, Vol. XXVIII, 1942, pp. 440-41. Unfortunately he read and interpreted only the last line of the record and that also not quite correctly. He also failed to understand the real nature of the document. Thus he says, "The inscription is of the usual votive donation type. The last line runs—*Likhitam sūtrakārēṇa Kāmadēvēna karmminā Śākē 1322 Nṛpa-vikramārkē Saṁ 1458... Śaka 1322=1322+78=1400 A.D.: Saṁ 1458—58* =1400 A.D. Thus the inscription is written in the Māghadhī script, dated 1400 A.D." There are several mistakes in Dr. Banerji-Sastri's reading and interpretation of the last line of the inscription, quoted above. What he has read as *sūtrakārēṇa*, *Śākē 1322* and *Saṁ 1458* are actually *svarakārēṇa*, *Śākē 1317* and *Saṁ 1452* respectively. The date of the inscription is therefore not 1400 A.D. but 1395 A.D. Moreover it does not speak of any donation but records the construction of a temple for a Nāga deity. The script of the inscription is again not Māgadhi but early

<sup>1</sup> See Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. II, p. 718; *Prog. Rep. A.S.*, W.C., 1919-20, p. 88, Plate XIII; Vogel, op. cit. pp. 206 f.

<sup>2</sup> An inscription (No. 48) of about the 8th century in the Nāgēśvara temple at Narnūru (Kurnool District, Andhra) in our collection of 1953-54 refers to a deity called Takshakēśvara-bhaṭāra. But the name seems to have been applied to the Śiva-linga worshipped in the temple in question.

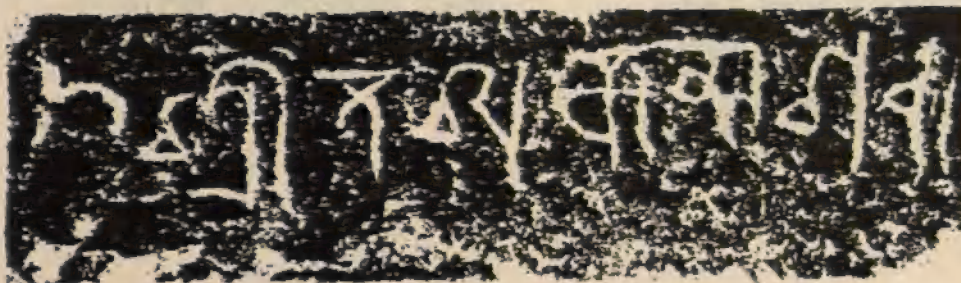


## TWO NAGA INSCRIPTIONS

A. TAKSHAKA IMAGE INSCRIPTION IN LUCKNOW MUSEUM



From a Photograph



SCALE: ONE-HALF







Bengali resembling the modern Bengali alphabet very closely. This script may also be called Gauḍī,<sup>1</sup> although this name may more properly be applied to an earlier stage of the characters on the way of their development.

The four lines of writing in the inscription cover a space about 27·5 inches by 3·5 inches. The preservation of the writing is not satisfactory. The usual symbol expected at the beginning of the record and twelve *aksharas* that followed it in line 1 are almost completely lost owing to the peeling off of a layer of the stone. The same defect has also obscured some letters here and there in other parts of the inscription. But fortunately the purport of all the lines of the inscription is quite clear.

The **characters** closely resemble those employed in other records of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, written in the Gaudīya script prevalent in Bengal and the neighbouring regions including parts of Bihar, such as the stone inscription<sup>2</sup> (from the Patna District) of V.S. 1553 (1496 A.D.) edited by myself. They exhibit characteristics slightly earlier than the letters of the Barakar (Burdwan District, West Bengal) inscriptions<sup>3</sup> of Śaka 1382 (1460 A.D.) or 1383 (1461 A.D.) and Śaka 1468 (1546 A.D.). In my paper on the inscription of 1496 A.D., I have tried to explain the use of the early Bengali script in the Patna area during the medieval period. Nothing requires special mention in regard to the **palaeography** of the record, although it may be noticed that the *anus-vāra* is written in both the Dēvanāgarī (cf. *varām* in line 3) and the Bengali (cf. *saṁ* in line 4) fashions and that the figure 2 in line 4 resembles its form occasionally found in the Mehar plate of Śaka 1156 (1234 A.D.).<sup>4</sup> The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit; but it cannot be regarded as quite elegant and chaste. Its **orthography** does not invite any special notice. The inscription bears the date in Śaka 1317 and V.S. 1452, in figures, at the end. At the beginning of line 3, the Vikrama year is quoted in words as *yugm-ēśāsya-kṛī-aik-āvdē(bdē)*. The words *yugma*, *īśāsya*, *kṛīta* and *ēka* mean respectively 2, 5, 4 and 1 and, according to the wellknown principle *aikānām vāmatō gatiḥ*, give the year 1452. The lost letters at the beginning of line 1 appear to have similarly indicated the Śaka year 1317 in words. The said lost letters are followed by the passage *ch=Āśvinē māsi śuklē vārē Śukrē daśamyām* indicating the date: Āśvina-śudi 10, Friday. The same day is further referred to in the passage *nṛipa-gurōs-tithau* occurring in line 3 along with the year of the Vikrama era given in words. The expression *nṛipa-guru* has apparently been used to signify 'the foremost of kings' as in the *Raghuvamśa*.<sup>5</sup> The date Āśvina-śudi 10 is here called 'the royal *tithi*' because it is the celebrated *Vijayā daśamī* day which was the time prescribed for Indian monarchs to set out on *divvijaya*.<sup>6</sup> Thus the date mentioned in the inscription under study is the *Vijayā daśamī tithi* on Friday, V.S. 1458=Śaka 1317. It regularly corresponds to **Friday, September 24, 1395 A.D.**

With the exception of the concluding passage giving the years of the Vikrama and Śaka eras, the whole inscription is written in verse. There are altogether three stanzas, the first in the *Srag-dharā* metre and the remaining two in *Anuṣṭubh*. The first verse says that [in the Śaka year 1317, given in words] on Āśvina-śudi 10, Friday, several persons named Akrūra, Śrīlēśa, Pati and Kuśala erected (*rōpitā*) the *kīrti* of the celebrated Nāga, called Kauśika and endowed with the hood-jewel, who grants whatever is prayed for and removes all obstacles [in the way of his devotees]. As in many other cases,<sup>7</sup> the word *kīrtti* here seems to indicate a shrine meant for the Nāga deity Kauśika who may have been already in worship in the locality where Akrūra and others lived.

<sup>1</sup> See *IHQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 130-31.

<sup>2</sup> *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XIV, pp. 114-16 and Plate.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II pp. 21ff. and Plates.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 182 ff. (cf. e.g., 2 in '20' in line 32).

<sup>5</sup> See II, 68.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Śabdakalpādruma*, s.v. *Durgā*.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XIV, p. 115.







ŚAKA 967

## No. 41—TINGALUR INSCRIPTION OF KO-NATTAN VIKRAMACHOLA,

ŚAKA 967

(1 plate)

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, MYSORE, AND T. N. SUBRAMANIAM, MADRAS

**Tiṅgaḷūr** is a small village about 7½ miles north-west of the Perundurai Railway Station in the Erode Taluk of the Coimbatore District, Madras State, and forms along with Vijayamaṅgalam, another village about 4 miles to its south, one of the few Jaina centres in the Tamil country. Besides the Jaina temple of Pushpanātha, it contains two other temples, one for Śiva (Chandramauḷīśvara) and the other for Viṣṇu (Aḷagiyarāja-Perumāḷ).<sup>1</sup> In inscriptions, the Jaina temple is known as Chandravasati,<sup>2</sup> while the Śiva temple is referred to as that of Chandrapura-udaiyār<sup>3</sup> or Chandrapurēśvaram-udaiyār.<sup>4</sup> These appear to have been so called after the name of the village Tiṅgaḷūr, the Tamil word *tiṅgaḷ* meaning the moon (*chandra*).

This village which lies in the heart of the Koṅgu country is mentioned in the Śendalai pillar inscriptions as one of the several places where the Muttaraiyaṅ chief, Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiyaṅ *alias* Śuvaraṅ Māraṅ, fought and gained victories.<sup>5</sup> At Tiṅgaḷūr he is said to have captured the elephants of the Pāṇḍya.<sup>6</sup> It will thus be seen that the antiquity of the village dates from the 8th or 9th century of the Christian era.

The subjoined inscription,<sup>7</sup> which is found engraved on the door post of the kitchen in the Jaina temple at Tiṅgaḷūr, is now edited here from an inked impression, kindly placed at our disposal by the Government Epigraphist for India.

This short record consists of 21 lines of writing neatly ruled out between each line; the first line containing the words *svasti śrī* is written in the Grantha script. The remaining twenty lines are in the Tamil language and script.

The way in which the numerical figures for the Śaka year 967 are written in the record deserves notice. The figure for 9 is followed by the symbol for 100 as usual in all the other inscriptions from the Tamil country. After that the figures for 6 and 7 are written consecutively without the symbol for 10 intervening, as if these figures have been written according to the system of decimal notation. It is true that numerals are found expressed in decimal notation in the North Indian inscriptions from about 600 A.D.; but it has not been found in the South, particularly in the Tamil inscriptions. It may, therefore, be taken that the symbol for 10 has been left out inadvertently.

The orthographical peculiarities found in the inscription are few. The use of the pronoun *nāṅ* in the first person singular as found in this inscription, though not unknown to the records

<sup>1</sup> *ARSIE* for the year 1905 contains 17 inscriptions (Nos. 602-618) secured from this place; excepting one record (No. 602) of Hoysala Vira-Rāmanātha and another (No. 617) of Jaṭāvarmaṅ Sundarapāṇḍya, all the others belong to various kings of the Koṅgu line of rulers.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the inscription edited here.

<sup>3</sup> *ARSIE*, 1905, No. 603.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 605.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XIII, p. 137, where the editor has identified the place with the village of the same name situated about 8½ miles north-east of Tañjāvūr and well-known as the native village of Appādi-Nāyaṅār, one of the sixty-three Śaiva devotees. But the inscription describes the place as "Tiṅgaḷūr where descending clouds [rest]" and this description will be appropriate only to the village in the Coimbatore District to the west of Śendalai and not to the village of the same name in the Tanjavur District to the east of Śendalai.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 147, Inscription F on the third pillar.

<sup>7</sup> *ARSIE*, 1905, No. 614.



of the period,<sup>1</sup> is very rare. And this word also makes the syntax of the single sentence, in which the record is drawn up, rather ambiguous. The name of Kaṇṭha Māṇikka Śeṭṭi immediately following the pronoun *nāṇ* may be taken either as the name of the donor or as qualifying the *vasati*, thereby meaning Chandravasati constructed by Kaṇṭha Māṇikka Śeṭṭi.

The inscription is dated Śaka 967, corresponding to 1045-46 A.D. and the fortieth year of the reign of king Vikramachōḷa who bore the epithet Kō-nāṭṭāṇ. This would place his accession in Śaka 928 or 1006-07 A.D., which would correspond to the 22nd year in the reign of the Chōḷa emperor Rājārāja I of Tañjāvūr. The object of the record is to register the construction of a new *mukhamandapa* in Chandravasati which was evidently a Jaina temple.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that this is the first record citing both the Śaka and regnal years of a ruler who belonged to the line of kings with the title of Chōḷa, ruling over Koṅgu in the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries of the Christian era. Incidentally, it also throws light on the circumstances under which this dynasty came into existence.

It is to be noted at the outset that, even though Koṅgu was a part of the Chōḷa empire for well over two centuries, no inscriptions of the Imperial Chōḷas of Tañjāvūr, with the exception of a few of Kulōttuṅga III, are found there. But it is significant that the names of the royal officers figuring as signatories in the Koṅgu inscriptions are found to be on many occasions similar to those of the regular Chōḷa records. The Koṅgu kings also bore the titles Rājākēsari and Parakēsari alternately like the Chōḷa kings of the main line of Tañjāvūr. The Koṅgu chiefs were probably ruling the area independently following the same tradition and regulations as the main line of the Chōḷas, having full autonomy within their territory, but acknowledging the suzerainty of the Imperial Chōḷas.

Whatever might have been the circumstances which necessitated the creation of this kingship, one thing seems certain. The person selected by the Chōḷa ruler to occupy this important position must have been a member, if not of the same stock, at least of a family of high rank and status, enjoying the confidence of the emperor.

Vikramachōḷa who appears to be the first member of this line of kings, though bearing the cognomen of Chōḷa, does not appear to have been a member of the Chōḷa family as evidenced by the epithet Kō-nāṭṭāṇ (he of Kō-nāḍu) applied to him.<sup>2</sup> Kō-nāḍu was a small tract in the basin of the river (southern) Vellāru with Koḍumbālūr in the old Pudukkōṭṭai State (now merged with the Tiruchirappalli District, Madras State) as its capital.<sup>3</sup> The Vēḷir family which ruled over this region played a prominent part in the history of that part of the country in the early days of Chōḷa rule. The Irukkuvēḷs, as they were known to history, had very close family ties with the Chōḷas, and we find several members of the Vēḷir family serving as officers under the Chōḷas holding important positions both in the army and in the administration of the country. Some of the Koṅgu kings appear to have borne the surname *Kalimūrkkā* and we have inscriptions of Kalimūrkkā Vikramachōḷa<sup>4</sup> and Viraśōḷa Kalimūrkkapperumāl.<sup>5</sup> The title has also been assumed by the Chēra king Tribhuvanachakravartin Ravi Kōḍai<sup>6</sup> who was probably a subordinate

<sup>1</sup> *SII*, Vol. V, Nos. 225, 226; also *Inscriptions (Texts) of the Pudukkottai State*, No. 26.

<sup>2</sup> It is not possible to take this Vikramachōḷa as a member of the imperial family by explaining his title Kō-nāṭṭāṇ as one secured by him probably in virtue of his long association with or governorship of Kō-nāḍu, as in the case of Udayagiri attached to the name of Virūpāksha of Vijayanagar, inasmuch as Kō-nāḍu lies too close to the Chōḷa capital for the creation of a provincial viceroyalty superseding the Koḍumbālūr family, the members of which were ruling there for generations rendering yeoman service for the stabilisation of the Chōḷa power.

<sup>3</sup> S. Radhakrishna Aiyar, *A General History of the Pudukkottai State*, p. 56.

<sup>4</sup> *ARSIE*, 1920, Nos. 131, 183, 185, 190 and 215.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 189 and 204.

<sup>6</sup> *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 413.



of the Koṅgu ruler. We find this title borne by a Koḍumbālūr chief also. An inscription from Kunṇāṇḍārkōyil of the former Pudukkōṭṭai State dated in the 5th regnal year of the Pallava king, Dantivarman registers the construction of a tank by Vāli Vaḍugaṇ *alias* Kalimūrka ḷavaraiyaṇ, a subordinate of Mārpiḍugu *alias* Pēraḍi Araiyaṇ.<sup>1</sup> In consideration of the above we may not be quite wrong in assuming Kō-nāṭṭāṇ Vikramachōla as a member of the Irukkuvēl family of Koḍumbālūr.

An inscription from Kīlappaḷuvūr<sup>2</sup> in the Tiruchirāpalli District, dated in the 3rd regnal year of Rājakesarivarman, who is identifiable with Rājārāja I, mentions *Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyaṇ magalār Vikkīramachōla ḷaṅgōvēlār dēviyār nambirāṭṭigaḷār*, the queen of Vikramachōla ḷaṅgōvēlār, who was the daughter of Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyaṇ. The surname ḷaṅgōvēlār applied to Vikramachōla would imply that he belonged to the Irukkuvēl family of Koḍumbālūr while the first part of his name, viz. Vikramachōla, would denote that he rose to prominence during the days of Madhurāntaka Uttamachōla who appears to have had the surname of Vikramachōla.<sup>3</sup> The Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyaṇ family, from which he took his wife, had marriage alliances with the Chōlas of Tañjāvūr. The Anbil plates of Sundarachōla state that Parāntaka I married the daughter 'of the Kēraḷa king who was also called Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyaṇ.'<sup>4</sup> This family also like that of the Irukkuvēls played a prominent part in the early days of consolidation of the Chōla power. It is very likely that Kō-nāṭṭāṇ Vikramachōla who was raised to the position of a ruler of the Koṅgu country in the 22nd year of Rājārāja's reign was the same as Vikkīramachōla ḷaṅgōvēlār figuring in the inscription of the 3rd year of his reign.

For a better understanding of the circumstances under which a Koḍumbālūr Vēlir chief was installed as a ruler of Koṅgu, it is necessary to know how and when the Koṅgu country came under the rule of the Chōlas of Tañjāvūr.

Rājārāja's conquests included Gaṅgavāḍi, Nolaṁbavāḍi and Taḍigaipāḍi, all of them in the Mysore country, as well as Malai-nāḍu or Kuḍa-malai-nāḍu (the Western hill country) which may be identified with Coorg.<sup>5</sup> The campaign against the Gaṅgas and the Nolaṁbas appears to have taken place very early in his reign, within five or six years of his accession, as we find inscriptions of Chōla-Nārāyaṇa, obviously a name of Rājārāja I, dated in Śaka 913 (991-92 A.D.) in the Mysore country.<sup>6</sup> He also claims to have conquered the Pāṇḍyas and the southern portion of the west coast. But no mention is made in his inscriptions of his having waged war with or captured Koṅgu which lies between Chōla-nāḍu and the countries beyond it conquered by him and seems to have served as the spring-board for the Chōlas in their conquests.

In fact no Chōla king even prior to the time of Rājārāja claims to have conquered Koṅgu; but Chōla inscriptions are found there from the days of Parāntaka I. We find an officer of this king supervising temple affairs in Koṅgu as early as the 10th year of his reign, mentioned in an inscription<sup>7</sup> from Tiruviḍaimaṇḍūr in the Tañjāvūr District. There is also a stone record<sup>8</sup> of the 15th regnal year of Madiraiḱoṇḍa-Parakēsari (i.e. Parāntaka I) at Erode in the Coimbatore District.

<sup>1</sup> *Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State*, No. 17.

<sup>2</sup> *SII*, Vol. V, No. 871.

<sup>3</sup> *ARSIE*, 1929, Part II, para. 29.

<sup>4</sup> *Above*, Vol. XV, p. 68.

<sup>5</sup> See the commentary of Aḍiyārkkunallār on the *Śilappadikāram*, Canto XI, 1.53. Kielhorn takes it to mean Malabar (*above*, Vol. VII, List, No. 704). See also *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Tn. 122.

<sup>6</sup> *An. Rep. Mys. Arch. Dept.*, 1917, p. 42.

<sup>7</sup> *ARSIE*, 1907, No. 258. The *Report* gives the year as 30, but it is in fact 10.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 1910, No. 167; also *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No. 247. The characters of the record are very late. Probably this is a copy of an older record. There is no reason to doubt its genuineness.



The *Koṅgudēśarājākkal*<sup>1</sup> affirms that Āditya I after being crowned at Tañjāvūr-ppattaṇam came to Koṅgudēśa, conquered the country and governed it in addition to his own (i.e. the Chōla country). It is also stated therein that he took the town of Talaikkāḍu, implying that he gained a victory over the Western Gaṅgas and captured their capital. This is not improbable as we find the Nolaṁba chief Mahēndra I in occupation of Dharampurī (ancient Tagaḍūr) in the Salem District in 898 A.D.<sup>2</sup> which was then probably included in Nolaṁbavāḍi, and as we know that the Nolaṁbas had long ceased to be an independent power and become subordinate to the Western Gaṅgas who in turn were the subordinates of the Rāshtrakūṭas. The Anbil plates<sup>3</sup> of Sundarachōla, great-grandson of Āditya, say that the latter built temples along the entire course of the river Kāvēri from the Sahyādri to the sea. This statement seems to lend support to what is found in the *Koṅgudēśarājākkal*.

Nāmbi Āṇḍār Nāmbi, the author of the *Tiruttoṇḍar-tiruvantādi*, in his verse<sup>4</sup> on Iḍaṅgaḷi, a Vāḷir chief of Koḍumbālūr and one of the sixty-three Śaiva saints, incidentally refers to the chief as an ancestor of the family to which also belonged Āditya who covered the roof of the Chidambaram temple with gold [obtained] from Koṅgu. This statement is repeated by Śēkkiḷār in his *Periyapurāṇam*<sup>5</sup> and by Umāpati Śivāchārya in his *Tiruttoṇḍar-purāṇa-sāram*.<sup>6</sup> But the Tiruvālaṅgaḍu plates<sup>7</sup> and the Leyden grant<sup>8</sup> ascribe this pious deed to Parāntaka I. The *Tiruvīśaiippā*<sup>9</sup> of Gaṇḍarāditya on Kōyil also confirms the statement of the copper-plate records and says that the *sabhā* of Tillai was covered with gold by the Chōla king who conquered with the valour of his arm the Pāṇḍya country and Iḷam. Perhaps both Āditya and his son Parāntaka were responsible for the pious deed or it might be that Āditya commenced the work which was finished by Parāntaka.<sup>10</sup> However, as the covering was stated to have been made with the gold obtained from Koṅgu, we may safely conclude that the conquest of Koṅgu was effected by Āditya I probably towards the end of his reign.

From that time onwards it appears that Koṅgu was under the rule of the Chōlas. The expedition and conquest of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam towards the end of Parāntaka's reign by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III does not seem to have affected the Chōla occupation of the Koṅgu country. So far no inscription of the Rāshtrakūṭa ruler is known to have been found from that area. On the other hand, Chōla overlordship is acknowledged in two of the records falling within this period and found in the region. A copper-plate grant from Tirucheheṅḍōḍu,<sup>11</sup> dated in the 5th year of the reign of the Chōla king Rājakesarivarman, mentions the gift of lands to god Paramēśvara of the sacred Mūlasthāna at Tūṣiyūr by the chief Kolli-Maḷavaṇ Orriyūraṇ Piridi-gaṇḍavarman. That this Rājakesarivarman is to be identified with Sundarachōla Parāntaka II

<sup>1</sup> Madras Govt. Oriental Series edition, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. X, p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Vol. XV, p. 68, verse 18.

<sup>4</sup> Verse 65.

<sup>5</sup> *Periyapurāṇam*, Iḍaṅgaḷi nāyaṇār-purāṇam, verse 3. Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar (*Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekkan*, p. 131) takes this as referring to a certain Āditya (of the Koḍumbālūr family) who gilded the dancing hall of a Natarāja temple in Koṅgu, which may be at Pērūr, or Koḍumuḍi or any other place in Koṅgu. This interpretation does not follow the tradition recorded. Further Śiṅgaṁbalam can only mean Chidambaram and no other place.

<sup>6</sup> Verse 59.

<sup>7</sup> *SI*, Vol. III, No. 205, p. 386.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. XXII, p. 256, verse 17.

<sup>9</sup> *Tiruvīśaiippā* (9th *Tirumurai*), Kōyil-paḍigam, verse 8.

<sup>10</sup> It is also worth noticing that another achievement, viz. the conquest of Ceylon, claimed by Parāntaka I in the inscriptions, is attributed to his father Āditya by Nāmbi Āṇḍār Nāmbi in the *Tiruttoṇḍar-tiruvantādi*, verse 50. [In the verses referred to in footnotes 4 and 6 above, occur the phrases *Ādittan kulamudalōṇ* and *Kōkana-dansthāṇ*, *kulamudalōṇ*, which are too vague to be taken as exclusively indicating Āditya I.—Ed.]

<sup>11</sup> *SI*, Vol. III, No. 213.



will be evident from the other copper-plate grant secured from the same place. This record,<sup>1</sup> also belonging to Rājākēsarivarman and dated in the 10th year of his reign, contains two grants. One is an order of Maḷavaraiyaṇ Sundarachōḷaṇ to the effect that the *īrai* (tax) collected by him from the *nagarattār* of Tūsiyūr at the rate of  $\frac{1}{4}$  and  $\frac{1}{8}$  (*kāśu* ?) on full house-site and half house-site respectively (*muḷu maṇai kālum arai maṇai araiikkālum*) shall be in the form of permanent tax (*niṇṇa īrai*) and that, in the case of dues under fines and penalties (*daṇḍam kurrām*), the practice of Nandipuram<sup>2</sup> shall be followed. The other consists of an endowment (*śirupāḍu*) made by Kolli-maḷavaṇ Piridi-gaṇḍaṇ and dedicated to his father who had died in Ceylon (*eṇḡalāchchar īḷattu-ppaḍa avar śrīmadāhattukku-chchirupāḍu*). The Ceylon expedition in which the father of Kolli-maḷavaṇ Piridi-gaṇḍaṇ fell must have been the same as took place in the 9th year of Sundarachōḷa Parāntaka II.<sup>3</sup> That the donors were not mere officers of the Chōḷa king, but were also members of the ruling families of Koṅgu will be seen from their title *Kollimaḷavaṇ* (Maḷavaṇ of the Kolli Hills).<sup>4</sup> It will thus be seen that the Chōḷas never lost their hold on the Koṅgu country from the time of Āditya I when it was conquered and that, during their suzerainty, the local chiefs were allowed to continue their rule over their ancient regions, as was being done by the Chōḷas in other territories conquered by them.

By the time Rājarāja I ascended the Chōḷa throne in 985 A.D. the Rāshtrakūṭas who had occupied the country to the north had ceased to exist and the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa who succeeded them were trying to regain all the territories which had formed part of the Rāshtrakūṭa dominion. The loss of Gaṅgavāḍi to the Chōḷas in 991-92 A.D. had probably stirred them to action, and Tailapa II claims in an inscription,<sup>5</sup> dated 992 A.D., to have gained a victory over the Chōḷas. But the loss does not appear to have been completely retrieved as we find the Chōḷas holding portions of Daḷigavāḍi in Śaka 92[3].<sup>6</sup> Just about this time (997 A.D.) Tailapa II died and was succeeded by his son Satyāśraya who also continued vigorously the efforts of his father to retrieve the lost territories. It was also at this time that Rājarāja had to intervene in the affairs of Vēṅgi, recover the country from Bhīma of the Telugu-Chōḍa family, thus bringing to a close the interregnum of twenty-seven years, and instal on the throne his relative Śaktivarman in about 999 A.D. Bhīma appears to have sought asylum in Kālīṅga, recuperated his strength and come back in 1001-02 A.D. to regain Vēṅgi with the help of the Kālīṅgas and probably the Western Chālukyas.<sup>7</sup> We find Rājarāja embarking on the simultaneous attack on Kālīṅga and Raṭṭapāḍi and claiming victories over them the next year. The inscriptions<sup>8</sup> of Rājarāja from about the 18th regnal year, i.e. about 1003 A.D., claim the capture of Raṭṭapāḍi 'seven-and-a-half lakh country'. On the other hand, the Hoṭṭūr record<sup>9</sup> of Satyāśraya, dated Śaka 9[2]9 or 1007 A.D., states that

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., No. 212.

<sup>2</sup> That the practice of permitting the *nagarattār* of other places to adopt for their villages the scale of taxes prevailing at Nandipuram from olden times was prevalent in the days of Sundarachōḷa will be evident from the inscriptions from Mēlappaḷuvūr (*SII*, Vol. XIII, Nos. 208, 215 and 344) and other places.

<sup>3</sup> In the record from Tiruveṅkāḍu in the Tanjavur District, dated in the 27th regnal year of Rājarāja I (*SII*, Vol. V, No. 980), which mentions this expedition led by the Koḍumbālūr chief Śiriyavēḷāṇ, the date of the expedition is given in the printed text as the [3]rd year of the reign of *Uḍaiyār Poṇmāḷigaiyir-ṇaṇjīṇa-dēvar* (the king who died at Poṇmāḷigai), i.e. Sundarachōḷa II. But it appears to be clearly 9 in the impression. See *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 476.

<sup>4</sup> Maḷanāḍu was one of the divisions of Koṅgu. Maḷa-Koṅgam mentioned in the Vēḷvikkudī grant (above, Vol. XVII, p. 297) as having been subjugated by Māraṇ or Rājasimha represents the same area. See also K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, *Historical Sketches*, pp. 129-31.

<sup>5</sup> *SII*, Vol. IX, Part I, p. 47, No. 77.

<sup>6</sup> *ARSIE*, 1911, No. 169; *The Chōḷas*, Vol. I, p. 491, n.

<sup>7</sup> N. Venkataramanayya, *The Eastern Chālukyas*, p. 210.

<sup>8</sup> *ARSIE*, 1927, No. 333. See also Part II, para. 11.

<sup>9</sup> Above, Vol. XVI, p. 74.



even though the Chōla came with a very large army of nine-hundred thousand troops and plundered the whole country causing considerable havoc, Satyāśraya, 'the slayer of the Tamil' (*Tigulaṁāri*) was able to force the Chōla to turn back, capturing his paraphernalia (*vastu-vāhana*) and conquer the southern quarter. Not satisfied with the expulsion of the Chōlas from Raṭṭapāḍi, he also seems to have taken the offensive to stem the expansion of the Chōla power, at the same time consolidating his own position. With this end in view, he seems to have first tried to break up the newly acquired ascendancy of the Chōlas over Vēṅgī by invading that country. Bayala Nāmbi, one of his generals, is said to have reduced the forts of Dharapikōṭa and Yanamaṇḍala to ashes and established himself at Chēbrōlu in the present Guntur District where an inscription<sup>1</sup> of his, dated in Śaka 928 (1006 A.D.), is found. Rājarāja had again to send his army to Vēṅgī and restore the country to Śaktivarman. For this onerous task he selected Pañchavaṇ Mārāyaṇ, the general who distinguished himself in the campaigns of Rājarāja in the west and was perhaps no other than the crown-prince Rājendra,<sup>2</sup> and invested him with the office of *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* of Vēṅgī-ṁaṇḍala in addition to that of Gaṅga-ṁaṇḍala which he was then holding.

A record<sup>3</sup> from Balmuri in the Mysore District, dated in Śaka 934 (1012 A.D.) and the 28th year of Rājarāja, registers the gift of a lamp by the general Pañchavaṇ Mārāyaṇ, the *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* of Bēṅgī and Gaṅga-ṁaṇḍala. Rājendra, also called *Mummuḍichōla* (*gandhavāraṇa*) (the proud tusker of Mummuḍichōla) in the inscription, had to leave the newly acquired provinces in the West and go to Vēṅgī to expel the invaders and restore order there. But the Western provinces had not quite settled. Across the border, the Hoysaḷas were slowly emerging as the subordinates of the Western Chālukyas. The earliest record<sup>4</sup> of Vinayāditya, an early ruler of this family, gives the date *Vikra[ma]gālam* 1060, Paridhāvi. The Vikrama and the cyclic years do not agree. If the cyclic year quoted is taken as correct, it would correspond to the Vikrama year 1070 (1012 A.D.); but, if the Vikrama year quoted is taken as correct, the corresponding cyclic year would be Śubhakṛit (1002 A.D.).<sup>5</sup> It was therefore necessary for the Chōlas to have some trustworthy representative in the Western region to preserve the newly conquered dominion and check the growing power of the Hoysaḷas.

An epigraph on a stone<sup>6</sup> built into the roof of the Gōpālakṛishṇa temple at Kaleyūr in the Tirumukūḍlu-Narasipur Taluk of the Mysore District, dated Śaka 929 (current), Parābhava, corresponding to 1006 A.D., contains the panegyric of the Chōla general Apramēya. Therein he is said to have defeated the Poysaḷa minister Nāgaṇṇa and slain the Hoysaḷa leaders Mañjaga, Kālega (or Kali Gaṅga), Nāgavarman and others, winning by his valour in the plain of Kalavūr a name to last as long as the sun and the moon. The inscription further describes Apramēya as 'having under his orders the burden of the whole kingdom' and as *Tēyakulatilaka Malepakulakāla* *Koṭṭamaṇḍala-nātha*, *śrīmatu Rājarājadēva-pāda-paṇkaja-bhramara*. This record testifies to the fact that the victory gained by Apramēya over the Hoysaḷas in the battle of Kalavūr was great and deserved the erection of a pillar of victory. In addition to this record mentioned as a *jaya-stambha*, we have also a temple erected in Apramēya's name. The temple of Apramēvēśvara is found at Maravapālaiyam in the Dhārāpuram Taluk of the Coimbatore District, which in those days was known as Kottaṇūr or Kōṭṭaṇūr.<sup>7</sup> Koṭṭamaṇḍala, of which Apramēya

<sup>1</sup> *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 102.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Sr. 125.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 140; see also *ibid.*, Vol. I, Cg. 46 and Intro, pp. 12-13.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Cm. 38.

<sup>5</sup> *An. Rep. Mys. Arch. Dept.*, 1917, para. 83. [As verified from impressions, the Vikrama year is clearly 1160.—Ed.]

<sup>6</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Tn. 44.

<sup>7</sup> The Hoysaḷas had the distinctive title *Maleparai-gaṇḍa*, 'champion warrior among the Malepas or hill chiefs'.

<sup>8</sup> *IASIE*, 1920, No. 181.



was the chief, probably represented a portion of the Koṅgu country with Kottaṇūr as the principal seat. The expression 'bee at the lotus feet of Rājārājādēva' applied to Apramēya in this record is found attributed to Pañchavaṇ Mārāya (Rājendra) in the Balmuri record referred to above.<sup>1</sup> But Apramēya of the present inscription is described as *Tēyakulatilaka*. The Chōlas are not known to have been described anywhere as belonging to *Tēyakula* and this name is not met with elsewhere. Tēja is mentioned as the name of the father of the Uchchaṅgi Pāṇḍya chief Irukkaṇḍa.<sup>2</sup> Another member of the same family, Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya had the title 'Irukkuvēl'. Like the Koḍumbālūr chiefs who had the distinctive title 'Irukkuvēl', the Uchchaṅgi Pāṇḍyas also claimed to belong to Yādava-vaṁśa. It has been therefore suggested that these two families had some sort of connection.<sup>3</sup> Hence it is possible to surmise that *Tēyakula* stands for the family of the Koḍumbālūr chiefs, and that Apramēya was a title of Vikramachōla. Apramēya who had taken a leading part in the Chōla campaign in the west under Rājendra was probably thought of as the proper person to hold the viceroyalty of this area.

Another inscription, from Piramiyam<sup>4</sup> in the Dhārāpuram Taluk, of this Kō-nāṭṭāṇ Vikramachōla, dated in the 20th year of his reign, registers the gift of gold for a lamp in the temple for the merit of his deceased daughter Vikramasōlaṇ Sōlamādēviyār, no other details about whom are known. We may surmise from her name that she was a Chōla queen (of the main line), married to a Vikramachōla possibly identifiable with Rājendra I, who is known to have had the surname Vikramachōla.<sup>5</sup>

The name Śiṅgaḷāntaka may perhaps be connected with a title of the king Kō-nāṭṭāṇ Vikramachōla. Śiṅgaḷāntaka was one of the distinctive titles borne by the Chōla emperor Rājārāja I and was probably bestowed on Vikramachōla by him. It might also be that Vikramachōla was engaged in the Ceylon expedition of Rājārāja.

#### TEXT\*

- |                    |                               |
|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1 Śvasti Śrī [  *] | 12 ṇikka-chohet-              |
| 2 Kō-nāṭṭāṇ Vi-    | 13 ṭi chandira-vaśa-          |
| 3 kkirama-sōla-    | 14 tiyil muka-                |
| 4 dēvaṅku śe-      | 15 maṇḍagam                   |
| 5 llāniṇṇa         | 16 eḍuppittē-                 |
| 6 yāṇḍu nā-        | 17 ṇ [  *] śakara-yā          |
| 7 ṇpad-āvadu       | 18 ṇḍu 9 100 [6] [10*] 7[  *] |
| 8 Arattulā-        | 19 Śiṅgaḷā[ntaka]ṇ-           |
| 9 ṇ-d[ē]vaṇ        | 20 eṇ pudu muka-              |
| 10 pēraṇ-[ā]ṇa nā- | 21 maṇḍagam [  *]             |
| 11 ṇ Kaṇita Mā-    |                               |

#### TRANSLATION

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the fortieth year current in the reign of Kō-nāṭṭāṇ Vikkiramachōla-dēva I, Kaṇita Māṇikka-chohetṭi, grandson of Arattulāṇ-dēvaṇ, erected the *mukha-maṇḍapa* in the Chandiravasati. The Śaka year is 967. (*This is the* new *mukha-maṇḍapa* (*constructed by me*) Śiṅgaḷāntakaṇ.

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Sr. 140.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, Intro. p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> *ARSIE*, 1927, Part II, para. 73, p. 108.

<sup>4</sup> *ARSIE*, 1920, No. 187.

<sup>5</sup> Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, *SII*, Vol. III, No. 205, verse 113. Also *ARSIE*, 1907, No. 52, *ibid.*, 1908, Part II, para. 55.

\* From impression.

\* Written below the line and visible faintly.



## No. 42—JANGALPADU PLATES OF SATRUBHANJADEVA

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

In 1946 Mr. Satyanārāyaṇa Rājaguru published a copper-plate inscription of king **Satrubhaṇja** belonging to a branch of the celebrated **Bhaṇja** royal family of ancient Orissa.<sup>1</sup> Ten years earlier the inscription was published by the same scholar in the *Utkala Sāhitya*<sup>2</sup>, an Oriya periodical of Cuttack. As regards the findspot and discovery of the plates, Mr. Rājaguru observes thus in his paper published in 1946: "About ten years back, a cultivator, while digging the earth, found these plates buried in a field near **Jaṅgalpāḍu**, a village situated at a distance of ten miles to the north-east of Parlakimedi in the Ganjam District. I went to the village soon after I got information of this discovery, and carefully examined the charter..... But, as the owner of the plates did not like to part with the charter, I had no other choice except taking their impressions at the spot..... A few months after this, I was told that the charter was handed over to a wanderer *sannyāsi* whose whereabouts are not known up till now, and consequently the plates are now missing."<sup>3</sup>

Mr. Rājaguru thinks that the most important thing in the record is its date which has been read by him as *Samvat 1012 Kārttika-śudi 10 1* (i.e. 11). He refers the year 1012 to the Śaka era and suggests that the charter belongs to 1090 A.D. Apparently, however, Mr. Rājaguru did not notice that a paper on the same inscription by the late Mr. R. D. Banerji had been published as early as 1932.<sup>4</sup> The charter is described by Banerji as 'the Tekkali Plates'. He further observes, "I came to learn of the existence of this important inscription from Mr. Paramananda Acharya, B. Sc., Senior Archaeological Scholar of the Mayurbhanj State in May or June, 1929. Subsequently, at my request, Mr. Acharya supplied me with the pencil rubbings from which the inscription is edited below. I have not been able to elicit the name of the owner of these plates and their present locality from Mr. Acharya."<sup>5</sup> The plates were thus discovered at least seven years earlier than the time suggested by Mr. Rājaguru, although their association with Tekkali, also in the Ganjam District, instead of Jaṅgalpāḍu near Parlakimedi, as indicated by Banerji, may be wrong. Like Mr. Rājaguru, Banerji also spoke of the importance of the date of the inscription, which, however, he read as *Samvat 8 100 Kārttika-śudi 8*. He took the year of the date to be 800 which he referred to the Vikrama era. Thus, according to Banerji, the inscription under discussion belongs to 732 A.D. Dr. R. C. Majumdar,<sup>6</sup> who had occasion to consult Banerji's paper, thinks that the reading of the date is doubtful but says that 'on palaeographic considerations also this plate may be referred to the eighth century A.D.'

I had recently an occasion to examine the inscription from its facsimile published along with the papers of Banerji and Rājaguru and found that, apart from the many misprints in the published transcripts of the record, numerous passages of the inscription, including the one containing its date, have been wrongly read. The reading of the last line of the record is quite clearly *Samvat 10 4 Kārttika-śudi 10 1* (i.e. *Samvat 14 Kārttika-śudi 11*). The symbol for 10 which is practically the same as quoted by Ojha from a Vākātaka record in his *Palaeography of India* (in Hindi), Plate LXXIIIa, was wrongly read by Banerji as 8, although Rājaguru read it correctly. The second symbol in the year, which also occurs in other early Orissan records and

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society*, Vol. I, No. 2, September, 1946, pp. 181 ff. and Plates.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. XXXII, Part VII, 1936.

<sup>3</sup> *JKHRS*, loc. cit., p. 181.

<sup>4</sup> *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XVIII, Part III, 1932, pp. 387 ff. and Plates.

<sup>5</sup> *JBOERS*, loc. cit., p. 387.

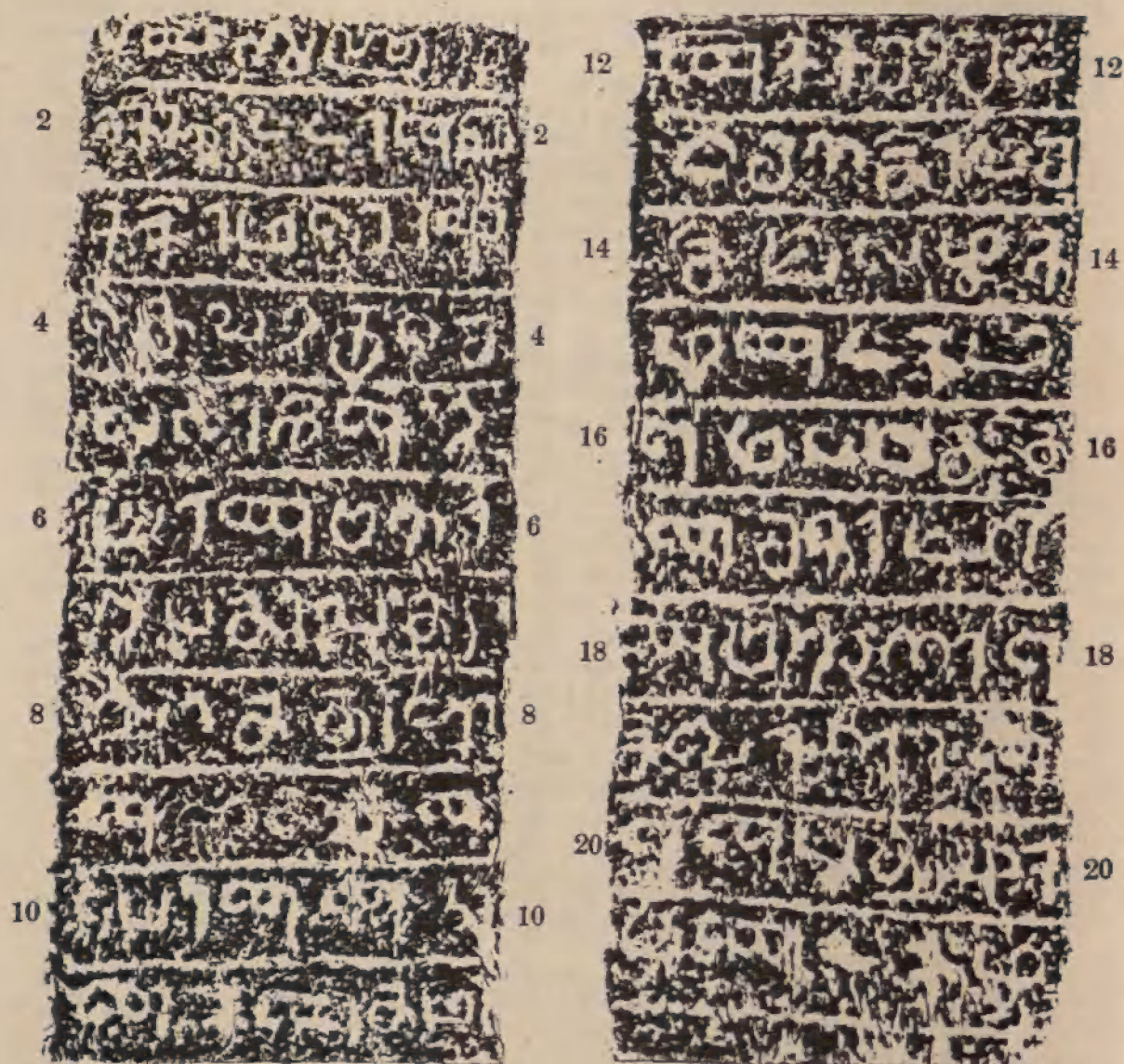
<sup>6</sup> 'Outline of the History of the Bhaṇja Kings of Orissa', reprinted from the *Dacca University Studies*, p. 3.







TINGALUR INSCRIPTION OF KO-NATTAN VIKRAMA CHOLA; SAKA 967





has been read by scholars as 4<sup>1</sup>, is, strangely enough, 100 according to Banerji and 12 according to Mr. Rājaguru. There is, however, little doubt that the date of the charter under discussion is the 11th of the bright half of Kārttika of the 14th regnal year of king Śatrubhaṇja and that there is no question of any reference to the Śaka or Vikrama era. As will be shown below, there is some evidence in favour of assigning the charter roughly to a date near about 1000 A.D. Among other mistakes of a serious nature in the published transcripts of the inscription we may refer to the names of Śatrubhaṇja's grandfather Mallagambhīradē[va\*] and great-grandfather Yathāsukhadēva. The first name is read by Banerji as Pallagambhīradēva and the second by Rājaguru as Pathāsukhadēva. The name of the *vishaya* in which the gift village was situated was Sulvāḍḍa, although Banerji read it as Salvadda and Rājaguru as Salvādra. The name of Kōntamullō, the gift village, was read by Mr. Rājaguru as Kōntamallō.

Rājaguru describes the record in the following words: "The charter consists of three copper-plates hinged on a circular ring which is about 5½" in diameter and which is secured by a circular seal at its joint, bearing the family emblem of a lion standing at its top. Each plate measures 5½" in length and 3" in breadth." He also describes the writing as 'very distinct and legible'. The palaeography, language and orthography of the inscription do not call for any special mention as they closely resemble those of other records of the early Bhaṇjas of Kṛiṇjali-maṇḍala,<sup>2</sup> to whose family the issuer of the present charter apparently belonged. The charter begins with two verses in praise of the god Śiva, which are known to form the introduction of the grants<sup>3</sup> issued by several rulers belonging to the earlier Bhaṇja dynasty of Kṛiṇjali-maṇḍala.

After the introductory word *svastī*, followed by two verses in honour of the god Hara (Śiva), the record introduces the reigning monarch Maṅgalarāja in the third verse. Maṅgalarāja was apparently another name of king Śatrubhaṇjadēva who is next mentioned as an ornament of the Bhaṇja family and as the son of Śilābhaṇjadēva, grandson of Mallagambhīradē[va\*] and great-grandson of Yathāsukhadēva (lines 8-11). Śatrubhaṇja is also described as a devout worshipper of Mahāśvara and as meditating on (or favoured by) the feet of his parents. The king's order in regard to the grant was addressed to the *rājan*, *rājanaka*, *rājaputra*, *vishayapati*, *mahāsāmanta*, *śrī-sāmanta-mahāsāmanta* and other administrators together with their *adhikaraṇas* (administrative offices or departments), who might be associated in different periods in the administration of Sulvāḍḍa-vishaya (district) and also to the villagers including the *Karaṇas* and *Brāhmaṇas*. In the list of officials and feudatories, the expression *śrī-sāmanta-mahāsāmanta* is difficult to explain in view of the separate mention of the *mahāsāmanta*, unless it is believed that *mahāsāmanta* was twice engraved through inadvertence. The village of Kōntamullō, which was situated in the said *vishaya* and had a fixed area and definite boundaries, was granted by the king in favour of two Brāhmaṇas named Viṣṇuvāmin and Nārāyaṇasvāmin who belonged to the Vāsishṭha *gōtra* and the Taittirīya *charaṇa* of the Yajurveda. The village was made a rent-free holding and people were asked not to stand in the way of its enjoyment by the two donees. In lines 22-31 some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses are quoted with the introduction *uktañ=cha dharma-sāstrē*. Lines 31-32 say that the *dūtaka* or executor of the grant was the Mahāsāmanta Kṛitavarman who had probably also the official designation *Pañcha-karaṇ-ādhipati*<sup>4</sup> which seems to suggest that he was attached to no less than five administrative departments. It is said that

<sup>1</sup> See the Cuttack Museum plates of Sainyabhaṭa Mādhavavarman II of the Sailōdbhava dynasty, edited by N. G. Majumdar, above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 148 ff. and Plates, line 46 (*Śrāvāṇa-dina* 20 4, i.e. 24). Mr. Rājaguru has recently edited the inscription in *Or. Hist. Res. Journ.*, Vol. II, Nos. 3-4, pp. 17 ff., without noticing that it was previously published. His transcript does not contain any reading of the symbols after *dina*; but elsewhere (p. 24) he reads the second symbol as 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1490 ff., 2055.

<sup>3</sup> See, e.g., above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 293, 295, 296, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 333.



the *Sādhivigrahika* (minister for peace and war) named Buddhadatta wrote the document probably under the instruction of the said Kṛitavarman. The plates are said to have been engraved by *śrī-sāmanta* Dhavalāka. The engraving of plates is known to have been usually entrusted to inferior officials. It is therefore difficult to determine whether *śrī-sāmanta* here indicates an official of inferior rank or whether the plates were engraved under the supervision of the *Sāmanta* (feudatory ruler) Dhavalāka. The document was endowed with a seal (*lāñchhita*) by Śivāditya. In some records<sup>1</sup> of the family, we have the passage *lāñchhitaṁ mahārājakiya-mudray-ēti*. The last line of the charter contains the date as already discussed above.

The Bhañja ruler Śatrubhañja who issued the charter under discussion has been identified<sup>2</sup> with the king of the same name, who was the father of Raṇabhañja and issued the Kumurukela<sup>3</sup> and Sonpur plates<sup>4</sup> from Dhṛitipura. As in our record Śatrubhañja Maṅgalarāja is described as the son of Śilābhañja, grandson of Mallagambhīra and great-grandson of Yathāsukha while the records of the earlier Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala, who had their capital at Dhṛitipura, represent Śatrubhañja as the son of Śilābhañja *alias* Āṅgaḍḍi, there is nothing absurd in the identification on the face of it.

If, the above identification is to be accepted, it is fairly easy to determine the approximate date of the charter under discussion. As has been suggested elsewhere,<sup>5</sup> Raṇabhañja was probably the son-in-law of the Kadamba chief Niyārṇava or Niyārṇava who was the grandfather of Dharmakhēḍi, issuer of the Mandasa plates<sup>6</sup> of Śaka 917<sup>7</sup> (995 A.D.) and the Santa-Bommali plates<sup>8</sup> of the Gaṅga year 520 (1016-18 A.D.). Consequently Niyārṇava as well as his son-in-law Raṇabhañja and the latter's father Śatrubhañja can be roughly assigned to the middle of the tenth century. Thus the present charter issued by Śatrubhañja may be tentatively ascribed to the above period. It should, however, be pointed out that the identification of Śatrubhañja, issuer of the charter under discussion, with the homonymous ruler of Khiñjali-maṇḍala who had his capital at Dhṛitipura is far from satisfactory.

The inscriptions<sup>9</sup> of Raṇabhañja, also issued from the city of Dhṛitipura, have been found in the old Sonpur (like those of his father) and Baud States. These two kings are usually described in their records as the lords of Khiñjali-maṇḍala and sometimes of Ubhaya-Khiñjali-maṇḍala (i.e. the two *maṇḍalas* both styled Khiñjali). The charters<sup>10</sup> of Raṇabhañja's son Nēṭṭabhañja *alias* Kalyāṇakalāśa and of his descendants were, however, issued from the city of Vañjulvaka and have been usually found in the Ganjam District. It would thus appear that these Bhañjas were driven from the north to the Ganjam region shortly after Raṇabhañja's rule.<sup>11</sup> It is therefore doubtful whether this record found in the Ganjam District could have been issued by Raṇabhañja's father. It should be noticed that our inscription refers neither to Khiñjali-maṇḍala nor to Dhṛitipura or Vañjulvaka.

In the second place, the verses at the beginning of our charter are found only in the introduction of the grants issued by the successors of Raṇabhañja of Dhṛitipura and Khiñjali-maṇḍala and not in the records of Raṇabhañja himself and his father Śatrubhañja. This fact also suggests

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *JBORS*, Vol. VI, p. 273.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 387; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 3 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 432 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Above*, Vol. XI, pp. 99 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 46.

<sup>6</sup> Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, No. 1951.

<sup>7</sup> *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 458 n.

<sup>8</sup> Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, No. 2053.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, Nos. 1492 ff.; *IHQ*, Vol. X, pp. 473 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, Nos. 1497 ff.

<sup>11</sup> See *above*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 276; Vol. XXIX, pp. 190-91.



that Śatrubhañja of the present record was a later member of the same family, who utilised the said verses first introduced in the records of these Bhañjas by a court poet of Nēṭṭabhañja-Kalyāṇakalaśa, son of Raṇabhañja.<sup>1</sup> The use of numerical symbols instead of decimal figures in the date of our inscription, however, seems to suggest that Śatrubhañja Maṅgalarāja flourished before the middle of the eleventh century.<sup>2</sup>

Thirdly, in the two known records of Śatrubhañja of Dhṛitipura and Khiñjali-maṇḍala, that king is represented as a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu, while Śatrubhañja-Maṅgalarāja of our inscription is described as a devotee of the god Mahēśvara or Śiva. It should be noticed that among the early Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala only Śatrubhañja and Raṇabhañja in his earlier years were Vaiṣṇavas.<sup>3</sup> Raṇabhañja later became a Śaiva. Nēṭṭabhañja-Kalyāṇakalaśa, son of Raṇabhañja, and Vidyādharaḥhañja-Amōghakalaśa, who was the son of Śilābhañja (II), grandson of Digbhañja and great-grandson of Raṇabhañja, were Śaivas. Śatrubhañja-Maṅgalarāja of our record may thus have flourished after Raṇabhañja who introduced Śaivism in the family. None of the above arguments may be conclusive; but, taken together, they appear to make a strong case against the identification of the issuer of our inscription with his namesake who was the father of Raṇabhañja. It is probable that the secondary name Maṅgalarāja was assumed by the later ruler to distinguish himself from his earlier namesake.

The Sulvādḍa *vishaya* and the village of Kōntamullō are the only geographical names mentioned in the record. I have not been able to identify them, although they appear to have been situated in the present Ganjam District.

#### TEXT\*

[Metres : verse 1 *Mālinī* ; verse 2 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 3 *Āryā* ; verses 4-6, 8 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 7 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

#### First Plate

- 1 Svasti [||\*] Jayati Kusumavā(bā)ṇa-prāṇa-vikshōbha-dakṣhaṁ sva-kiraṇa-pari-
- 2 vēśy-ō(ś-au)ṛjitya-jirṇṇ-ēndu-lēkhaṁ(kham |) tri(tri)-bhuvana-bhu(bha)van-āntar-dyōta-
- bhāsva[t\*]-pra-
- 3 dīpaṁ kanaka-nikasha-tāmvrā(mra)ṁ vibhru-nētraṁ Harasya || [1\*] Śēśa-āhēr=iva yaḥ(yē)
- 4 phaṇā[h\*] pravilasat=yu(nty=u)dbhāsura-ēndu-tvishaḥ prālēy-āchala-śrīṅga-kō-
- 5 ṭaya iva tvaṁganti yē=tyunnatā[h | \*] nṛitt-āṭōpa-vighaṭṭitā iva
- 6 bhujā rājanti yē śām(śām)bhavām(vā)ś=tē [sa\*]rvv-āgha-vighātinah sura-tṣva(sa)rit-tō-
- 7 y-ōrmmayah pāntu vaḥ [||] [2\*] Asti jaya-śrī-nilaya-prakaṭa-guṇa-grasta-sarvva-
- 8 ripu-garvva[h | \*] śrīmān=Maṅgalarājō rājā nirddhūta-Kali-kalusha[h || 3\*] Bhañj-āmala-
- kula-
- 9 tilakaḥ śrī-Yathāsukhadēvasya pranaptā śrī-Mallagambhīradē[va\*]sya pauttraḥ

\* See above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 293, 295, 296 ; Vol. XXVIII, p. 273 ; Vasu, *Arch. Surv. of Mayurbhanj*, Vol. I, pp. 146, 149, etc.

\* Cf. Ojha, op. cit., p. 115 ; above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 184, 190.

\* Nēṭṭabhañja-Kalyāṇakalaśa II, who was the son of Vidyādharaḥhañja, grandson of Śilābhañja (II), great-grandson of Digbhañja and great-great-grandson of Raṇabhañja, was a Vaiṣṇava (Bhandarkar, op. cit., No. 1602).

\* From the Plates in *JBORS*, Vol. XVIII, and *JKHRS*, Vol. I. The pencil rubbing published in *JBORS* is more reliable than the inked impression published in *JKHRS*. The latter is, however, clearer than the former.



## Second Plate, First Side

- 10 śrī-Śilābhañjadēvasya sūna(nuḥ) parama-māhēśvarō mātā-pitri-  
 11 pād-ānudhyātāḥ śrī-Śatrubhañjadēvaḥ kuśali Sulvāḍḍa-vi-  
 12 shayē rāja-rājanaka-rājaputra-vishayapati-mahāsāmanta<sup>1</sup>.  
 13 śrisāmanta-maha(hā)sāmanta-yathākāl-ādhyāsi(si)-vyā(vya)vahāriṇaḥ sa-  
 14 karaṇān=anyāms=cha Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-pura(rō)g-ādi<sup>2</sup>-janapada-nivā-  
 15 si-ja(jā)napadāns=cha(dāms=cha) yathārham pūjayati vō(bō)dhaty=ājñāpaya-  
 16 ti cha viditam=astu bhavatām=ētaḍ-vishaya-samva(samba)ddha-Kōntamullō-  
 17 grāmō-yam chatuḥ-simn-ā(m-ā)ghāṭa-parinnāna Taittrī<sup>3</sup>-Vāsishṭha;gō-  
 18 trābhyām<sup>4</sup> bhaṭṭa-Vish[ṇu]svāmi-bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇasvāmi<sup>5</sup> mātā-

## Second Plate, Second Side

- 19 pittrōr=ātmanaś=cha puny-ābh[i]vriddhayē śa(sa)lila-dhārā-purasē(ssa)-  
 20 rēṇ=ā-karatvēna pratipāditō=smābhiḥ [ | \*] yatō=nayōr=ā-chandr-ā-  
 21 rka-samupabhu[m\*]jānō(na)yōr=na kaischi[t\*] paripa[uthinā(bhiḥ)] bhavitavyam=i-  
 22 ti [ | \*] uktañ=cha dharma-śāstrē [ | \*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādi-  
 23 bhiḥ [ | \*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmi[s\*]=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam ||) [4\*]  
 24 Mā bhūd=a-phala-śaṅkā vaḥ para-datt-ētti(ti) pārthivāḥ [ | \*] sva-dānā[t\*] phala-  
 25 m=ānantiyam para-datt-ānupālanaṁ(nē) [ | 5\*] Sva-dattām para-dattām=vā(ttām vā) yō  
 26 harēta vasundharām(rām |) sa viśṭhāyām [krimir\*]=bbūtvā pitribhiḥ saha  
 27 pachyatē || [6\*] Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vindu-lōlām śriyam=anu-

## Third Plate

- 28 chintya manushya-jīvitañ=cha [ | \*] sakalam=idam=udāhrita[m] hi va(bu)dhvā(ddhvā) na hi  
 29 purushaiḥ pari(ra)-kirttayō vilōpyāḥ [ | | \*] shashṭim varsha-sahaśrā(srā)ṇi sva-  
 30 rgē mōdati bhūmidah [ | \*] ākshēptā śch-ā(ch=ā)numantā cha tāv=ēva narakaṁ vra-  
 31 jēt [ | 8\*] pañcha-karaṇ-āddhi(dhi)krīta-maha(hā)sāmanta[h\*] du(dū)takō=tra śrī-[Kri]-  
 24 tavarṇma-  
 32 vaḥ dēśā<sup>6</sup> likhi[ta\*]ñ=cha sāndhivigrahika-Vu(Bu)ddhadattēna ||<sup>7</sup> utkīrṇam(rṇam)  
 33 śrī-sāmanta-Dhavalākēna ||<sup>8</sup> laochchitam<sup>9</sup> Śivāditty[ē]n=[ē]ti [ | \*]  
 34 Samva[Samva]t 10 4 Kārttika-śudi 10 1 [ | \*]

<sup>1</sup> We have possibly to omit this expression and read *vishayapati-śrisāmanta*.

<sup>2</sup> The expression *Brāhmaṇa-purōga* suggests that we have to take the following expression as *ādi-janapada* *nivāsi*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *parimāṇas=Taittirīya*.

<sup>4</sup> A half t was originally engraved instead of half m.

<sup>5</sup> Read *svāmibhyām*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *varṇamā/asya=ādēśāt*.

<sup>7</sup> The punctuation mark here looks like a *vibarga* sign.

<sup>8</sup> Read *lāochchitam*.



## No. 43—TWO GRANTS OF VARMANS OF VANGA

(1 Plate)

THE LATE DR. N. K. BHATTASALI, DACCA

A. *Sāmantasār Plate of Harivarman*

Nagendra Nath Vasu published a rather defective transcript of the reverse of the present plate with a small and blurred half-tone reproduction and translation in Bengali and stated that Harivarman was a king of Vaṅga and had his capital at Vikramapura.<sup>1</sup> The plate was originally in the possession of the late Pandit Kāśichandra Vidyāvāgīśa of the village of Sāmantasār, District Faridpur, where it was seriously damaged by fire. Sāmantasār is a stronghold of the Brāhmaṇas of the Vaidika class. The Vaidikas believe that their progenitors came to Bengal during the reign of Sāmalavarman, king of Vaṅga. Vidyāvāgīśa fondly believed that the copper plate he possessed was a grant of Sāmalavarman. But, as he could not decipher it himself, he gave it for decipherment to Pandit Gurucharaṇa Vidyābhūṣaṇa of the village, who took it to Calcutta and handed it over to the late Mahāmahōpādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstri. Śāstri in his turn made over this fire-licked plate to N. N. Vasu who published it as narrated above.

The publication of the Belāva plate<sup>2</sup> of Bhōjavarman of the same line of kings has now made the correction of some obvious mistakes in Vasu's reading possible. The most serious of his errors is that he took the inscription to be dated in the 42nd regnal year of king Harivarman although in fact it does not bear any date. But, for a long time, nothing could be done to check Vasu's reading as Vidyābhūṣaṇa, to whom Vasu had handed back the plate after decipherment, had passed away and all trace of the plate was lost. In 1920 I went to Sāmantasār and learnt that the plate had not come back. However, in 1937 I succeeded in recovering it at Bāli near Calcutta from the son of Vidyābhūṣaṇa, who had given up his residence at Sāmantasār and made Bāli his home. The plate has now been presented to the Dacca Museum.

The actual findplace of the plate is unknown. While at Sāmantasār in 1920, I learnt that three copper-plate records had been found inside an earthen pot somewhere near Sāmantasār, on the bank of the Meghnā, within the Zamindari of the Tagores of Calcutta in the Idilpur Pargāna. The Idilpur plate of Kēśavasēna, first published by Prinsep in *JASB*, 1838, was one of these records. A plate of Śrīchandra noticed in my article on the Kēdārpur plate<sup>3</sup> was another. The third is the present plate of Harivarman. The Vaidikas of Sāmantasār secured it from the finder and passed it on to Vidyāvāgīśa. Unfortunately, the thatched house in which the plate was preserved, accidentally caught fire and damaged the plate seriously. The seal of the plate got detached from it and was lost, and the obverse became practically unreadable.

The plate is a single sheet of copper measuring  $9\frac{3}{8}$  inches by  $10\frac{1}{4}$  inches. The obverse contains 28 lines of writing while the reverse has 23 lines and a half. It has been licked by fire to such an extent that not one out of the 28 lines of writing on the obverse can be made out with precision. The metrical part ends in line 27, from the end of which the prose portion begins. From this place onwards we are on surer grounds, but the name of Harivarman's father still remains doubtful. It is almost obliterated and can be read as Jāta on close examination. The 23 lines of writing on the reverse, however, can be made out fairly accurately with the help of the Belāva plate of Bhōjavarman.

<sup>1</sup> *Vaṅger Jātīya Itihāsa*, Vol. II, introduction, p. 111; cf. pp. 215-18.

<sup>2</sup> The inscription was first published by myself with the help of my teacher, the late Prof. B. B. Gōsvāmi, in the *Dacca Review*, Vol. II, 1912. See also R. G. Basāk, *Sāhitya*, 1319 B.S., pp. 282-99, and above Vol. XII, pp. 37 ff.; R. D. Banerji, *JASB*, 1914, pp. 121-29; N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 14 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 189-90.



The characters are Proto-Bengali of the 11th century A.D. The most notable letter from the point of view of palaeography is *r* which still retains its hooked form and is not yet a complete triangle. In the plate of Sāmālavarman, edited below, as well as in the Belāva plate of Bhōjavarman, *r* is a complete and well-formed triangle. The language is Sanskrit.

The history of the Varman kings of Vaṅga was for the first time placed on a sure footing by the discovery and publication of the Belāva plate of Bhōjavarman, although Harivarmadēva was known to scholars from the Bhubaneswar inscription<sup>1</sup> of his minister, Bhaṭṭa Bhavadēva. The family traced its descent from the Moon and belonged to the Yādava clan, which had made Siṁhapura its home. This city has been variously located; but none of the suggestions can be regarded as conclusive in the absence of any definite pointer. Nevertheless its identification with Siṁhapura in Kālīṅga may be accepted for all practical purposes.<sup>2</sup>

When the armies of Rājendra Chōla led an expedition against Bengal about 1023-24 A.D.,<sup>3</sup> they found on the throne of East Bengal (Vaṅgāla) a king called Gōvindachandra apparently belonging to the Chandra dynasty of Vikramapura. This is corroborated by a statement in the life of Dipaṅkara-Śrījñāna-Atiśa, compiled by the late Mr. Sarat Chandra Dās from Tibetan sources.<sup>4</sup> According to this work, Dipaṅkara was a contemporary of the king Bhū-indra-chandra of Baṅgāla. The adult life of Dipaṅkara, as gathered from this source, seems to have fallen between 1000 and 1022 A.D.; and it may be assumed that Bhū-indra-chandra was the ruler of Baṅgāla during this period. The Tibetans seem to have rendered the name Gōvindachandra as Gō-indra-chandra, and substituting *bhū* for its equivalent *aṣ*, we get the modified Tibetan appellation *Bhū-indra-chandra*.

Hence the reign of Gōvindachandra in Vaṅgāla is to be referred to the first quarter of the 11th century A.D. But, in the next quarter, we find the Varmans established in the same kingdom and issuing copper-plate grants from the same capital, as is evidenced by the Belāva plate and by the two copper-plates edited below. Thus the Chandras appear to have been supplanted in Vaṅga by the Varmans not long after the Chōla raids in 1023-24 A.D.

As indicated above, we learn from the Belāva plate that the Yādavas of the lunar race settled at Siṁhapura and that the Varman family of Yādava lineage rose to prominence during the time of Jātavarman who is credited with many achievements. He is said to have frustrated the might of Gōvardhana who appears to be the same as Gōvardhana of Kauśāmbī, mentioned in the *Rāmācharita* as an ally of Rāmapāla. Kauśāmbī, was the tract east of the Bhāgīrathī and south of modern Calcutta.<sup>5</sup> The Varman kingdom thus spread up to the Bhāgīrathī on the west, while on its east was the Meghnā. Jātavarman became a paramount sovereign. Jāta's son was Sāmāla, born of Virāśrī. Sāmāla married Trailōkyasundarī *alias* Mālavyadēvī who was the daughter of Jagaddēva, son of Paramāra Udayāditya, king of Mālwa and rival of Kalachuri Karka. Sāmāla's son was Bhōja, in whose 5th regnal year the Belāva grant was issued. From verse 14 of this grant it would appear that the king was probably a minor at the time, and that an invasion from an enemy was apprehended. It may be noted here that Harivarman does not find mention in this record, though he is clearly hinted at in the statement that Virāśrī and Hari many times manifested themselves in person in this dynasty (verse 3).

Harivarman is known to have enjoyed a fairly long reign. Two dated manuscripts of the reign of this king are known. One<sup>6</sup> of them, at present preserved in the V. R. Museum of

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. VI, pp. 198 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Vol. XII, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> *Journ. P. T. Soc.*, Vol. I, p. 7 n.

<sup>5</sup> *JRAS*, 1935, pp. 82-83. [The identification is not beyond doubt.—Ed.]

<sup>6</sup> R. D. Banerji, *The Palas of Bengal* (Mem. A. S. B., Vol. V, No. 3), Plate XXXVI



Rājshāhi, is clearly dated in the 19th year of his reign. The other manuscript belongs to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The late Mahāmahōpādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstrī published an illustration of the dated page of this manuscript in the journal of the Vāṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat of Calcutta.<sup>1</sup> Śāstrī read the date as the 39th year; but a close examination of the illustration under a lens tends to show that the date is 32. Thus Harivarman is to be credited with a reign of at least 32 years.<sup>2</sup>

The name of the donee of the grant is unfortunately damaged by a crack in the plate which runs right across the name. He is stated to have served as the *Śāntivārika* (sprayer of propitiatory sacred water) to the king. His *gōtra* was Vatsa with the usual five *pravaras*, and he belonged to the Āśvalāyana branch of the R̥gveda. His father was Padmanābha and grandfather Vēdagarbha. His great-grandfather's name is rather obscure and reads like Jayarakshita. As the Vatsa *gōtra* is to be met with among all the three prominent sections of Bengal Brāhmanas, viz., Rādhiya, Vārēndra and Vaidika, it is difficult to say to which section the donee belonged.

The land granted measured 86 *drōṇas*<sup>3</sup> of the cultivable type. It lay in the village of Vara-parvata in the Mayūravidja<sup>4</sup> *vishaya* in Pañchavāsa<sup>5</sup> *maṇḍala* within the Paundra *bhukti*. The *bhukti* of Paundravardhana is well-known. I am unable to locate the village granted. The inscription is undated and does not bear the usual endorsements at the end.

## TEXT

## Obverse

1 to 26 (damaged)

27 .....स खलु श्रीविक्रम-

28 पुरसमावासितश्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात् महाराजाधिराजश्रीजातवर्मपदानुध्यातपरमवैष्णव-

## Reverse

1 परमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजश्रीहरिवर्मदेवः कुशली ॥

2 श्रीपौण्ड्रभुक्त्यन्तःपातिपञ्च<sup>1</sup>वासमण्डले [मयूरविज्ज]<sup>2</sup>विषयसं । वरपर्वतग्रामे ।  
अशीतिषष्ट्य<sup>3</sup>—

3 धिकषड्द्राणोपेतहलभूमौ ॥ समुपगताशेषराजपुरुष[रा]जीराणकराजपुत्र[रा]जामात्यमहा-

4 व्यूहपतिमण्डलपतिमहासान्धिविग्रहिकमहासेनापति[महाक्ष]पटलिकमहामुद्राधिकृत्य(त)-

<sup>1</sup> *Vāṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, Vol. XXVII, illustration No. 3.

<sup>2</sup> [There is some evidence to suggest that Harivarman ruled for 46 years. See *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, p. 201, note 1. Verse 16 of Bhavadēva's *prastāvi* seems to refer to a son of Harivarman as his successor; cf. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VII, p. 414 and note.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> [The text gives : 1 *hala*, 6 *drōṇas* and 80 of a smaller unit, the name of which is doubtful.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> [The reading of the letters is doubtful.—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> [*Sam* stands for *sambaddha*.—Ed.]

<sup>6</sup> [The above reading of the two *akṣaras* seems to be wrong. The word used here certainly indicated a subdivision of the *drōṇa*.—Ed.]



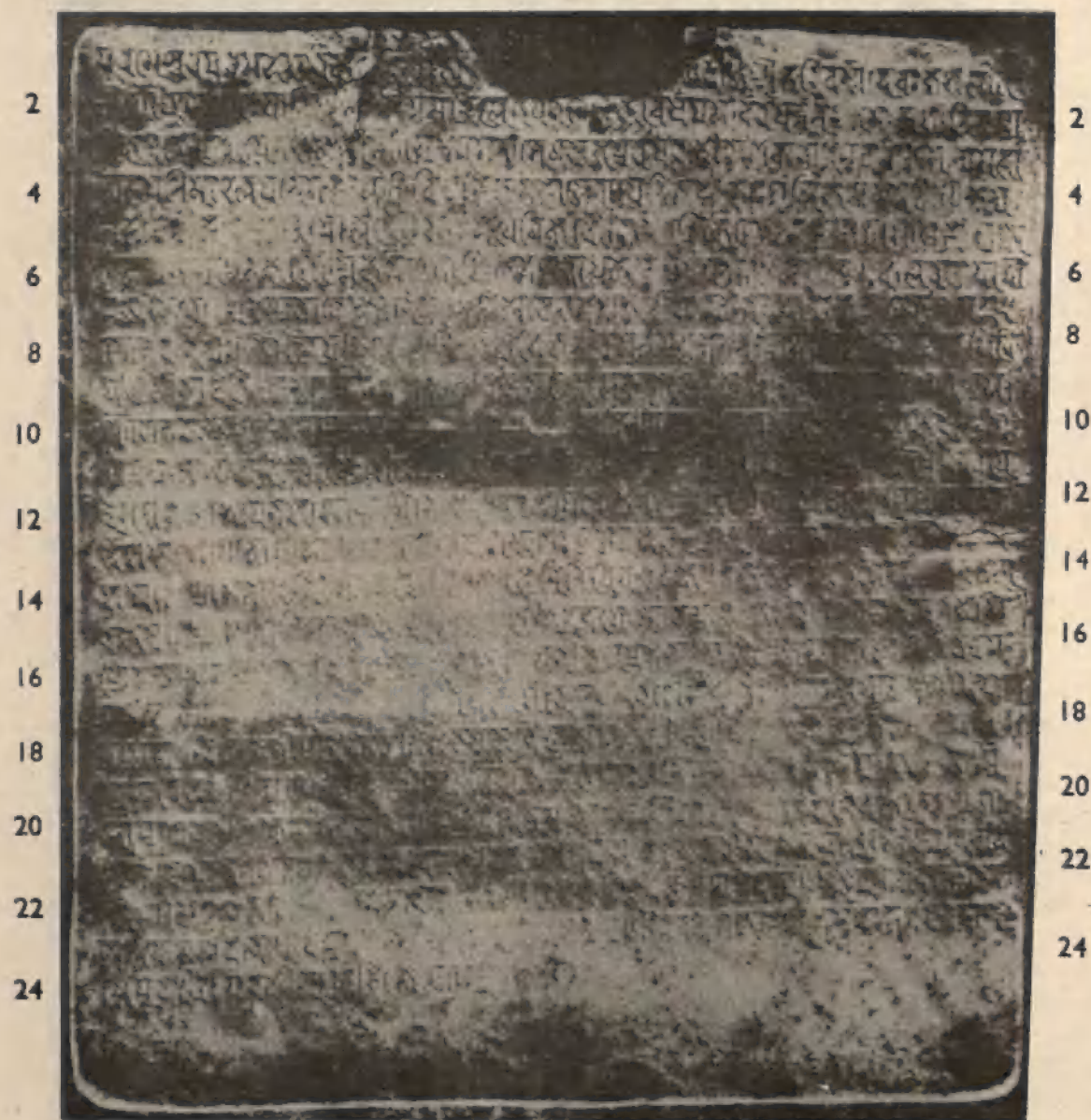
- 5 महाप्रतीहारकोट्टपालदोःसाधसाधनिक[चोरोद्धरणिकनीव(ब)लहस्त्यश्वगोमहिषाजा]-
- 6 विकादिव्यापृतकगौल्मिकदण्डपाशिकदण्डनायक[विषयपत्यादीनन्याश्च] सकलराजपादो-
- 7 पजीविनोध्यक्षप्रचारोक्तानिहाकीर्तितानन्याश्च आचट्ट[भट्टजातीयान् जनपदान् क्षेत्र]-  
करांश्च ब्रा(त्रा)ह्य-
- 8 णोत्तरान् [यथार्ह] मानयति [वो(बो)धयति समा]दिशती(ति) [च मतमस्तु भवतां  
यथोपरिलिखिता] भूमिरि-
- 9 यं स्वसीमावच्छिन्ना तृण[पूतिगोचरपर्यन्ता] सत[ला] सज[लस्थला सगत्तोषरा]  
सदशा[पराधा] स-
- 10 चोरोद्धरण परिहृतसर्व[पीडा अचाटभटप्रवेशा अ]किञ्चित्[प्र]ग्राह्या समस्त-  
राजभोगकरहिर-
- 11 ण्यप्रत्याय[सहिता ॥ वत्ससगोत्राय भार्गव]च्यवन[आ(ना)नुवत्(द्)और्व-  
जमदग्निपञ्च]षि[प्रव]राय
- 12 ऋग्वेदआ(दा)शला(श्वला)यनशाखाध्यायिने [भट्टपुत्रजयरा(र)क्षितशर्मणः प्रपौत्राय ।]  
भट्टपुत्रवेदग-
- 13 भंशर्मणः पौत्राय । भ[ट्टपुत्रपद्मनाभ]शर्मणः पुत्राय [भट्टपुत्रशान्ति]वारिकश्री....
- 14 शर्मणे श्रीमता हरि[वर्मदेवेन पुण्ये]हनि विधिव[दुद]क[पूर्व]कं कृत्वा  
भगवन्तं वासुदेवभट्टा]-
- 15 रकमु[द्दिश्य मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृ]द्धये आचन्द्रार्क[क्षितिसमकालं  
याव]त् भूमि-
- 16 च्छिद्र[न्यायेन श्रीमद्विष्णुचक्रमुद्रया ताम्रशा]सनीकृत्य प्रद[त्तास्मा]भिः [॥ तद्भु]वद्भिः  
सर्वैरनुम-
- 17 न्तव्यं [भाविभिरपि भूपतिभिः पालने] दानफलगौर[वात् ह]रणे [महानरक-  
पातभयात् दानमिदम]-
- 18 [नुमोद्यानुपालनीयमिति निवासिभिः क्षेत्रकरैश्च [आज्ञाश्रवणविधेयीभूय यथोचित-  
प्रत्यायोपनयः का]-
- 19 स्यं इति भव[न्ति चात्र धर्मानुशंसिनः श्लोकाः । भूमि यः प्रतिगृह्णाति  
यच्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ]



## TWO GRANTS OF VARMANS OF VANGA

### A. SAMANTASAR PLATE OF HARIVARMAN

Reverse



(From a Photograph)







- 20 तौ पुण्य[कर्मणी नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ । षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति  
भूमिदः । आक्षेप्ता चा]-
- 21 नुमन्ता [च तान्येव नरके वसेत् । स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा(त्तां वा) यो  
हरेत वसुन्धरां(राम्) । स विष्ठायां किमिभूत्वा पितृभि]-
- 22 स्सह [पच्यते । बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा  
भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ।]
- 23 इति कमलदलाम्बु(म्बु)विन्दुलोलां [श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च सकलमिद-  
मुदाहृतञ्च वु(वु)द्धा न]
- 24 हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः ॥०

*B. Vajrayōginī Plate of Sāmalavarman*

This is only a quarter of a whole plate. It was discovered in the village of Vajrayōginī, P. S. Munsiganj, District Dacca. Vajrayōginī, in old days, must have been a part of the city of Vikramapura. It is unusually big in area, being a conglomeration of 28 hamlets, each with a separate name. Vajrayōginī contains a number of old temple sites, full of mouldering bricks. By the side of three large tanks in the village, there is a raised homestead site, still known as *Nāstika-paṇḍita bhīṭā*, i.e. the atheist Pandit's homestead, which is fondly believed to have been the site of the homestead of the famous Buddhist scholar Dīpaṅkara. A large number of Buddhist and Brahmanical images including the famous silver image of Viṣṇu, now in the Indian Museum<sup>1</sup>, were discovered in different parts of the village. An image of Tārā of the late Gupta or early Pāla period<sup>2</sup> and another inscribed image of the same deity of a later date<sup>3</sup> discovered in this village are now in the Dacca Museum.

Sōmpārā is a hamlet of Vajrayōginī. There is an old tank in the hamlet from which several Buddhist images were recovered. The inscribed image of Tārā referred to above was one of them. On the southern side of the tank, there are mouldering ruins of an old temple, fragments of the basement walls of which are still standing. East of the ruins is a small tank by the side of the District Board road. This tank was reclaimed some years ago and the earth raised was thrown round the tank. The fragment of copper-plate under study was discovered by some boys on the north bank of this tank, about six inches below the surface of the soil. Priyanāth Banerji, a teacher of the local High School, obtained the fragment from the boys and presented it to the Dacca Museum.

The fragment is thick and fairly heavy. It measures 5½ by 4½ inches. Therefore, the copper-plate, when entire, must have measured approximately 11½ by 9 inches. Both the obverse and the reverse of the fragment contain each 15 lines of writing.

The characters are Proto-Bengali of the 11th-12th century and closely resemble those of the Belāva plate of Bhōjavarman. As noted above, *r* shows distinct development from its form found in the plate of Śrīchandra and that of Harivarman edited above. The letters, which are

<sup>1</sup> See my *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, p. 84, Pl. XXIX.

<sup>2</sup> See *ibid.*, Intro. p. xxiv, and p. 56, Plate XX.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57, Plate XXI.



deeply incised and well preserved, can be read without difficulty. The language is Sanskrit, the composition being in both verse and prose.

This inscription gives some interesting information, even though mutilated. It was issued from the same capital, **Vikramapura**, from which Harivarman's plate was issued. The stanza in lines 2-3 appears to speak of Jātavarman who is described as the leader (*prāgrahara*) among the Yādavas. The next stanza in lines 4-5 speaks of Harivarman who is said to have devastated his enemies. The following verse in lines 5 ff. seems to speak of the Kalachuri family as the *vātri-varṣa*, or mother's lineage, of Harivarman. This is followed by a verse describing a prince whose name is unfortunately lost, while the stanza beginning with the *aksharas saṅgrā* in line 9 seems to describe a fierce battle waged by a Varman king. The last stanza ending in line 14 might have contained a panegyric of **Sāmalavarman**.

In this connection, we have to take note of the Rewa stone inscription<sup>1</sup> of Karṇa, dated in the Kalachuri year 800 corresponding to 1048-49 A.D. Verse 23 of this record recounts one of the earliest exploits of Karṇa after his accession in 1041 A.D. It says that the ship of the king of the Eastern Country, being driven against the peaks of the mountains of his (Karṇa's) elephants, by the force of the tempest of arrogance, cracked and sank into the sea of his (Karṇa's) troops. Prof. Mirashi has rightly inferred<sup>2</sup> that this records the end of the Chandra line of kings of Vaṅga, where either Gōvindhachandra or his successor came into violent conflict with the forces of Karṇa and lost his life. He conjectures that Vajravarman was put on the throne of Vikramapura and Karṇa's daughter Virasrī was given in marriage to his son Jātavarman to cement the alliance. I am inclined to think that it was Jātavarman, who seems to have rendered useful service to Karṇa, that was put on the throne.<sup>3</sup> His marriage probably led to his elevation and not *vice versa*. As this is the first victory recorded for the reign of Karṇa, it would not be unreasonable to put it soon after Karṇa's accession in 1041 A.D. The date of the fall of the Chandra dynasty and the installation of the Varman family in Vikramapura may thus be put about 1042 A.D. We have also to remember in this connection that Karṇa had at one time occupied part of Bengal south of the Ganges.<sup>4</sup>

It would appear from the *Rāmacharita* of Sandhyākaranandin (ch. II, verse 38) that, while Rāmapāla, having crossed the Ganges, invaded the Kaivarta kingdom from the west, Hari, his friend, invested it from the east. When Bhīma, the Kaivarta king, was defeated, Hari succeeded in capturing all his forces by his well-planned strategy. Rāmapāla gratefully appreciated the services of Hari and raised him to a position of great influence (cf. III, verse 32). This episode, has, in my opinion, been misunderstood by the editors of the V. R. S. edition of the *Rāmacharita*.<sup>5</sup> Hari has been taken to be a friend of Bhīma and the capture of Bhīma's forces by Hari as a second contest with Rāmapāla. It has to be noted here that we have epigraphic evidence of the investment of Varēndrī by the Vaṅgāla army about this period<sup>6</sup> and Hari is very probably Harivarman of Vaṅga.

It is rather strange that there is no reference to the ousting of the Varmans from Vaṅga in the inscriptions of the Sēna kings. This is an inexplicable gap in our knowledge of the history of East India of the period. Vijayasēna, in his Deopārā inscription, boasts of having conquered or

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 101 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 105-106.

<sup>3</sup> [Cf. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VII, pp. 413 ff.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> *ARASI*, 1921-22, p. 80.

<sup>5</sup> See *Rāmacharita*, ed. R. C. Majumdar and others, Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, pp. xxx ff., 67. The author ignores the fact that Rāmapāla is represented in the *Śabdapradīpa* as the lord of Vaṅga. For the possession of that country by Harivarman, see *Ind. Cult.*, op. cit., pp. 412, 414.—Ed.]

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 97 ff.



captured quite a number of kings and the issue of his Barrackpur grant in his 62nd year<sup>1</sup> from Vikramapura, the whilom capital of the Chandra and Varman kings, implies that Vaṅga also was included in his conquests.

In verse 21 of the Deopārā inscription<sup>2</sup> the following kings are said to have been imprisoned by Vijayasēna : 1. Nānya, king of Mithilā ; 2. Vira, king of Kōṭāṭavi<sup>3</sup> ; 3. Vardhana, king of Kauśāmbī (the present 24 Parganas)<sup>4</sup> ; and 4. Rāghava, identified with the king of Kaliṅga who ruled from 1156 to 1170 A.D. N. N. Vasu doubts this identification of Rāghava.<sup>5</sup>

As we hold that Vaṅga was snatched off from the Varman and annexed by Vijayasēna,<sup>6</sup> can we seek a clue to the identification of this Rāghava in that quarter ? Here the mysterious and hitherto unexplained verse 14 of the Belāva plate<sup>7</sup> comes to our help. The difficulty in its proper interpretation lies in the last two expressions of the verse which have been read variously.<sup>8</sup> I am now inclined to read it as *śaṅkāśv=a-laṅk-ādhipaḥ* and translate the half verse as follows : " Oh, fie ! How painful ! The world is bereft of heroes today. Has this trouble of the Rākshasas appeared again ? May Alaṅkādhīpa (i.e. opposite of Laṅkādhīpa, Rāma or Rāghava) fare well during this apprehended danger ! "

We have to remember that Rāmapāla was living at this time, as he died so late as 1120 A.D. He was the Rāma who faced the first trouble with the Rākshasas (i.e. the Kaivarta usurpation of North Bengal) and his killing of Rāvaṇa in the form of the Kaivarta usurper and recovery of Sitā, that is Varēndrī, was a favourite theme with the poets of the period, an outstanding instance of which is the *Rāmācharita*. Though the Pālas during this period had lost complete control over Bengal, south of the Ganges, they still commanded respect as the past emperors of East India. Vijayasēna, newly risen to power in Rāḍha by his marriage with Vilāsadēvī, a daughter, if not the heiress, of the old Śūra line of Rāḍha, was eager to strike north and east and make himself the undisputed master of Bengal. He had already gathered together formidable forces and everybody in Bengal expected that sooner or later the blow would fall. But whether it would fall on the Varman kingdom east of the Bhāgirathī or on the Pāla kingdom north of the Ganges, no one could guess. The Belāva plate granted land on the east bank of the Bhāgirathī<sup>9</sup> and it appears to have been granted at this period of *śaṅkā* or apprehended danger. The poet Purushōttama in this half *śloka* probably wanted to please both Rāmapāla and one Rāghava by *double entendre*. The favour and alliance of Rāmapāla of the old imperial line was sought against the formidable upstart Vijayasēna, while Rāghava, probably a scion of the Varman line, appears to have been the leader of the Varman kingdom of the period. He was the commander of the forces and the guardian of Bhōjavarman, the reigning Varman king. The meaning of the *śloka* becomes quite clear, if we assume that the poet wanted to please Alaṅkādhīpa, i.e. Rāma of the Pāla line as well

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XV, pp. 278 ff. and Plate, where the date is read as 32. The figures may possibly represent 61. Vide *JASB*, 1921, p. 16, n. [For different readings of the date of this record see *History of Bengal*, op. cit., p. 210, n. 3 ; cf. above, p. 80.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. I, pp. 305 ff.

<sup>3</sup> [The identifications suggested are not beyond doubt.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> *Vaṅger Jātīya Itihāsa*, Rājanya-kāṇḍa, p. 308.

<sup>5</sup> [Cf. above, p. 80.—Ed.]

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XII, p. 40, lines 22-23.

<sup>7</sup> Originally I read *śaṅkāśv=a-labdhā dhiyaḥ* (*Dacca Review*, July 1912, p. 144). Then R. D. Banerji read *śaṅkāśv=labdhā(?) dhiyaḥ* (*JASB*, 1914, p. 127). R. G. Basak first read *śaṅkāśv=alaṅk-ādhipaḥ*, but subsequently changed the reading to *śaṅkāśv=laṅkādhīpaḥ* (above, Vol. XII, p. 40). Basak's translation conveys no meaning and he recognises this fact. Sten Konow in an editorial note suggests that it is an exhortation to king Bhōja to engage on some expedition. N. G. Majumdar follows Basak's second reading (*Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 22), but is unable to arrive at any satisfactory meaning. However, it is undeniable that the passage hints at contemporary political happenings (cf. *adya*).

<sup>8</sup> *JRAS*, 1935, p. 83.



as Rāghava of the Varman side. We may here recall the statement in the third *śloka* of the Belāva plate that Hari manifested himself in person many times in the Varman line. The first Hari was Kṛishṇa himself. The second Hari is Harivarman. The third Hari might be this Varman chief Rāghava who wielded all power during this period and whom it was necessary to eulogise in addition to the reigning king.

Vijayasēna began his invasion of the Varman kingdom by his attack on Kauśāmbī, modern 24 Parganas District,<sup>1</sup> and its king Govardhana, who might have been a *sāmānta* of the Varmans. This involved the Varman kingdom in a disastrous war. Rāmapāla, though eulogised by Purushōt-tama, the author of the Belāva epigraph, probably dared not interfere, exhausted as he was by his recent struggle with the Kaivartas. The Varmans went down finally and Rāghava, the leader of the Varmans, became a prisoner in the hands of Vijayasēna. Thus fell the Varman kingdom before the onslaught of Vijayasēna, and the apparent silence of the Deopāṛā inscription regarding this great political change in Bengal is thus explained.

The grant was issued by Sāmalavarman, son of Jātavarman of the Varman dynasty of Vaṅga. The donee was Bhīmadēva. The gift appears to have been made to the temple of Prajñāpāramitā and other deities, founded by him. The ruined temple site referred to above, from the vicinity of which this fragment was recovered, appears to be the temple mentioned in the record. It is interesting to note that Sāmalavarman makes this donation to a Buddhist shrine to please his patron deity Viṣṇu.

I edit the inscription from the original fragment. The lost part of the propose portion in it could be easily supplied from the Belāva plate of Bhojavarman.

## TEXT

## Obverse

- 1 .....[कवमनपायः(य)स्या]नु-
- 2 .....रिजातः स्वस्थोर्थिनां दोहददोह-
- 3 .....म्मा वम्मग्रिणीः प्राग्रहरो यदूना-
- 4 .....दोर्वज्जर्जरितकृत्स्तविपक्षसैलः भू-
- 5 .....विभवो हरिवम्मदेवः ॥ कलचुरिकु-
- 6 .....श्रीरितिख्यातिभाजन(म्)। स खलु परिणिना-
- 7 .....वा मातृवंश्या [\*] विद्यायाम्बि(यां वि)नयः श्रुतादिव ज-
- 8 .....नृपतिस्तत्तस्यां स तस्मादभूत(त्)। यत्पादाग्र[परिग्र]-
- 9 .....[न्द्रि]काभिरभवन(न्) भूयोभिषिक्ता इव ॥ सङ्गा-
- 10 .....विकटोत्कटकोटिदंष्ट्रः । यद्वाङ्ग-
- 11 .....कवलैकमहाग्रहोभूत(त्)॥ पाणौ या

<sup>1</sup> R. D. Banerji and N. G. Majumdar hold that this Kauśāmbī is identical with Kusumbā in the Rājshāhi District, ignoring the impossibility of the Varmans holding land north of the Ganges, inside the Pāla kingdom (cf *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 19). [See above, p. 256, note 5.—Ed.]



- 12 .....वल्लीवलने प्रसादवचसि स्मेरे च ड-
- 13 .....यशो वासयन्नस्याश्चञ्चति मा बिरो-
- 14 .....[स खलु श्रीवि]क्रमपुरसमावासितश्रीमज्जयस्क[न्धावा]-
- 15 [रात् महाराजाधिराजश्रीजातवर्मदेवपादानुध्यात]परमवैष्णवपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारक-  
महा[रा]-

## Reverse

- 1 विनोध्यक्षप्रचारोक्तान् इहाकीर्तितान् चट्टभट्टजातीयान् जनपदान् क्षेत्र-
- 2 करांश्च ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणान(न्) ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणोत्तरान(न्) य[थार्हम्मानयति वो(वो)धयति  
समादिशति च]
- 3 मतमस्तु भवताम(तां) यथोपरिलिखिता भूमिरियं स्वसीमावच्छिन्नतृणपूति]-
- 4 गोचरपर्यन्ता सतला सोद्देशा स[ाम्रपनसा सगुवाकनालिकेरा सल]-
- 5 वणा सजलस्थला सगर्तोषरा सहा[दशापराधा परिहृतसर्वपीडा अचाट]-
- 6 भड(ट)प्रवेशा अकिञ्चित्प्रग्राय्या(ह्या) समस्त[राजभोगकरहिरण्यप्रत्यायसहिता]
- 7 कारकश्रीभीमदेवकारितसुरसि.....
- 8 कश्रीप्रज्ञापारमिताभट्टारिका श्री.....[श्रीसा]-
- 9 मलवर्मदेवेन पुण्ये अहनि विधि[वदुदकपूर्वकं कृत्वा भगवन्तं वासुदेवभट्टा]-
- 10 रकमुद्दिश्य मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्य[यशोभिवृद्धये आचन्द्रार्कक्षितिसमकालं]
- 11 यावत्(त्) भूमिच्छिन्नन्यायेन श्रीमत(द्)विष्णुच[क्रमुद्रया ताम्रशासनीकृत्य प्रदत्ता-  
स्माभिः ॥]
- 12 भूमि यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति [1\*] उ[भौ तौ पुण्यकर्म्मणौ  
नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥]
- 13 आस्फोटयन्ति पितरो ब[लगयन्ति] पितामहाः [1\*] [भूमिदाता कुले जातः स  
नस्त्राता भविष्यति ॥]
- 14 स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्बा(त्तां वा) यो हरेत् वसुधरां(राम्) [1\*] स [विष्ठायां  
क्रिमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते ॥]
- 15 श्रीमत् सामलवर्मदेवपादीयसम्ब(संव)[त्].....



## No. 44—TWO GRANTS OF SAILODBHAVAS

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

My article entitled "Two Sailodbhava Grants from Banpur" has appeared in this journal.<sup>1</sup> I edited in it a copper-plate inscription of Ayaśōbhita II Madhyamarāja (circa 665-95 A.D.) and another of his son Mānabhita Dharmarāja (circa 695-730 A.D.). In the following pages I am editing two other copper-plate grants of the family, one issued by Sainyabhita Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa (circa 610-650 A.D.) and the other by his grandson Mānabhita Dharmarāja. Both these records were published previously by Pandit Satyanarayana Rajaguru, the first recently in the *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. II, Nos. 3-4 (September 1953—January 1954), pp. 6 ff., and the second a few years ago in the now defunct *Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society*, Vol. II, No. 1 (June 1947), pp. 65 ff. As Pandit Rajaguru's treatment of the records did not appear to me quite satisfactory, I was eager to examine the original plates which are now preserved in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar. At my request, the Superintendent of Research and Museums, Government of Orissa, kindly sent me on loan both the sets of copper plates for examination about the middle of 1954. My sincere thanks are due to him for his kindness.

## A.—Purushōttampur Plates of Sainyabhita Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa, Regnal Year 13

It is reported that the inscribed plates were dug out from the compound of the temple of Jagannātha at Purushōttampur in the Pūrvakhaṇḍa sub-division of the Ganjam District, Orissa. The inscription was acquired for the Orissa State Museum in 1952.

This is a set of three thin rectangular plates held together by a ring (2½ inches in diameter), the joint of which is soldered to the lower part of the circular seal. The plates measure 6 inches by 3½ inches each. The hole for the ring to pass through, about the centre of the left border of the plates, is ½ inch in diameter. It was made in the plates apparently after the work of engraving had been completed although some space may have been left out for that purpose. The second plate is engraved on both the sides while the first and third bear writing on the inner side only. There are altogether 46 lines of writing on the four sides (12+12+13+9). The preservation of the plates is quite unsatisfactory. The writing on all the three plates is damaged here and there. A portion is broken away from a corner of the first plate resulting in the loss of the concluding letters of the last two lines of writing on it. The counter-sunk surface of the seal attached to the plates has the figure of a humped bull facing left. Below the bull is the legend *śrī-Sainyabhitasya* which has suffered considerably from corrosion. There is a floral design below the legend. The weight of the three plates is 21½ tolas and that of the seal 12 tolas.

The characters in which the inscription is written resemble very closely those employed in the Puri plates<sup>2</sup> of the Śailōdbhava king who issued the present charter. A slightly more developed form of the same script is, however, noticed in the Buguda plates<sup>3</sup> of the said ruler. But this is satisfactorily explained by the fact that, in the case of the Buguda plates, the original inscription was beaten in and re-engraved on the same plates at a later date.<sup>4</sup> More important is the fact that the Ganjam<sup>5</sup> (Gupta year 300=619 A.D.) and Khurda<sup>6</sup> plates of Sainyabhita Mādhavavarman II

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 32-43.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 122 ff. and Plates.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 41 ff.; Vol. VII, pp. 100 ff. and Plates.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXIV, p. 149 and note 4.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *JASB*, Vol. LXXIII, pp. 284 ff.



are written in the regular East Indian alphabet of the seventh century, which offers a slightly different and earlier look. This fact was sometimes coupled with another that, while in the prose introduction in the Ganjam and Khurda plates Mādhavarāja II (Sainyabhīta Mādhavarman II) is described as the son of Ayaśōbhīta I and grandson of Sainyabhīta Mādhavarāja (Mādhavarman I), the versified introduction in the Puri and Buguda plates and other later records of the family represents Ayaśōbhīta I (father of Sainyabhīta Mādhavarman II Śrīnivāsa) as born in the family of Sainyabhīta I (Sainyabhīta Mādhavarman I). On the basis of these differences it was suggested by some writers<sup>1</sup> that a period of time must have intervened between the reigns of Sainyabhīta Mādhavarāja II, issuer of the Ganjam and Khurda plates, and Sainyabhīta Mādhavarman II Śrīnivāsa. But the identity of the former with the latter was very clearly suggested by the Cuttack (Orissa) Museum plates<sup>2</sup> of Sainyabhīta Mādhavarman II Śrīnivāsa, which are written in the same style as the Buguda and Puri plates and other later records of the family, but are engraved in characters similar to those of the Ganjam and Khurda plates. The evidence of the Cuttack (Orissa) Museum plates, however, does not appear to have satisfied all writers on the subject<sup>3</sup> even though it received welcome support from the palaeography of the Nivina grant and Banpur plates of Mānabhīta Dharmarāja.<sup>4</sup>

The language and orthography of the inscription under review do not call for any special remark as the style is the same as in other documents of the king, which have the introductory part in verses. Indeed the stanzas contained in the present record are mostly also found in the Buguda, Cuttack (Orissa) Museum and Puri plates. The officials responsible for the preparation of the charter are the same as those of the Buguda and Puri plates although, as has been noticed above, the original writing of the Buguda inscription was beaten in and re-engraved on the same plates some years after its issue. Both the present record and the Puri plates were issued by the king in his 13th regnal year. The date of the Buguda plates also may have been the same year; but it seems to have been left out at the time of the re-engraving of the inscription at a later date.

The introductory part of the Ganjam plates, issued in the Gupta year 300=619 A.D. when the Śailōdbhava king Sainyabhīta Mādhavarman II was a feudatory of the Gauda monarch Śaśāṅka, as well as of the Khurda plates (without date), issued after his assumption of independence, is couched in prose. But the other charters of the king including the present record, all issued at a later period, contain a versified introduction composed for the first time by one of the king's court poets. Most of the stanzas are not only common in the Buguda, Cuttack (Orissa) Museum and Puri plates and the inscription under study but many of them are also quoted in the charters of the successors of Sainyabhīta Mādhavarman II Śrīnivāsa. Verses 1-11 of our record are the same as verses 1-2, 4-12 of the grant of Ayaśōbhīta II Madhyamarāja while no less than nine of them are also quoted in the charter of Mānabhīta Dharmarāja, both of which have been edited by us above.<sup>5</sup> As we have shown in that connection, one of these stanzas (verse 11 of the present record) credits Sainyabhīta Mādhavarman II Śrīnivāsa with the performance of several sacrifices including the Aśvamēdha which must have been celebrated sometime after 619 A.D., when the Śailōdbhava ruler was still a feudatory, but before his thirteenth regnal year, the earliest date so far found in the records containing the said stanza and issued during his independent rule. There is no doubt that the Śailōdbhava king succeeded in throwing off the

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 126-27; *JAHRS*, Vol. X, pp. 1-15. See also above, Vol. VII, p. 102, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 148 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See *The Classical Age (The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. III)*, pp. 144 ff. For an explanation of Ayaśōbhīta I being represented as a son (probably an adopted son) of Sainyabhīta Mādhavarman I in some records in prose and as a descendant in others in verse, see above, Vol. XXIX, p. 35 and note 2. See also the case of Kāmāṇḍi, above, Vol. XXIX, p. 45.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 269.

<sup>5</sup> See above, Vol. XXIX pp. 32 ff.



Gauḍa yoke before the thirteenth year of his reign, which must have fallen in the period 619-32 A.D., or, roughly speaking, about the close of the first quarter of the seventh century.

Verse 12 of our record, mentioning Kōṅgōda as the place whence the charter was issued, is also found in the Puri (verse 11) and Buguda (verse 12) plates, although the Cuttack (Orissa) Museum plates, issued from a locality called Mādhavapura, have it (verse 14) in a modified form.

Lines 32-34 speak of the king's subordinates and officials in Kōṅgōda-maṇḍala, who were addressed in respect of the grant of the village of Amva(mba)grāma, attached to Dēvagrāma-vishaya, in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named *Bhaṭṭa* Nārāyaṇa (lines 34 ff.). In lines 40-44 some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas are quoted with the introduction *uktañ=cha Mānavē Dharma-sūtrē*. The last three lines (lines 44-46) contain two stanzas (actually one and a half, as the first half of the second verse is omitted through oversight), which are also found in the Buguda and Puri plates. This is followed by the date with which the charter ends. According to the concluding stanzas, the charter was written by Upēndrasimha, son of *Bhōgin* Kuṇḍa, endowed with a seal (*lāñchhita*) by Jayasimha, and engraved by *Bhōgin* Chhēḍḍi, while its executor (*dūtaka*) was Gaṅgabhadra employed in the post of *Pratihārin* or officer in charge of the palace gate (cf. *pratihāryē vyavasthitaḥ*). The same Upēndrasimha was also the writer of the Cuttack (Orissa) Museum plates which were heated (*tāpita*) by Jayasimha for the affixing of the seal. The Parikud plates<sup>1</sup> of Ayaśōbhita II Madhyamarāja (circa 665-95 A.D.), dated in the king's 26th regnal year, appear to have been *lāñchhita* by Jayasimha, there called *Pēṭāpāla* (keeper of the record-boxes), although the learned editor of the epigraph could not read the particular section of the inscription. The Nivina grant<sup>2</sup> of Dharmarāja (circa 695-730 A.D.), possibly dated in the king's ninth regnal year, was also *lāñchhita* by Jayasimha. As the intervening period between the 13th regnal year of Sainyabhita Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa and the 9th year of the reign of his grandson would cover about three quarters of a century, too long for the active period of a man's life, it is possible that Jayasimha of the Parikud plates and Nivina grant was a different person, probably a grandson of his namesake mentioned in the Buguda, Puri and Purushōttampur plates.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the location of those found in the introductory part of the charter has already been discussed by us in connection with the Banpur plates. I am not quite sure about the identification of the village called Ambagrāma and the *vishaya* or district named Dēvagrāma stated to have been situated in the *maṇḍala* of Kōṅgōda.

#### TEXT<sup>3</sup>

[Metres : verses 1, 4 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 2, 11 *Sragdharā* ; verses 3, 6, 7, 9, 10 *Vasantatilaka* ; verses 5, 13-17 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 8 *Indravajrā* ; verse 12 *Āryā*.]

#### First Plate

- 1 Siddham<sup>4</sup> Svasti [||\*] Indōr-ddha(r-ddha)ta-mṛṇāla-tan[tu]bhīr-ivā(va) ślī(śli)shṭāḥ karai-  
[ḥ\*] kōma[lair]=va(r=ba)ddh-ā-
- 2 hēr-arunē(ṇaiḥ) sphurat-phāṇi-maṇi(ṇē)r-di[gdha]-p[r]abhāsō=[ṇśu(sō-mśu)bhi][ḥ\*] Pār-  
vvyatā[ḥ\*] sa-kacha-gra-
- 3 ha-vyatikara-vyāvṛtta-va(ha)ndha-sla(śla)thā [Gaṇ]g-āmbhā(mbhaḥ)-pluti-[bhinna]-bhasma-  
kaṇikā[ḥ\*] Śa[mbhō]-

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XI, pp. 281-87.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXI, pp. 38 ff.

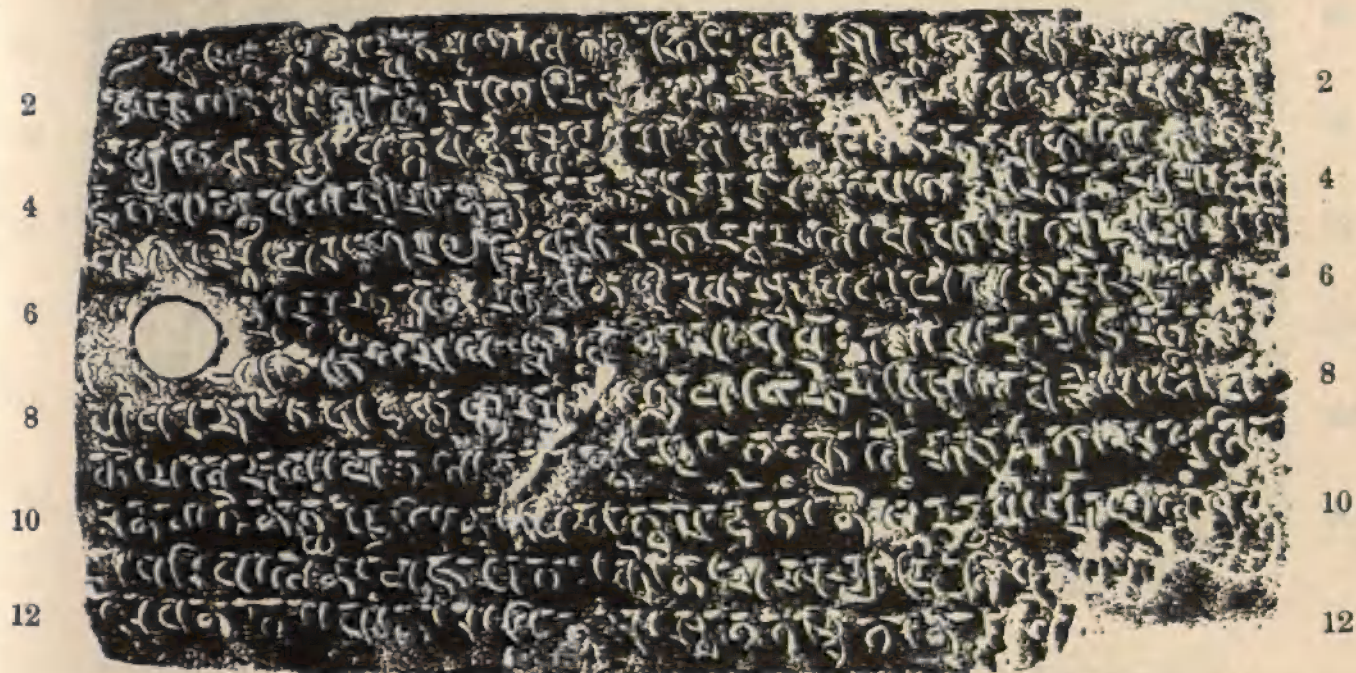
<sup>3</sup> From the original plates and impressions.

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by symbol.

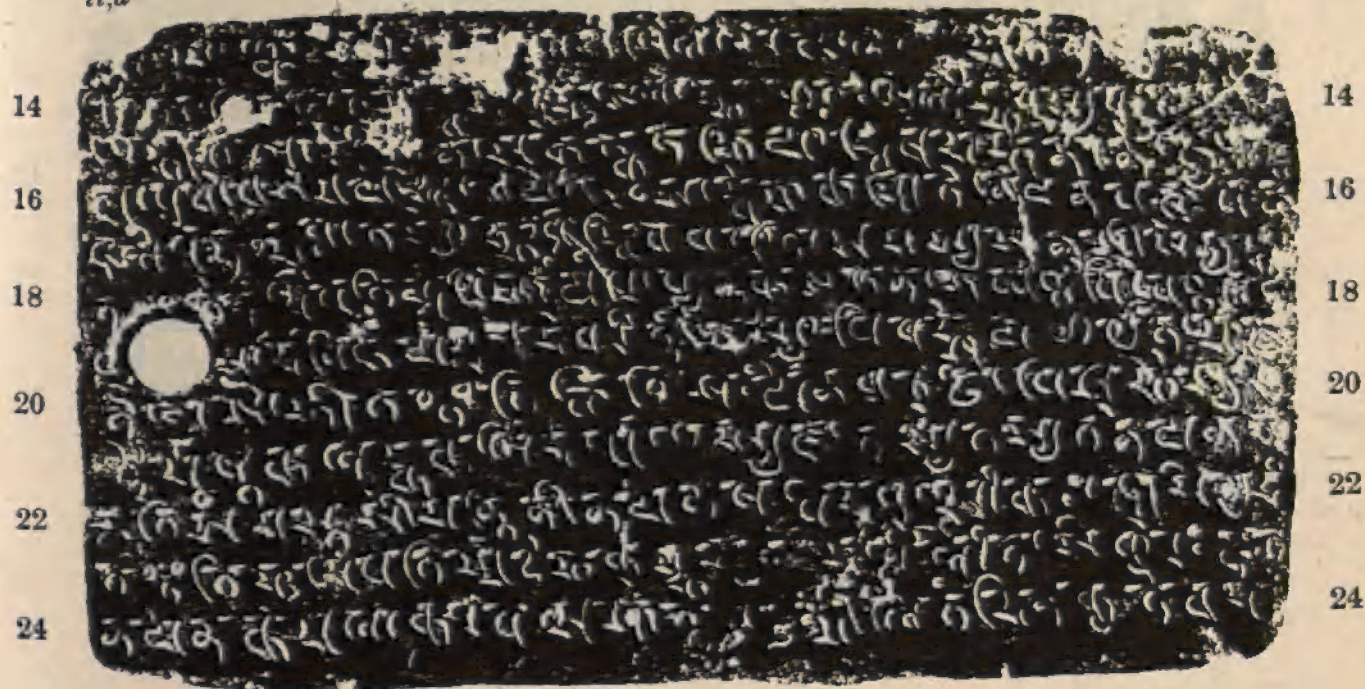


# TWO GRANTS OF SAILODEHAVAS—PLATE I

A.—PURUSHOTTAMPUR PLATES OF SAINYABHITA MADHAVAVARMAN II SRINIVASA, REGNAL YEAR 13



ii,a



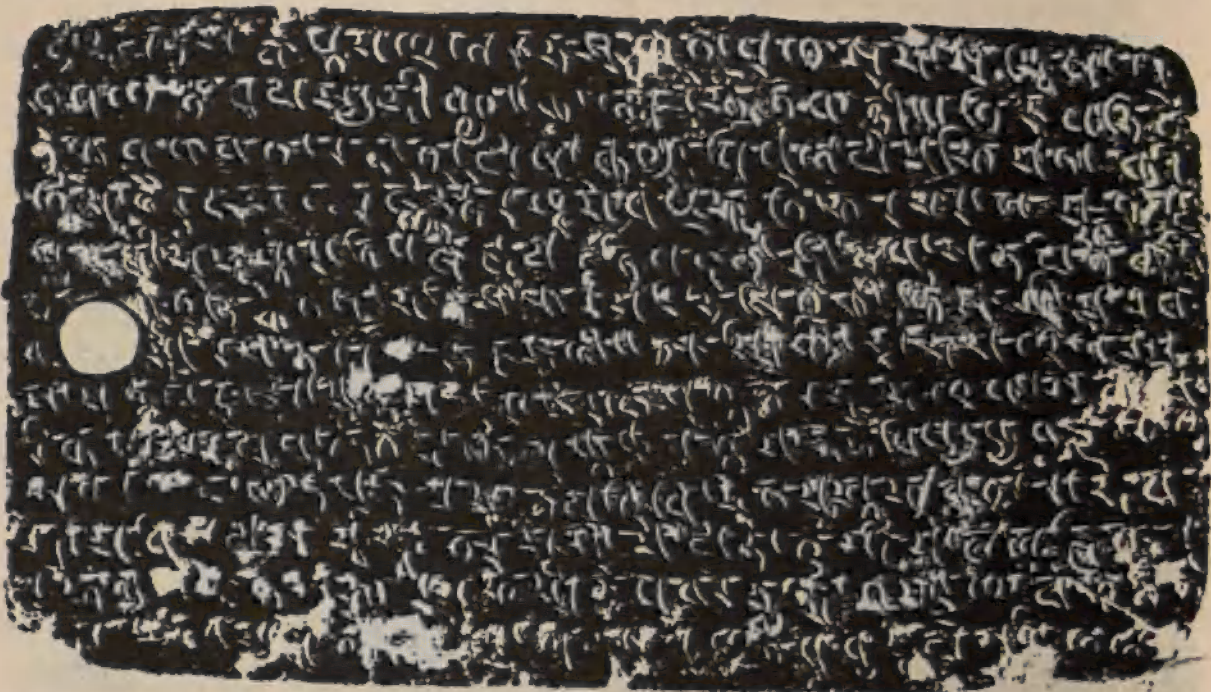
SCALE: ACTUAL SIZE



ii, b

26  
28  
30  
32  
34  
36

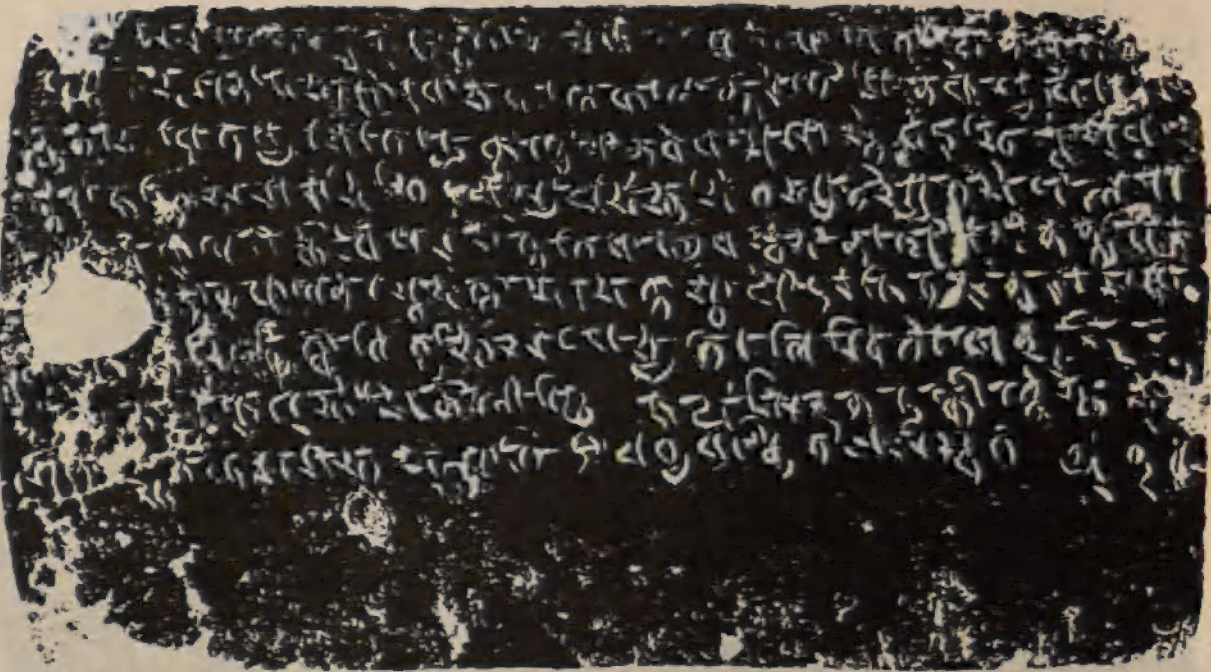
26  
28  
30  
32  
34  
36



iii

38  
40  
42  
44  
46

38  
40  
42  
44  
46





- 4 r=jjaṭṭ(ṭāḥ) pāntu va[h] || [1\*] Śrīmān=[uchchai][r\*]=nabhasta(stō) gurur=a[mara]-patē[h\*]  
kshōbhijadyamāyā<sup>1</sup>
- 5 gambhīras=tōya-rāsēr=atha diva[sa\*]kara(rād) bhāsvada(d-ā)lōka-kārī [\*] āhlādī<sup>2</sup> [savva-  
(rvva)]-
- 6 sya [ch=ē]ndōs=tri(s=tri)bhuvana-bhu(bha)vana-[prē]rakaś=ch=āpi vāyō rājā sa Sthānu-[mū]-
- 7 rtti[r=jja]yati kala(li)-mala-kshālanō Mādhava(vē)ndrah || [2\*] Prāṇśu(Prāṇśu)r=mmahēbha-  
ka[ra]-
- 8 pīvara-chāru-vā(bā)hu[h\*] kṛishṇ-āśma-saūchaya-vibhēda-vishā(śā)la-vakahō(kshāḥ) || rājīva-
- 9 kōmala-dal-āyata-lōchan-āntā(ntaḥ) khyātaḥ Kālīnga-janatāsu Pulī[nda]-
- 10 sēna[h] || [3\*] Tēna(n=ē)ttham gupin=āpi satva(ttva)-mahatā n=ēshṭam bhuvōr=mmaṇḍalam  
[śaktō]
- 11 ya[h\*] paripālānāya jagataḥ kō nāma sa syād=iti [\*] pra[tyādiṣṭa-vibh-ū]-
- 12 tsavēna bhagavām(vā)n=ārādhita[h] sā(śā)śvata[s\*]=tach-ohit-ā(tt-ā)nugunam [vidhitsur=a]-

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 13 [di]śad=vāñchhā[m] Sva[yambhūr=api] || [4\*] Śa śilā-sakal-ōdbhēdī tēn=[āpy=ālōkya]
- 14 [dhi(dhī)matā] [\*] [parika]pita-[sa]d-vāśa(d-vamēśaḥ) prabhu[h\*] Śailōdbha[va][h\*] kṛita-  
[h] || [5\*] Śailōdbhavasya [kula]jō Ra]-
- 15 pabhīta āsid=y[ē]n=ā<sup>3</sup>sakrit=kṛita-bhiyā dvishad-aṅganānā[m] [\*] jyō[tsnā]-
- 16 [tanā]<sup>4</sup>-pravō(bō)dha-samayē svā(śva)-dhiyē(y=ai)va<sup>5</sup> sārddham=ākampitō nayana-pa[kshma]-  
pa[kshma]-<sup>6</sup>
- 17 jalēshu chandraḥ || [6\*] Tasy=ādḥha(bha)vad=vivu(bu)dha-pāla-samasya s[ū]nu[h] śrī-Sainya-  
bhī-
- 18 ta [i]ti bhu(bhū)mipatī[r-gga]ri(rī)yām(yān) yaṁ prāpya naika-śata-nāga-ghaṭṭā(tā)-  
vighaṭṭa-la[vdha(bdha)]-
- 19 prasāda-vijayam mum[u]dē dharittrī || [7\*] Tasy=āpi vāñśē<sup>7</sup> yathārtha-n[āmā]jā]-
- 20 tō=yaśōbbhita iti kshiti(tī)śaḥ [\*] yēna prar[ū]dhō=pi śubhais=chari-
- 21 ttreir=mrishṭa[h\*] kalaṅka[h\*] kali-darppapasya || [8\*] Jāta[s]ya(s=sa) tasya tanayaka<sup>8</sup> [su]-
- 22 kṛiti(tī) samasta-sīmantinī-nayana-shaṭpada-puṇḍarikāḥ | śrī-Sainyabhi-
- 23 ta iti bhu(bhū)mipatir=mmahēbha-ku[m]bha-sthalī]-[dalana\*]-[durilla]lī(li)t-āsi-dhāraḥ || [9\*]  
[Jātē]-
- 24 na yēna kamal-ākaravat=sa(t=śva)-gō[ttam]=unmilitam dinakṛit=śva ma-

<sup>1</sup> Read *kshōbhajid=yaḥ kshamāyā*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *hlādī* for the sake of the metre.

<sup>3</sup> The *akshara* looks somewhat like *nau* in the original.

<sup>4</sup> Omit this superfluous letter.

<sup>5</sup> There is a mark after this letter.

<sup>6</sup> The word *pakshma* has been unnecessarily duplicated.

<sup>7</sup> Read *vāñśē=tha*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *tanayak*.



## Second Plate, Second Side

- 25 h-ōdayēna [l\*] samkshipta-maṇḍala-ruchaśru(ś=cha) [ga]tā[h\*] praṇāśu(śa)m-āśu dvishō gra-  
 26 ha-gaṇā iva yasya dīptyā || [10\*] Kā[lēyai]r=bhūtadhāttri-<sup>1</sup>pati[bhi\*]r=upachit=[ā]-  
 27 nēka-p[ā]p-āvatāra(rair=)nītā yēshām kath=āpi pralayam=abhimatā kī-  
 28 rtti-mā(pā)lair=ajasra[m\*] | [ya]jñais=tair=aśvamēdha-prabhṛtibhir=amarā lambha(mbhi)-  
 tā[s\*]=[tri]-  
 29 pti[m=u]rvvim=u[d\*]dript-ārāti-paksha-kshaya-kṛiti-paṭunā Śrīnivāsēna yēna || 11\*  
 [Kōṅḍō]-  
 30 da-kṛita-nikēta[h\*] śa(śā)[ra]da-nisākara-mar[ī]ch[i]-sita-kirtti[h\*] sa śrī-Mādhava-  
 31 varmm[a] ri[pu\*]-[mā]na-vi[ghaṭṭa\*]na-kuśali || [12\*] asmiṁ(smin) [Kōṅḍō]da-maṇḍala  
 śarē<sup>2</sup>.  
 32 sāma[nta]-ma[h]āsāmanta-ma[hā]rā[ja]-rājaputtra(ttr-ā)ntaraṅga-daṇḍapāsi(śi)k-[ōpa]-  
 33 rī(ri)ka-<sup>3</sup>[visha]yapati-tadāniyuktaka<sup>4</sup>-varttamāna-bhavishya-vyavahāri[ṇa][h\*]  
 34 sa-karaṇa(ṇān) yathārha[m\*] pu(pū)jaya[ti\*] mānayati [cha\*] viditam=astu bhavatām(tām) ||  
 Dēva-  
 35 grāma-vishaya-samva(mba)ddhaḥ Amva(mba)grāmō=yam chātu[h\*]-sim-ōpalakshi-  
 ta[h] |<sup>5</sup>  
 36 [Mu]dgalya-sa[gō]ttra-Amkāśa-Bhamrāha-pravara<sup>6</sup>-Chchhandōga-[chra]ṇāya [Bha]ṭṭa-Nā-  
 37 [rā]ya[ṇā][ya\*] data(ttaḥ) ma(a)[sma]t-mā(n-mā)[tā-pitrō]r=ātmana[ś=cha] puṇy-āva(bhi)-  
 vṛddhayē salila-dhā[rā]-

## Third Plate

- 38 [puraḥ]sarēṇ=[ā-cha]ndr-ārka-kshiti(ti)-sāma-kālām p[r]at[i]pāti(di)t[ō] ya[tas=cha tāmra]-  
 39 pa[tṭa]ka-darśanā[t\*] dharma-gauravā[t\*] cha kāl-āntarādha(d=a)pi na . kaiś=cha(ś=chit)  
 pa[ri]pa-  
 40 nthinā(bhiḥ) bhavitavyam=iti | uktañ=cha Mānavē Dharmma-śāstrē [l\*] Va(Ba)hubhi[r=va]-  
 sudhā [bhu]-  
 41 [ktā] rājabhi[h\*] Sagar-ādibhiḥ [l\*] yasya [yasya\*] yadā bhu(bhū)mi[s\*]=tasya tasya tadā  
 phala[m] || 13\*  
 42 Mā bh[ūd=a-pha]la-śānkā va[h\*] para-datt=ēti pārthiva(vāḥ |) sva-dānāt=pha[lam=a]nantya-  
 [m\*] pa[ra]-  
 43 [da]tt-ān-palanē || 14\* Sva-dattām=para-dattām=vā(ttām vā) yō harēti(ta) va[su]n[dh]a-  
 rā[m\*] sa vi-  
 44 [shṭhāyām kri]mir=bhūtvā pitribhi[h\*] saha pachyatē || 15\* Likhit=Ōpēndras[imhē]-

<sup>1</sup> This mark of punctuation is redundant.

<sup>2</sup> Read śrī.

<sup>3</sup> The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

<sup>4</sup> Better read *tanniyuktaka* or *tadvini*.

<sup>5</sup> The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

<sup>6</sup> The intended reading seems to be *Maudgalya-sagōttr-Āngirasa-pravara-Bharmyāśv-ānupravara*.



45 na [tanayah]<sup>1</sup> Kuṇḍa-bhōginā(nah ||) līñchhita<sup>2</sup> Jayasi[mhā]na utkīraṇa<sup>3</sup> Chchhā[ḍ]ḍi-[bhō]-  
 46 gi[nā] || 16\*<sup>4</sup> dūtaka(kō) Ga[m\*]gabhadra[s=tu\*] [pr]āt[i]hāyē(ryē) vyavasthitaḥ || 17\*<sup>5</sup>  
 Samvata<sup>6</sup> 10 3 ||\*<sup>7</sup>

B.—*Chandēśwar Plates of Mānabhīta Dharmarāja, Regnal Year 18*

This set of inscribed copper plates was discovered in 1936 from an old well in the village of *Chandēśwar* under the Tangi Police Station in the Puri District, Orissa. It originally consisted of three plates; but the first plate, apparently containing inscription on one side only, is missing. Consequently the record is *fragmentary*. The ring, on which the plates were strung and to which the royal seal must have been affixed, is also lost. The two plates of the set, now extant, have the usual hole ( $\frac{1}{2}$  inch in diameter) for the ring to pass through. They measure 6 inches by  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches each and together weigh  $35\frac{1}{2}$  tolas. The plates have writing on both obverse and reverse. There are altogether 41 lines of writing on the four sides (11+12+12+6).

The *palaeography*, *orthography* and *style* of the inscription do not call for any remark as they resemble those of the other published records of the Śailodbhava king Mānabhīta Dharmarāja (circa 695-730 A.D.) who issued the present charter. But attention may be drawn in this connection to an interesting fact not so far noticed by scholars. We have seen how some of the epigraphs of Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa were written in the normal East Indian alphabet of the seventh century and how some of them exhibit a slightly modified script prevalent in the same age in the southern areas of Orissa. The charters of Mānabhīta Dharmarāja can be similarly divided into two groups. While the Banpur plates<sup>7</sup> and Nivina grant<sup>8</sup> are written in the former alphabet, the Puri plates<sup>9</sup>, the Konedda grant<sup>10</sup> and the present charter are written in the latter script. Indeed it is interesting to note that the Puri, Konedda and Chandēśwar records representing the second group of the charters of Mānabhīta Dharmarāja were all engraved by the same person who was rather careless in the performance of some signs (cf. many cases of the medial *u*), the same letter often written in different shapes (cf. *n* in *yēn=ā*<sup>11</sup> in line 1 and *d-aṅganānām* in line 2), different letters (e.g. *p* and *m* in *°pādītō* in line 30 and *kamala* in line 34 respectively) often made almost undistinguishable from one another, use of several varieties of a sign like medial *ā* or *u*, etc. Another feature of palaeographical interest is that the date of the grant, viz. the regnal year 18, is written as 10 0 8. This shows that the practices of writing numbers in symbols and figures were both prevalent in Orissa side by side in the age of the record. The twofold mistake in the present case is that ten was written by the symbol for 10 and a zero, instead of one and a zero, and that the zero was retained in spite of 8 occupying the place of the unit.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read *sutēna*. The intended reading may be *lēkhit=Opēndrasimhaś=cha tanayah* as in the Puri, Buguda and Cuttack (Orissa) Museum plates.

<sup>2</sup> Read *lāñchhitam* or *lāñchhitā*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *ch=ōtkīraṇam* or *ch=ōtkīraṇā*.

<sup>4</sup> The same name is found in the Puri plates as *Chchhādḍi*. In the Buguda plates, it was read as *Dadḍi*.

<sup>5</sup> The first half of the stanza is omitted through oversight. In the Puri plates, it reads: *samyag-ārādhitā-svāmi-prasāda-śiṣṭa-mānasat*, which is also apparently the intended reading of the Buguda plates.

<sup>6</sup> Read *Samvat*.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 38-43. This important point was not discussed by me in connection with the palaeography of the Banpur plates (loc. cit., p. 39) through oversight.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXI, pp. 38 ff. The learned editor of the Nivina grant has overlooked this interesting palaeographical feature of the inscription.

<sup>9</sup> *JBOES*, Vol. XVI, pp. 178 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 267 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 212.



The fragmentary inscription abruptly begins with part of a word in the second half of a stanza which is the same as verse 4 of the Banpur charter, issued by the same king and edited by us above.<sup>1</sup> This is followed in lines 1-21 by eleven other stanzas which are also identical with verses 5-10, 12-13 and 15-17 of the Banpur record. We see that verses 11 and 14 of the Banpur plates have been omitted in our record. It has also to be pointed out that the concluding portion has been left out in two of these stanzas which are the same as verses 15 and 17 of the Banpur inscription. These introductory stanzas have already been discussed by us in connection with the Banpur plates of Ayaśōbhīta II Madhyamarāja and Mānabhīta Dharmarāja.

Lines 21-23 speak of the Śailōdbhava king Dharmarāja as issuing the order relating to the grant from the *vāsaka* (camp or residence) at Kōntalayi. He is described as a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva) and as meditating on or favoured by the feet of his parents. The description of the king in this section contains the passage *āśvamēdh-āvabhṛītha-snāna-nirvartita* which may be taken to suggest that the king was a performer of the horse-sacrifice, although in the Banpur plates we have *nirvartita-sūnōs-tanayaḥ* assigning the celebration of the Aśvamēdha clearly to his grandfather. As the introductory part of the Śailōdbhava records unanimously ascribes the celebration of the horse-sacrifice to Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa, the passage in our record cannot be taken to signify that Dharmarāja performed another Aśvamēdha, especially in view of the fact that a similar passage also occurs in the Parikud plates<sup>2</sup> of his father Ayaśōbhīta II Madhyamarāja. It seems that both Ayaśōbhīta II Madhyamarāja and Mānabhīta Dharmarāja took part in the Aśvamēdha performed by Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa and took the *āvabhṛītha* bath in connection with the celebration of the sacrifice.

Lines 23-26 mention the king's subordinates, officials and subjects in Kōṅgōḍa-maṇḍala, to whom the royal order in regard to the grant recorded in the document was addressed. The gift village mentioned in lines 26-27 is Śivādhivāsa-grāma which was situated in a *viśaya* or district, the name of which looks like Kirātatalaka. The first and third letters of the name are, however, doubtful. The village was granted as a free holding in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named Bhajja Śubhadēva (lines 26 ff.). The grant is stated to have been made on the occasion of an eclipse. As the date quoted at the end of the record is Chaitra-badi 15, the reference may be to a solar eclipse.<sup>3</sup> Some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas have been quoted in lines 31-38. The names of the officials responsible for the preparation and execution of the document are given in lines 38-40. The *dūtaka* or executor of the grant was the *sachiva* Dharmachandra. The charter was written by the *Sādhivigrahika* Bhōgin Sāmanta who is also known from the Puri and Banpur plates of the issuer of the present charter. It was *lāñchita* by the *Pēṭāpāla* Jyēshthasimha who may have been a relation of Jayasimha mentioned in the earlier records of the king. The plates were engraved by Thaviravṛiddha, no doubt the same as Sthaviravṛiddha, engraver of the Puri plates and the Konedda grant. The record ends with the date : year 18, Chaitra-amāvāsyā. The year seems to be written once at the end of line 40 although it was repeated in the last line (line 41).

Of the geographical names, the king's camp or residence at Kōntalayi, the gift village Śivādhivāsa-grāma and the district Kirātatalaka are known for the first time from the record under study. I am not sure about their identification. Kōntalayi may, however, be modern Kantalabāi<sup>4</sup> on the Chilkā near the Bhushandapur railway station.

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. XXIX, pp. 38 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XI, p. 286 (text, lines 38-39).

<sup>3</sup> A solar eclipse occurred on the Amāvāsyā day of *pūrṇimānta* Chaitra in 702 and 705 A.D. If either of these was the date of the record under discussion, Mānabhīta Dharmarāja ascended the throne about 685 or 688 A.D. instead of 695 A.D. as given in our tentative chronology of the Śailōdbhava kings.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. P. Acharya, *Sambalapur-pātrā* (Oriya), p. 38.



TEXT<sup>1</sup>Second<sup>2</sup> Plate, First Side

- 1 āśa<sup>3</sup> pra[bhu]ḥ Śailōdbhava[h\*] kṛtaḥ [||\*]<sup>4</sup> Sailōdbhavasya [kula]jō Raṇabhīta āśid-y[ā]n-  
āśakṛit
- 2 kṛta-bhiyā[m\*] dviśa(sha)d-aṅganānām(nām |) jyōtsnā-pravō(bō)dha-samayē ava-dhē(dhi)y-  
aiva [sārddham]=ākampitō naya-
- 3 na-pakshma-jalēshu chandraḥ [||\*]<sup>5</sup> Tasy=ābhavad-Vi[vu(bu)dha]pā[la-sa]masya s[ā]nu[h\*]  
śrī-Sainyabhīta iti
- 4 bh[ū]mipatir=ggari(rī)yān(yān) | yām prā[pya] naika-[śata]-nā[ga]-ghaṭā-vighaṭa(tṭa)-  
laddha(bdha)-prasāda<sup>6</sup>-vi-
- 5 jayām mumudē dharittriḥ(trī ||)<sup>7</sup> Tasy=āpi va[m\*]gśē(śē)=[tha\*] yathārtha-nāma(mā) jātā(tō)=  
yāsōbhīta iti kshiti(tī)śa[h\*]
- 6 [yēna] pra[rū]ḍhō=pi śubhaiś=charittrai[r\*]=mrishṭa[h\*] kalaṅka[h\*] kali-darppaṇasyaḥ(sya ||)<sup>8</sup>  
Jātō=tha tasya ta-
- 7 [nāya][h\*] sukrīti(tī) samasta-simantini-nayana-shadpa(tpa)da-puṇḍari(rī)ka[h\*] śrī-Sai-  
nyabhīta iti bhu(bhū)[mi]-
- 8 pati[r\*]=mahēbha-kumbhasthali-dalana-durlali(li)t-āsi-dhārāḥ(rah ||)<sup>9</sup> Kālōyair=bhūtadhā-  
ttri(trī)-patibhi(bhi)-
- 9 r=upachitā naika-pāp āvatārai[r\*]=ni(nī)tā yēshām kath=āpi pralayam=abhimatā kirttigā(pā)-  
lair=aJa-
- 10 śraṁ(sram |) [ya]jñais=tair=aśvamēdha-prabhṛtibhir=amarā lambhitās=triptim=urvvi(rvvi)m-  
udri(ddri)pt-ārāti-paksha-ksha[ya]-
- 11 kṛti-pu(pa)ṭunā Śrīnivāsēna yōna [||\*]<sup>10</sup> Tasy=ōtkhāt-ākḥil-ārēr=mmarud=iva janan-ō[d\*]  
bhā<sup>11</sup>.

## Second Plate, Second Side

- 12 svad-ushnāśu(shnārśu)stōjā[h\*] śu(śū)rā(rō) mānī dayālur=ṇa(r=na)rapati(r=A\*)yas[ā]-  
bhītadōvas=tanu(nū)ja[h\*] | tmā(mā)taṅgān=yō=ti[ṭuṅgūn=va(n=ba)]-
- 13 hala-mada-muchās=chāru-va<sup>12</sup>krā[n\*] prachandā[n\*] vaddh<sup>13</sup>=ā-karshaty=akhina<sup>14</sup> punar-  
api tayatē<sup>15</sup> yatnata[h\*]<sup>16</sup> sa-pragal[bha][h\*]<sup>17</sup> Ta-

<sup>1</sup> From the original plates.<sup>2</sup> The first plate of the inscription is lost.<sup>3</sup> This is the last *akshara* of the expression that would correctly read *parikalpita-sadvamśaḥ*. See verse 4 in lines 7-8 of the Banpur plates of Dharmarāja (above, Vol. XXIX, p. 41).<sup>4</sup> Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.<sup>5</sup> Metre : *Vasantatilaka*.<sup>6</sup> The top *mātrā* of an unengraved letter is noticed in the space between *pra* and *ad*.<sup>7</sup> Metre : *Indravajrā*.<sup>8</sup> Metre : *Sragdhara*.<sup>9</sup> Some records of the family have *janit-ō*.<sup>10</sup> *Vam* was originally engraved.<sup>11</sup> Read *buddhe=ā*.<sup>12</sup> Read *khinnā*.<sup>13</sup> See above, Vol. XXIX, p. 37, note 4.<sup>14</sup> Metre : *Sragdhara*.



- 14 sy=ābhavat=sa[ka\*]la-śi(śa)stra-viśēsa(sha)-va(vē)di(dī) śi(śrī)-Dharmmarājadēva iti<sup>1</sup> su-  
(sū)nur=adh[ī]ta-śāstraḥ [\*] yasy=āti-nirmma-
- 15 la-yaśa[h\*] parivarddhamāna[m\*] pādā Harēr=iva na māl(yi)tam=ā ttrilōkyā[h\*] ||\*<sup>2</sup>  
Nirāśrayai[h\*] prayatna(tnē)na guṇai[h\*]
- 16 sa parivāritaḥ [\*] vaimukhyād=īrahayā oh=aiva sarvva-dō\*shair=vvivarjja(rjji)taḥ ||\*<sup>3</sup>  
Rājyaṁ laddha(bdhv=ai)va darppād=avi-
- 17 gaṇita-ta[yō] Mādhava(vō) jē(jyē)shṭha-bhāvāḥ(vān) tēshād=asmād=apāttram\* kṛita-vishaya-  
(ma)-mati|(tir=)vigraphē Phā-
- 18 sikām(kā)yām(yām) yuddha-kaśōbhē[ṇa] bhagnaḥ(gnō) nṛpati-pa(va)ram=avaśauḥ<sup>4</sup> sa[m\*]-  
śrī(śrī)tas=Ti(s=Ti)var-ākhyam(khyam) [\*]<sup>5</sup> Śauya(ryam) śrī-
- 19 yō(r=rau)vanam rājyam=ēk-aikam [pa(ma)da]-ka(kā)rakam(kam) | sarvva[m\*] śrī-Māna-  
bhītasya [nirvvi]kāram=upasthitam|(tam ||)\* Turaga-khu-
- 20 r-ābhghāta-vidala[d\*]-dharani(nī)-talajam [ja\*]ya-gaja-[karna\*]-chāmara-vidhu(dhū)nana-  
visphuri[tam |\*] subhaṭa-[phara\*]-prarpparasa<sup>10</sup>-ni-
- 21 rudha(ddha)-ka[ku\*][d-ga]<sup>11</sup> Kōntalayi-vāsakāt śrī-Śailōdbhava-kula-tilakō mahāma-  
kha-vājapa(pē)y-āśva-
- 22 mēdh-āvabhri[tha]-snāna-nirvvar[ttita]<sup>12</sup>-prakh[y\*]āta-kīrti-krama-paramama(mā)hēśvarā(rō)  
mātā-pitri-pād-ānudhyāta[h\*] śva(śrī)-
- 23 Dha[rmmarājē(ja)dē]va[h\*] kuśālī a[smim(smin)] Kōṅgōda-maṇḍalē śrīsāmanta-maha-  
(hā)sāmanta-mahārāja-rājana-

*Third Plate, First Side*

- 24 [ka-rā]japutr-ā[m\*]taram(ra)ṅga-daṇḍanānāyaka<sup>13</sup>-daṇḍapāsi(śi)k-ōparika-[sta(ta)dvi]niyukta-  
[ka]-vyavahā-
- 25 rīpa[h\*] sa-karaṇām(nān) Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-purōg-ādi-janapadān=cha(dānś=cha) śchā(chā)ta-  
bhaṭa-vallabha-jāti(tī)yām(yān)
- 26 yathārha[m\*] pū[ja]yaty=ājñāpayati cha viditam=astu bhavatā[m\*] [|\*] [Ki]rā[ta]<sup>14</sup>-  
talaka-vishaya-sa-

<sup>1</sup> Tā was originally engraved. Read °rāja iti for the sake of the metre.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, p. 42, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> Metre : Vasantatilaka.

<sup>4</sup> Dī was originally engraved.

<sup>5</sup> Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

<sup>6</sup> Read dēśād=asmād=apāstam as in other records. The expression jyēshṭha-bhāvān avigraṇita-layaḥ means to say, that, in the matter of protecting Dharmarāja, Mādhava did not consider that he was the former's elder brother.

<sup>7</sup> Read °asau.

<sup>8</sup> The last foot of the stanza (paśchāt=tēn=āpi sārddham punar=api vijitō Vindhya-pādēshu śtrīṇaḥ) has been left out. Metre : Śragdhara.

<sup>9</sup> Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

<sup>10</sup> Read prarpparasa.

<sup>11</sup> The rest of the stanza (°ganam bala-raja ēva yasya jayati dvishatām dhvajinīm) has been left out.

<sup>12</sup> The Banpur plates have here nirvartita-sūnō=tanayō, with a few other passages standing between this and parama-māhēśvarō. It has to be noticed that the language of the Banpur plates would suggest that not Dharmarāja but his grandfather was the performer of the Āśvamēdha and this is supported by the records of the latter (cf. above, Vol. XXIX, p. 39).

<sup>13</sup> Read °nāyaka.

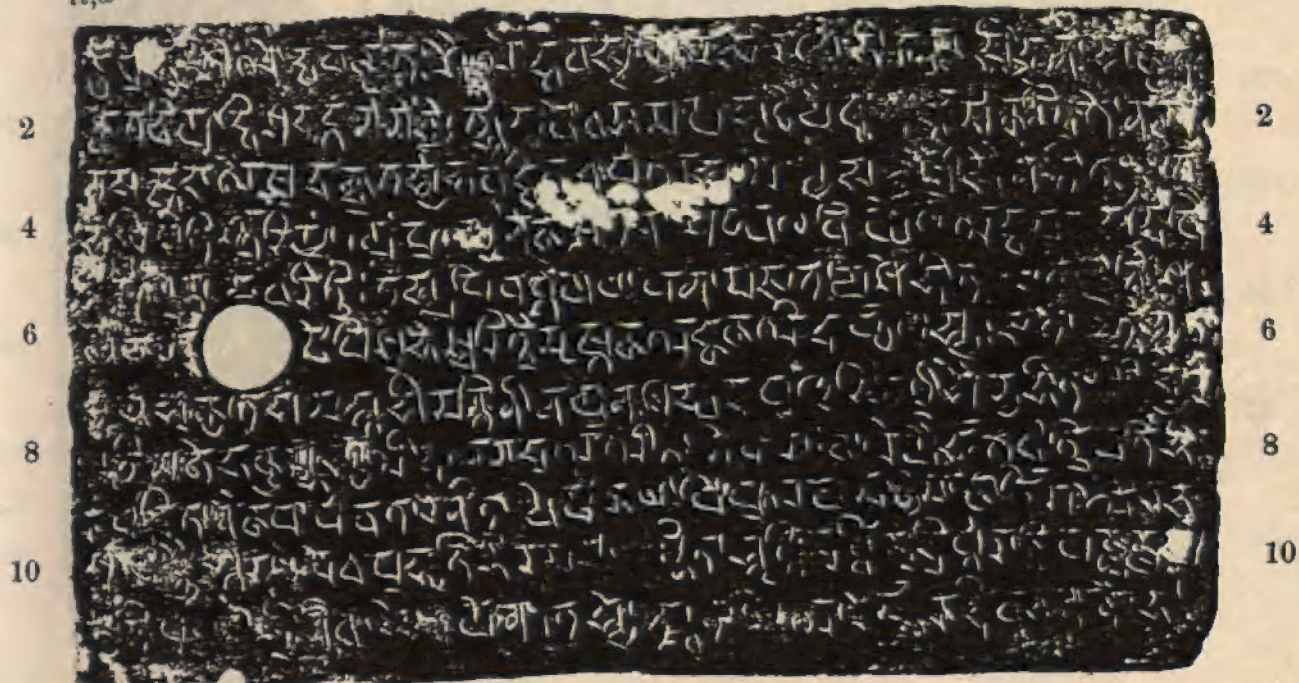
<sup>14</sup> The letters in square brackets are not properly formed.



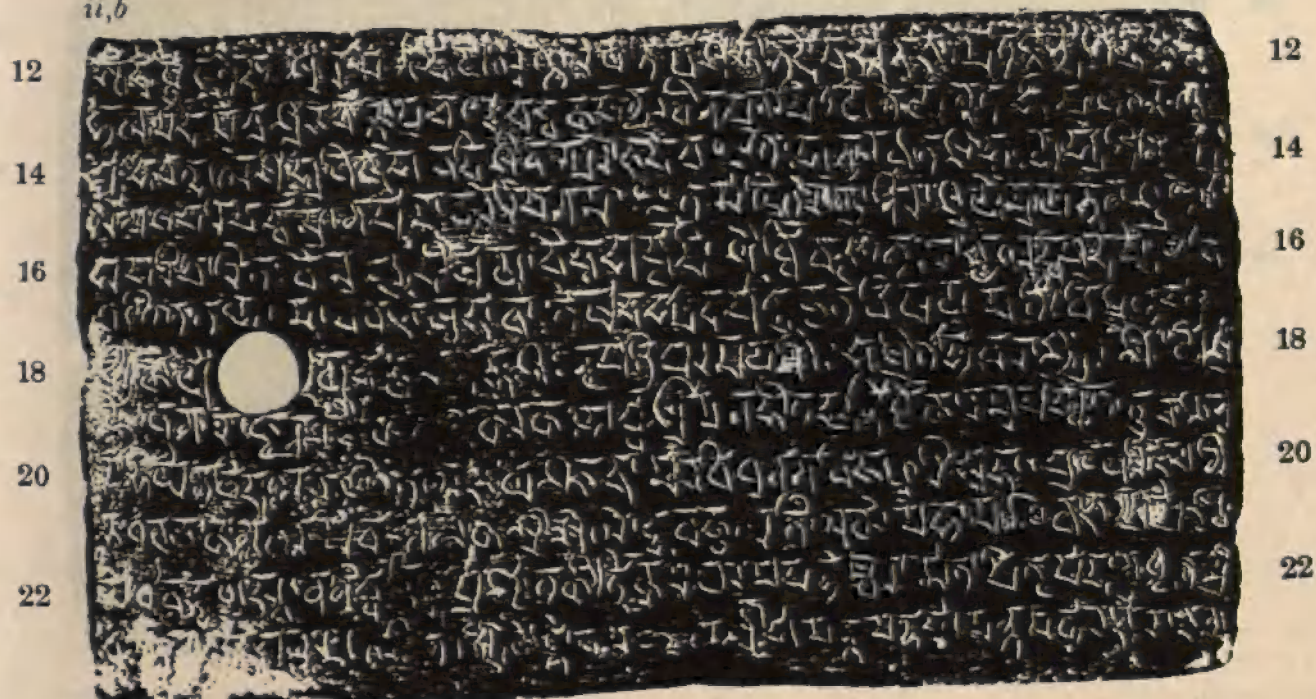
# TWO GRANTS OF SAILODBHAVAS—PLATE II

B.—CHANDESWAR PLATES OF MANABHITA DHARMARAJA, REGNAL YEAR 18

ii, a



ii, b





iii,a

24

24

26

26

28

28

30

30

32

32

34

34

iii,b

36

36

38

38

40

40



- 27 mva(mba)ddha-Śivā[*dhī*]vāsa-grāmō-yam chatu[*h\**]-sīm-ō[*pa*]lakshita[*h\**] Kauṇḍīya(nya)-  
sagōttrāya
- 28 Vā[*ja*]śanēya-charaṇāya Bhaṭa[*tṭa*]-Śubhadēvasya(vāya) mātā-pitrōr=ātmanasya(ś=cha)  
puṇy-ābhivṛi-
- 29 ddhayē salila-[*dhā*]rā-pura[*h\**]sarēṇa chandr-ārka-kshiti-sama-kālam=akari(*ri*)kṛitya grah-  
ōparāgē
- 30 pratipāditō=smābhiḥ [*h\**] mu(u)pabhuñjānō<sup>1</sup> dharmma-gau[*ra\**]vāya kāl-āntarēn=ā(ṇ=ā)-  
pi na
- 31 kaśchi<sup>2</sup> paripanthinā bhavitavyam=iti | [u]ktañ=cha dharmma-śāstrē [*h\**] Va(Ba)hubhir=  
vvasundhā datā(ttā) rājabhi[*h\**]
- 32 Sagar-ādibhiḥ [*h\**] yasya yasya yada(dā) bh[*ū*]mi[s\*]=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) [|*h\**]  
Mā bhu(bhū)d-a-phala-śānkā va[*h\**]
- 33 para-datē(tt=ē)ti pāṛthiva(vāḥ |) sva-dānā[t\*] phalam=ānantyam [pa]ra-datā(tt=ā)nupālana-  
(nē ||) Sva-datā(ttām) para-datām=vā(ttām vā) yō harē-
- 34 ti(ta) vasundharā[m |\*] su(sva)-viśṭhā<sup>3</sup>ya(yām) krimir=bhūtri(r=bhūtvā) pittri(tṛi)bhi[*h\**]  
saha pachyatē [|*h\**] Iti kamala-dal-ā-
- 35 mva(mbu)-vinda(ndu)-lōlām śrī(śrī)yam=anuchintya man[u]shya-jīvitam(ta)ñ=cha [*h\**] saka-  
lam=idam=udāhṛitāñ=cha vuddhā(buddhvā)

*Third Plate, Second Side*

- 36 na hi puruṣai[*h\**] para-kirttayō vi(vi)lōpyāḥ [|*h\**]<sup>4</sup> Vi[*dyu*]d-vilāsa-taralām=avaga-
- 37 m[*ya*] sa[*myag\**] lōka-sthitiḥ(tiṁ) [ya]śasī(si) śa(sa)kta-manōbhir=u<sup>5</sup>chai(chobaiḥ |) [n]ityam  
par-ō[*pakṛiti\**]-mātra-ratai[r=bhavadbhir\*]=dharm-[ā]-
- 38 bhirādhana-parair=anumōditavyamḥ(vyam ||)<sup>6</sup> dūtta(ta)kō=ttra [sa]chi[*va*]-Dharmmachandra-  
[*h\**] likhitaṁ [sā]-
- 39 ndhivigrahikaṁ(ka)-bhōgi(gi)-Sāmanta(ntēna |)<sup>7</sup> lāñchitaṁ pētāpāla-Jē(Jyē)shṭhasinhē-  
(sinhē)na [*h\**] u-
- 40 tki(tki)ṛṇṇam [Tha]viravṛiddhē<sup>8</sup>=eti | Chai[ttra]<sup>10</sup>-vadi [amvāmvāsyī svasvandhā]<sup>11</sup>  
10 0 8 ]<sup>12</sup>
- 41 | 10 0 8 ]<sup>13</sup> |

<sup>1</sup> Read *bhuñjātō*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *kēnachi*.

<sup>3</sup> The metre of this and the following two stanzas is *Anuṣṭubh*.

<sup>4</sup> These two *aksharas* are incised on other letters previously engraved.

<sup>5</sup> Metre : *Pushpīṭagrā*.

<sup>6</sup> There is an unnecessary medial *ī* mark above *ru*.

<sup>7</sup> Metre : *Vasantatilaka*. The *visarga* at the end of the stanza may have been intended for a full-stop.

<sup>8</sup> This person is mentioned in the Banpur plates of Dharmarāja (above, Vol. XXIX, p. 43, text, line 53).

<sup>9</sup> The name is given in the Puri plates (line 61) and Kondedda grant (line 61) of Dharmarāja as Sthaviravṛiddha (JBORS, Vol. XVI, p. 182; above, Vol. XIX, p. 270). The same name also occurs in lines 58-59 of the Parikud plates (above, Vol. XI, p. 287). The editor of that inscription, however, could not read it properly.

<sup>10</sup> The letter *ttra* seems to be engraved on another *akshara* incised originally.

<sup>11</sup> These letters are re-engraved on some others previously incised. Read *amāvāsyā* (or *vāśī*) *Samvat*.

<sup>12</sup> These indistinct marks may have been erased by the engraver who incised the same signs in the following line.

<sup>13</sup> The intended reading is apparently 10 8, i.e. 18.



## No. 45—TERASINGHA PLATES OF TUSHTIKARA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

The village of **Terāsiṅghā** (sometimes also called Tersinga) lies on the southern bank of the river Tel in the Madanpur-Rampur Zamindary of the old Kalahandi State, the present Kalahandi District of Orissa. The set of copper plates, which forms the subject of the present article, was discovered near the bank of the Tel by some cowherd boys of Terāsiṅghā in the latter half of the year 1947. The plates are now in the possession of the Maharaja of Kalahandi.

Mr. Satyanārāyaṇa Rājaguru secured the plates for examination in October 1947 and published his reading and interpretation of the inscription in the *Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society*, Vol. II, Nos. 2-3, 1947, pp. 107 ff. and Plates. Unfortunately Mr. Rājaguru's treatment of the epigraph is not quite satisfactory. In April 1948, the office of the Government Epigraphist for India received a set of impressions of the plates from Mr. K. N. Mahāpātra of Kalahandi and, in the month of December of the same year, secured the original plates for examination through the Superintendent, Department of Archaeology, Eastern Circle, Calcutta. Besides the excellent impressions of the plates then prepared and now preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, I had, in 1952, an opportunity of examining also the original record through the kindness of the Maharaja of Kalahandi.

This is a set of **three** small and thin plates each measuring 5.9 inches by 1.6 inches. The plates are strung together on a rather thin ring to which, however, the seal is not soldered in the usual fashion. The purpose of the seal has been served by flattening a portion of the ring into a small rectangle which bears the legend *śrī-Tushtikāraḥ*. The three plates together weigh 12½ *tolas* while the weight of the ring is only 1½ *tolas*.

The characters belong to the Kalinga variety of the Southern Alphabet and the epigraph may be assigned, on palaeographic grounds, to the first half of the **sixth century A.D.** The alphabet resembles closely that of the early charters of the Gaṅga kings of Kalinganagara and Dantapura such, e.g. as the Jirjingi plates<sup>1</sup> of king Indravarman I, dated in the Gaṅga year 39 falling in 535-37 A. D. An interesting feature of the record is that the main document (fifteen lines) is engraved on the inner side of the first plate, both sides of the second plate and the inner side of the third plate, while there are some slightly later additions on the outer sides of the first and third plates as well as at the end of the original charter on the inner side of the last plate. The characters of the additional writing on the third plate closely resemble those of the original document; but the lines on the outer side of the first plate, which represent a complete endorsement in four lines, are written in box-headed characters which exhibit utter carelessness on the part of the scribe and engraver. The language of the original document as well as of the additional matter is Sanskrit; but while the number of mistakes in the former is not many, the latter is full of errors. In point of orthography, the original charter resembles other records of the Eastern Deccan belonging to the sixth and seventh centuries. The inscription bears **no date**.

The main charter was issued from **Tarabhramaraka** by **Mahārāja Tushtikāra**, who was a devotee of Stambhēśvari. It records the king's order addressed to the agriculturist householders of Prastara-vāṭaka relating to the grant of the said *vāṭaka* (literally, 'an enclosure', 'a garden' or 'a plantation', but in the present case possibly 'a small hamlet') as a permanent *agrahāra* in favour of a Brāhmaṇa of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, named Ārya-Drōṇasārman. The inhabitants of

<sup>1</sup> *JAHRS*, Vol. III, p. 51 and Plates; Vol. VII, 229. The characters of the record under study appear to be earlier than those of the Uralm plates of Hastivarman, dated Gaṅga year 80 (576-78 A.D.). See above, Vol. XVII, pp. 330 ff. and Plates.



**Prastara-vātaka** were ordered to attend on the donee according to the established custom. The record next quotes seven of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. The above is followed by the statement that the charter was written by Sadgāmaka with the cognisance of *Rāhasika* Subandhu. The official designation *rāhasika* is no doubt the same as *rahasyādhiprīta* of the Hira-hadagalli plates<sup>1</sup> of Pallava Śivaskandavarman. Subandhu was apparently the privy-councillor of *Mahārāja* Tushtikāra.

At the end of the above charter, two expressions were later added. The intended reading of these appears to be *sūnya-kshētram prastara-kshētra-pramukham*. It purports to include a piece of land, which was fallow and mainly rocky, in the *agrahāra* of Prastara-vātaka granted by *Mahārāja* Tushtikāra in favour of the Brāhmaṇa, Ārya-Drōṇasārman. But whether it was a genuine endorsement made by the royal authority sometime after the original grant had been made is difficult to determine. The errors that are noticed in the expressions may suggest that this addition was made, not long after the date of the grant, by the donee or his successors.

A more important endorsement is found engraved on the outer side of the first plate. It is interesting to note that the incision of the same was at first begun on the outer side of the third plate but was given up after engraving only one line, the letters of the line being erased. It may be supposed that the intention was to incise the endorsement on the outer side of the first plate in an earlier script so that the original document might be regarded as its continuation engraved at a later date. The facts that it was engraved at the beginning of the main document in the box-headed script, perhaps to give it an earlier look, and that it exhibits numerous errors in both drafting and engraving may suggest that the endorsement is a forgery. Since, however, the box-headed alphabet was used in the inscriptions of the Pāṇḍu-vamśis of South Kosala (i.e. the Sambalpur-Bilaspur-Raipur region) in the sixth and seventh centuries, it seems better to suggest that the person responsible for the forgery had some reason to associate that alphabet with the donor of the grant recorded in the endorsement. It is thus possible to think that the endorsement was intended to be written in the box-headed script just to give it a special look but not an earlier one.

The endorsement purports to state that it was issued from **Parvatadvāraka** by the mother of a king who was devoted to the goddess Stambhēśvarī and to record the grant of a piece of land which was under the possession of certain persons as a permanent holding in favour of a Brāhmaṇa of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, named Drōṇasvāmin. There is little doubt that this Drōṇasvāmin is no other than Drōṇasārman, donee of Tushtikāra's charter discussed above. The fact that the original grant was issued from Tarabhramaraka but was endorsed at Parvatadvāraka may be taken to suggest that the grant recorded in the latter was sought to be attributed to the ruler of a territory adjacent to Tushtikāra's kingdom. But the reference to the goddess Stambhēśvarī both in the original grant as well as the endorsement may suggest that the latter was purported to be issued in favour of the donee of Tushtikāra's grant by another member of that king's family whose tutelary deity was Stambhēśvarī. The representation of the queen-mother as the donor of the grant may indicate that the king was a minor and that his mother was running the administration as regent. It is tempting to suggest that the young king mentioned in the endorsement was the minor son of Tushtikāra himself. In that case we have to assume that Parvatadvāraka was a secondary capital of Tushtikāra's kingdom. The use of the box-headed alphabet in this part of the record may then be explained by the suggestion that it was popular in the dominions of the queen-mother's father. Unfortunately, owing to the careless engraving of the endorsement, the names of the king and the queen-mother cannot be satisfactorily made out. The name of the latter, given in the third case-ending, seems to read *Kasthubhasayya* which may

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. I, p. 7; *Select Inscriptions*, p. 441; cf. also the Rithapur grant (above, Vol. XIX, pp. 100 ff.) and, Kasaribeda plates (*ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 16-17).



be a mistake for *Kaustubhēśvaryā*. The queen-mother's name may thus have been Kaustubhēśvarī. But the king's name is more indifferently written and looks like *Sōbhāśinā*- or *Sōbhāśinā rāja* which, however, may not be its correct form.

The goddess Stambhēśvarī is known to have been the family deity of the Śūlikas who ruled over the Dhenkanal area of Orissa about the tenth century A.D.<sup>1</sup> If the Śūlikas have to be identified with the Śūlikas mentioned in the Haraha inscription,<sup>2</sup> they were probably ruling in Orissa as early as the sixth century A.D. But we do not know if any relation existed between the Śūlikas and Tushṭikāra's family. The aboriginal people of Orissa worship wooden pillars posted at the corner of their villages. This aboriginal deity was gradually adopted by the orthodox Hindus who gave her the name Stambhēśvarī (now usually called Khambhēśvarī). There are a few temples of this goddess in different parts of Orissa.<sup>3</sup>

Tushṭikāra and Sōbhāśinā or Sōbhāśinā are not known from any other source. Their territory apparently comprised the district round the cities of Tarabhramaraka and Parvvatadvāraka in the present Kalahandi region of Orissa. The fact that the gift land has been mentioned in the document without any specification regarding its location in a district may suggest that Tushṭikāra ruled over a small area.

It is difficult to determine what relations the royal family represented by Tushṭikāra and Sōbhāśinā or Sōbhāśinā had with the Pāṇḍuvamśī king of South Kosala. We cannot possibly think that Tushṭikāra's family owed allegiance to the Pāṇḍuvamśīs but began to rule semi-independently on the latter's decline. There is no influence of Pāṇḍuvamśī charters on the style of Tushṭikāra's grant. Moreover the decline of the Pāṇḍuvamśīs appears to have been brought about by the expedition against South Kosala led by the early Chālukya king Pulakēśin II (circa 610-42 A.D.) of Badami, some time before 634 A.D., probably during the reign of Śivagupta (or Mahāśivagupta) Bālārjuna who ruled at least for about 57 years and was the last important ruler of the Pāṇḍuvamśīs. The palaeography of the inscription under discussion, as already indicated above, seems to be much earlier than the middle of the seventh century.

The inscription mentions the following geographical names : (1) Tarabhramaraka, (2) Prastara-vāṭaka, and (3) Parvvatadvāraka. Of these Tarabhramaraka seems to be no other than the present village of Tala-Bhamara, about two miles to the south of Belkhandi-Rajapadar, on the bank of the Utei, a tributary of the Tel.<sup>4</sup> Parvvatadvāraka, which seems to have been situated on a pass between two hills, cannot be identified. The identification of the locality called Prastara-vāṭaka is also uncertain.

#### TEXT<sup>5</sup>

##### *First Plate, First Side*

1 Svi(sva)sti [\*]<sup>6</sup> Parvvatadvārakād-bha[ga]<sup>7</sup>vatyā Stasbhēnirryā<sup>8</sup> pāda-bha[kta]-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 111-12.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 115 ff.; Bhandarkar's List, No. 10.

<sup>3</sup> There is a Stambhēśvarī temple at Aska in the Ganjam District (*JKHRS*, Vol. II, p. 110). In the centre of the town of Sonpur, there is a pillar known as Stambhēśvarī and a temple is also attributed to her (Mazumdar, *Orissa in the Making*, p. 107). Mazumdar gives an interesting account of the worship of this deity in modern Orissa. For the goddess Stambhēśvarī, see also *JPASB*, Vol. VII, pp. 443 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *JKHRS*, Vol. II, p. 109.

<sup>5</sup> From the original plates.

<sup>6</sup> The *akshara* *pa* had been originally engraved near *vata* but was later erased and incised near *eti*.

<sup>7</sup> The letter *ga* has a curious form.

<sup>8</sup> Read *Stambhēśvaryā*. Note that, in this endorsement, *t* has sometimes a looped form differing little from that of *n*.



TERASINGHA PLATES OF TUSHTIKARA

i, a

2 4 2 4

i, b

2 4 2 4

ii, a

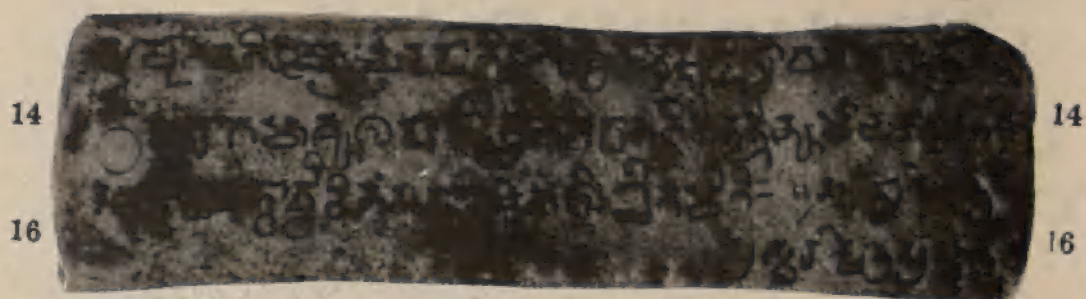
6 8 6 8

ii, b

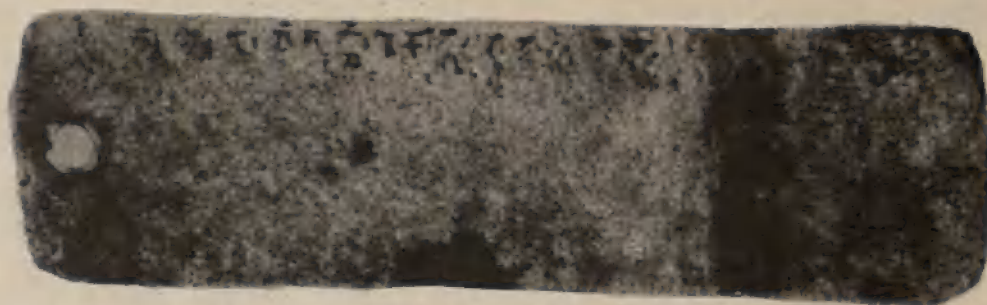
10 12 10 12



iii,a



iii,b



Seal



( From Photographs )



- 2 śrī-Sōbhōṇārāja<sup>1</sup>-[ja]nanyā Kāsthubhasayya<sup>2</sup> Dāya-Jvar-Ōla[k-ā]-  
 3 di-bhōgaka-kshētra[m\*]<sup>3</sup> Kāśyapa-syagūtra<sup>4</sup>-Bra (Brā)hmaṇa-Dōṇasvā[m]i-  
 4 nasya<sup>5</sup> ā-chandr-ārka-kālāya dattayi(m=i)ti ||<sup>6</sup>

## First Plate, Second Side

- 1 Svasti [|\*] Tarabhramarakāt Stambhēśvari-pāda-bhaktāḥ mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānuddhyātāḥ  
 śrī-[ma]-  
 2 hārāja-Tushtikārah Prastaravātaka-vāsinaḥ sarvva-samavētān=kuṭumbinaḥ sa[mā]-  
 3 jñāpayati asty=ēsha vātako=smābhiḥ puṇy-āyur-bbala-yaśō-vivṛidhayaē<sup>7</sup>  
 4 [ā]-chandra-tāra-ārka-pratishṭham=aggra<sup>8</sup>hāraṁ kṛitvā Kāśyapa-sag[ō]ttra(ttrā)ya  
 Āryya-Drōṇa-

## Second Plate, First Side

- 5 śa[r\*]mmaṇē sampradattaḥ [|\*] tad=ēvaṁ jñātvā bhavadbhiḥ pū[r]vv-ōchita-maryyād-ōpa-  
 s[th]ānaṁ ka[r\*]ttavya[m] [|\*]  
 6 api ch=ātra Vyāsa-gītāḥ ślōkā bhavanti [|\*] bhaviṣyataś=cha rājñō vijñāpayati<sup>10</sup> [|\*] yasya  
 7 yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tadā phalam<sup>11</sup> [|\*] Sva- dattām para-dattām vā yatna(tnā)d=ra-  
 8 ksha Yudhishṭhiraḥ(ra | ) mahi[m\*] mahimatām śrēṣṭha dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālana[m] [|\*]  
 Śbāṣṭim=vashsha-<sup>12</sup>

## Second Plate, Second Side

- 9 sahasrāṇi svarggē<sup>13</sup> vasati [bhūmidah\*] āchchhai(chchhē)ttā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva  
 narakē vasēt [|\*] Sva-da-  
 10 ttā[m\*] para-dattām=vā<sup>14</sup> yō harēta vasundharā[m] [|\*] sa viṣṭhāyā[m\*] kṛimir=bhūtvā  
 pitṛibhis=sa-  
 11 ha pachyatē<sup>15</sup> [|\*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabbis = Sagara(r-ā)dibhi<sup>16</sup>(bhiḥ | ) yasya yasya  
 yadā bhūmi-

<sup>1</sup> The reading of the name may also be *Sōbhānā*.

<sup>2</sup> The intended reading seems to be *Kaustubhēśvarya*.

<sup>3</sup> The expression *bhōgaka-kshētra* seems to mean the same thing as *bhōga-kshētra*. Possibly the piece of land in question was being enjoyed by the persons named Dāya, Jvara and Ulaka.

<sup>4</sup> Read *sagūtra*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *Drōṇasvāminē*.

<sup>6</sup> The head of the first of the two *daṇḍas* is curved towards the left. This type of double *daṇḍa* is also known from other records. The double *daṇḍa* is followed by the representation of a conch-shell.

<sup>7</sup> Read *vivṛiddhayaē*.

<sup>8</sup> The *akshara ggra* here looks more like *ttra*.

<sup>9</sup> This mark of interpunctuation is written by two small horizontal strokes which were probably inserted as an afterthought.

<sup>10</sup> This sentence should have properly been written before the previous sentence beginning with *api ch=ātra*.

<sup>11</sup> This is the second half of a verse which is fully quoted below. Note that *yasya* should have been written twice instead of thrice and *tasya* twice instead of once. Better omit this half stanza.

<sup>12</sup> Read *śbāṣṭim varsha*<sup>o</sup> or *śbāṣṭi-varsha*<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> Here as well as in some other instances *g* has a top *mātrā* and looks like *t*.

<sup>14</sup> Read *dattām vā*.

<sup>15</sup> There is a dot here probably to indicate a mark of interpunctuation.



- 12 s = tasya tasya tadā phalam(lam ||) Agniśtōmmasthibhi=yyajñaiḥ<sup>1</sup> bahubhir = v[v]ipula-dakṣaṇēḥ<sup>2</sup> [||\*]

*Third Plate, First Side*

- 13 yashtō(śtā) bhavati ra(rā)jēndraḥ ya(yō) dadāti vasundharām [||\*] Ādityā Vasā(sa)-vō Rudrāḥ  
 14 purōgamā<sup>3</sup> [||\*] Śūlapāṇiś=che bhagavān=abhinandanti bhūmidam [||\*] Rāhasi -  
 15 ka-Subandhōr=v[v]iditam Sadgāmakēna likhitam=iti ||<sup>4</sup>  
 \*sunya-ghētram<sup>5</sup>  
 16 \*prasthara-kshētra-pramūkam<sup>6</sup> [||\*]

*Third Plate, Second Side*

- 17 \*Siddham<sup>10</sup> [Svasti Parvatadvārakād = bhagavatyā Stambhēśvaryāḥ] .....

**No. 46—THREE VAIDUMBA INSCRIPTIONS FROM KALAKADA**

(2 Plates)

H. K. NARASIMHASWAMI, OOTACAMUND

The three inscriptions edited below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India were copied by me at Kalakada, a village in the Vayalpad Taluk of the Chittoor District during my collection tour in 1940-41.<sup>11</sup> The first, **A**, is on a large slab nearly six feet square and lying on a heap of debris close to the village school. A three feet square panel in the centre of the slab depicts, in high relief, a warrior wielding a massive sword in his right hand and holding, with his left, his opponent by the tuft. Two damsels with chowries are depicted on either side of the hero as if in the act of leading him heavenwards.<sup>12</sup> The first five lines of the inscription are engraved above the panel and the rest of it is continued on the right and left sides of it. The other two records, **B** and **C**, are engraved on the walls and tier stones of the basement of a small dilapidated temple in the same area. Inscription **C** refers to the deity in the temple as Pallīśvaramudaiya Mahādēva of Karṇadai.

<sup>1</sup> Read *Agniśtōm-ādibhir*. The akshara *gni* looks like *tni*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *bahubhir=bahu-dakṣiṇaiḥ*.

<sup>3</sup> This foot of the stanza is short by four syllables. Read *Hutāsana-purōgamāḥ*. The first half of the stanza, as usually found in inscriptions, runs : *Ādityō Varuṇō Viśṇur=Brahmā Sōmō Hutāsanaḥ*.

<sup>4</sup> This mark of interpunctuation is written by two horizontal strokes as in line 6 above.

<sup>5</sup> These aksharas are incised at the end of line 15.

<sup>6</sup> The intended reading seems to be *śūnya-kshētram*.

<sup>7</sup> These aksharas are engraved below the concluding portion of line 15.

<sup>8</sup> Read *prasthara-kshētra-pramūkam*.

<sup>9</sup> The beginning of the endorsement engraved on the outer side of the first plate is found here in one line. The engraver had begun to incise the endorsement here, but, after finishing about a line, erased the letters. Some of the aksharas can be faintly seen even after the erasure.

<sup>10</sup> The symbol for *siddham* is very faintly visible.

<sup>11</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, Nos. 443-445 of 1940-41.

<sup>12</sup> A mutilated image of Mahishāsura-mardini in the act of killing the demon Mahisha, who is depicted in human form with a buffalo's head, is lying in the temple. The sculpture is an excellent specimen of iconographic art of the 10th century from this area. Another slab, which is also of the same size as that of the warrior described above, contains an interesting representation in high relief of a man in the act of offering his decapitated head. The slab, however, bears no writing.







A



Scale: One-Tenth



## A

This inscription<sup>1</sup> is engraved in the Telugu-Kannaḍa script. Its language is Kannaḍa except for a verse in Sanskrit towards the end of the record. In regard to palaeography, it is worth noting that the forms of *j* and *b* are of the archaic type. The initial vowels *i* and *o* occur in the names *Indireya* and *Ūgina* (line 4). In respect of orthography, the class nasal is sometimes used for the *anusvāra* as in *ālīngita*, *rājyaṇ=geye*, *pasiṇḍi*, *Tumbevāḍi*, etc. (lines 2, 3, 5 and 6); but sometimes it has been avoided, cf. *saṅghaṭṭana*, *sur-āṅganā*, etc. (lines 1 and 15).

The record commences with the expression, *svasty-anēka-samara-saṅghaṭṭan-ōpalabdha*, etc., which is the characteristic preamble of all Vaidumba inscriptions. It refers itself to the reign of **Gaṇḍa-tripētra Vaidumba-mahārāja** and states that Indireya, the younger brother (*tammu*) of Rāmeya of Ūgu<sup>2</sup> and a servant (*aḥu*) of Palladayya, the dear younger brother (*priy-ānuja*) of the King, died on hearing of the death of Ajaḷa in a cattle raid at Tumbevāḍi.<sup>3</sup> Like the other records of Gaṇḍa-tripētra,<sup>4</sup> this too is not dated. Its characters may be compared with those of the Dharmapuri inscription (A) of Nolamba Mahendra which is dated in Śaka 815.<sup>5</sup> While the letters *j* and *b* retain their closed forms throughout in our record, whether individually or as subscripts, the Dharmapuri epigraph shows the open form of *b* when it occurs as a subscript. We may therefore assign this record to about the close of the ninth century. The provenance of the record suggests that the raid at Tumbevāḍi referred to in it might have been one among those many skirmishes which culminated in the battle of Sōremaḍi.<sup>6</sup> Tumbevāḍi, the place of the cattle raid, may be identified with the village of Tumbapālem in the Tumbapalem Zamindari in the Chittoor Taluk, situated about 30 miles due south of Kalakada, the findspot of our record.<sup>7</sup>

The use of the Telugu expressions *tammu* (line 4), for *tamma*, and *pasiṇḍi* (line 5) for gold, shows the influence of this language in the Kannaḍa inscription under study.

TEXT<sup>8</sup>

- 1 Svasty-anēka-samara-saṅghaṭṭan-ō(n=ō)pa[la]bdha-jayalakshmi-
- 2 saṁālīngita-vakshasthala Gaṇḍa-tripētra śrī-Veydu-
- 3 mba-maha(hā)rājam=prithivīrājyaṇ=geye ātana priy=ānuja Pa-
- 4 lla[da]yyan<sup>9</sup>-āḥu Ūgina Rāmeyana tammu Indireyar Maṛeya-
- 5 Koṇḍeya Doḍa-Mā[dhi]yya pasiṇḍi-dī-pegal=e[mba] emmegaḷa Tu-

<sup>1</sup> A. R. Ep., 1940-41, App. B, No. 445.

<sup>2</sup> There is a village of this name in the Palmaner Taluk of the Chittoor District. Vide *Alphabetical List of Villages in the Madras Presidency*, 1924, Palmaner Taluk, p. 123.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 280, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 183 ff. and Plates.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., Vol. X, Plate opp. p. 66.

<sup>6</sup> A. R. Ep., Nos. 295 and 296 of 1905, 533 of 1906, 308 and 310 of 1922, all from the Madanapalle Taluk, and No. 543 of 1906 from the Punganur Taluk, refer to Sōremaḍi, as the place of battle. Mr. R. S. Pancharukhi has shown on chronological considerations that this battle was fought sometime about 885 A.D. (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 189). Two other dates have been worked out for this very event, one about 825 A.D. by Mr. M. Venkatarāmaṃya (*Journal of the Madras University*, Vol. XII, pp. 193 ff.) and the other about 937-38 A.D. by Dr. A. R. Baji (*Journal of the Gauhati University*, Vol. II, pp. 95 ff.). Palaeographically the last date cannot be upheld.

<sup>7</sup> The Bāgūr stone inscription mentions a place called Tumbepāḍi and refers to a battle fought there between the forces led by Ayyapadēva and Bira-Mahendra. This locality has been identified with the village of Tumbapāḍi in the Maddagiri Taluk of the Tumkur District, bordering on Nolambavāḍi (above, Vol. VI, p. 48).

<sup>8</sup> From impressions.

<sup>9</sup> The name is probably Pallavayya which has been wrongly engraved as Palladayya.



6 [mbe]vāḍi ka-	18 yē kā chintyā(ntā)
7 ṇa koṇḍu pa-	19 ma[ra*]nē(ṇē) ṇaṇē(ṇē) [  *]
8 riye puyya-	20 emba ma(mā)ta
9 varidu Aja-	21 ne-
10 la sattan=e[mba]	22 neyuttu[m]
11 mātā pē[da]-	23 Surēndrā(ra)-
12 ḍe [  *] Jitēna la-	24 gaṇikā-
13 [bhyatē La]kshmi-	25 ghana-stha(sta)-
14 [r=mp]tēn=ā-	26 na-sthā-
15 pi surāṇḡa-	27 na-pprā-
16 [nā] [  *] kshaṇa-vi-	28 ptan=ādaṁ [  *]
17 dhvaṁsini ka(kā)-	

## TRANSLATION

Lines 1-3. The usual Vaidumba *praśasti*.

Lines 4-11. On hearing the news of the death of Ajāla who ran to encounter Mareya-Koṇḍeya and Doḍa-Mādhīyya who, having taken the field of (i.e. attacked) Tumbavāḍi, were running away with the buffaloes which were known as 'the golden lamps', Indireya, the servant of the king's dear younger brother Palladayya (or Pallavayya) and the younger brother of Rāmeya of Ōgu

Lines 12-28. (*fought and*) attained the blissful company of the celestial damsels (i.e. died) remembering the saying, 'By victory one secures the Goddess of Fortune; by death (*in war*), the celestial nymphs; the body is destructible in a moment; why then care for death in war?'

## B

This record<sup>1</sup> is in the Telugu language and the Telugu-Kannaḍa script of about the tenth century A.D. The inscribed matter, covering the outer faces of the wall on both the right and left sides of the entrance into the above-mentioned temple, is in three sections, two of twelve lines on the right side and the third of three lines on the left. In the course of engraving, the scribe appears to have committed a mistake; he forgot to inscribe a portion of the document and, discovering his error, engraved the matter in three lines at the top of the first section, indicating its place in the main record by a plus mark. The third section consists of three lines and is engraved on the left side of the entrance into the temple.

The characters of this record are later than those of A. The letters *j* and *b* are no longer of the archaic type, but are both of the later cursive form. The letter *ṇ* is sometimes doubled by writing

<sup>1</sup> Lines 6 to 21 and 22 to 28 are engraved on the right and left sides respectively of the panel containing the figure of the hero.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. P. B. Desai offers a different interpretation of the record. According to him, the object of the record is to commemorate the heroism of only one person, viz. Ajāla, a servant of Pallada(va)yya, who fought on the side of the Vaidumba chief and died. He takes the expression *ḍya* to qualify Ajāla (not Indireya), who is stated to have encountered (*puyya-varidu*) the three aggressors, to wit, Indireya, younger brother of Rāmeya of Ōgu, Mareya-Koṇḍeya and Doḍa-Mādhīyya. Otherwise, he says, it is difficult to explain why Indireya should die on hearing the death of Ajāla.

<sup>3</sup> *A.R. Ep.*, 1940-41, App. B. No. 444.



below it another subscript  $\eta$  exactly like the superscript (see *miṇṇaka*, line 14). However, in *paṇṇu* occurring several times in lines 3 and 4 and in *yaṇṇa* in line 7, subscript  $\eta$  is written in two ways: either as subscript  $\eta$  without the serif attached to it (as in *paṇṇu* in lines 3 and 4) or like the cursive form of the subscript  $\eta$  as written even at present by attaching it to the right limb of  $\eta$  (as in *yaṇṇa* in line 7). These different modes of representing apparently the same sound are noteworthy. In respect of other **palaeographical** features of individual letters, the record bears a close resemblance to the Bezvada pillar inscription of Yuddhamalla.<sup>1</sup>

As for **orthography**, the *anusvāra* is used in place of the class nasal in *samāliṅgita* (line 1), *maṇḡaḷa* (line 9), *Vaidumba* (line 1), etc., and the class nasal in place of the *anusvāra* in *Vēnāṇṇi* (line 3), *vāṇḍu* (lines 5-6), etc. The rules of *sandhi* are correctly observed.

Among individual words, *santosa* (line 3) is obviously used for *santōsha*; cf. *santasa* which is commonly found in Telugu and Kannaḍa. As for the words *aḷisina* from *aḷachu* (cf. Kannaḍa *aḷisu*, Tamil *aḷi*), *vaḍasina* from *vaḍayu* or *paḍayu* (cf. Kannaḍa *paḍe*, Tamil *aḍai*), *kadapina* from *kadumu* (cf. Kannaḍa *kadubu*), *chirudeṛa* (cf. Kannaḍa *kirudeṛe*, Tamil *chirriṛai*), *paḍevāḷa* (cf. Kannaḍa *paḍevāḷa*, Tamil *paḍaiyāḷ*), etc., the affinity of their roots or bases to those of the corresponding words in Kannaḍa or Tamil is readily discernible. The word *ḷechchu* (line 6), spelt with the initial letter doubled, occurs in archaic inscriptions both in this form and as *ḷachchu*.<sup>2</sup> In the word *kabbada* used as an epithet of Kēsiyanna, the composer of the record, perhaps on account of his literary attainments,<sup>3</sup> *kabba* is the *tadbhava* of *kāvya* and is common both to Telugu and Kannaḍa. The terms *Raṭṭoḍi* and *Raṭṭaguḷi* (lines 11-12), which are variants indicating the same office, are met with in the inscriptions of this period.<sup>4</sup> The suffix *aṇṇa* in *Chandiyaṇṇa* (line 7) and the word *ḍvajanu* in *Dantiy-ḍvajanu* (line 9) show the influence of Kannaḍa. Attention may also be drawn to the forms *okkoḍu* (line 13) for *okkaḍu* or *okkaṇḍu*, *aruwādi* and *gonuvāru* (line 15) for *aruvādi* and *gonuvāru* respectively. The record furnishes us with an early reference to the coin called *gadya*, a still earlier mention of it being that in the Chēvūru plates of Chālukya Amma I (922-934 A.D.).<sup>5</sup> It occurs frequently as *gadyāṇa* in Kannaḍa inscriptions of this period.<sup>6</sup>

The record states that on the happy occasion of his coronation, **Bhuvana-tripētra Irugeya-mahārāja** granted to the farmers (*kāmpus*) of Vēnāḍu (whose names are specified), all the minor taxes (*chiru-ḍeṛalu*) inclusive of the *tivul-ḍesa*, barring the *Dogarāchappaṇṇu*, *Paḍiyēripaṇṇu*, *Paḍevāḷapaṇṇu* and *Sandhivigrahipaṇṇu*.

Of the records of Bhuvana-tripētra, three furnish dates. The earliest which is a copper-plate grant, the only one of this king or, for that matter, of this dynasty, so far known, is dated in Śaka 893,<sup>7</sup> while two stone inscriptions, one from Upparapalle<sup>8</sup> and the other from Animala,<sup>9</sup> both in the Cuddapah District, are dated in Śaka 894 and 898 respectively. While the Upparapalle record mentions the king as Bhuvana-tripētra and the Animala epigraph gives his personal name as Irigāya after the usual *praśasti*, the record under review establishes the identity of these two by

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XV, Plate opp. p. 158.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 230, D. text lines 5-6; p. 238, H. text line 21, etc.; *ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 150, *III*, Vol. X, Nos. 600, 606, 619, etc.

<sup>3</sup> An inscription of Śaka 853 of the time of Vira-nolamba mentions another person named Nāgamayya bearing the same epithet (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Chintāmaṇi No. 43).

<sup>4</sup> Above Vol. XI, pp. 342-343.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 42 and f.n. 3.

<sup>6</sup> *III*, Vol. XI, part i, No. 42, line 24, No. 45, line 47, etc.

<sup>7</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, C. P. No. 7 of 1935-36; above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 67 ff. Mr. P. B. Desai has shown that this date is irregular as the details given for it do not work out correctly.

<sup>8</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, No. 325 of 1905.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 196 of 1938.



giving the full name of the king as Bhuvana-trinētra Irugeya (a variant of Irigāya of the Animala record)-mahārāja. Though not dated, the epigraph under review states that the grant recorded in it marked the occasion of the coronation of Bhuvana-trinētra Irugeya-mahārāja. As the Upparapalle record quotes Śaka 894 as the date on which Bhuvana-trinētra, i.e. Irugeya, was crowned (*sakavarshammu 894-gu nēṇḍu prithivirājya-paṭṭabaddhūṇḍ-ayen*), the record under review, which registers a gift made by the king on the same occasion, may also be reasonably assigned to the same year, viz. Śaka 894 or 972 A.D. The Animala inscription dated four years later, i.e. in 976 A.D., states that Irigāya (i.e. Irugeya) made a gift of land on the eleventh day's obsequies of his father (*ayya*) Bejayita-mahārāja. No inscriptions of Bejayita-mahārāja mentioning him by name are known so far. The copper-plate grant of Bhuvana-trinētra, i.e. Irugeya-mahārāja, mentioned above, refers to Bhīmarāja and Bāchavva as the persons for whose merit the gift was made. It is doubtful if these persons could be the parents of Irugeya-mahārāja in view of the evidence of the Animala inscription furnishing the name of Irugeya's father as Bejayita-mahārāja. It may also be observed that Bhīmarāja is not called a *Mahārāja*. He was in all probability a close relative of the king. If the event recorded in the Animala epigraph, namely, the ceremony of the eleventh day's obsequies of Bejayita-mahārāja, was a contemporary one, Irugeya's father must have lived till 976 A.D. In that case, Irugeya appears to have succeeded to the throne even during the life time of his father who probably abdicated in favour of his son as early as Śaka 894 (972 A.D.) on the latter's coronation or even slightly earlier according to the copper-plate grant.

Bhīmarāja, it has been pointed out, could not have been the father of Irugeya-mahārāja. But undoubtedly he was a close relation of the king and a person of high rank inasmuch as the monarch made the grant for his merit. In this connection we may consider three epigraphs from Uḍaiyārguḍi<sup>1</sup> in the Chidambaram Taluk of the South Arcot District, which mention the Chōḷa queen, Uḍaiyapirāṭṭiyār-Vīman-Kundavvaiyār. One of them<sup>2</sup> refers to her as the mother (*āchchiyār*) of prince Ariṇṇiya-Pirāntakadēva, i.e. Parāntaka, son of Ariṇṇiya. There is no clue in these epigraphs regarding the lineage of the Chōḷa queen. It has been surmised that she was an Eastern Chālukya princess, probably a daughter of Chālukya Bhīma II (934-945 A.D.) or the daughter of Ādittan Vīman, the chief of Aṇḍurai.<sup>3</sup> But the Anbil plates of Sundara-chōḷa refer to the prince's mother, i.e. the queen of Ariṇṇiya, as born of the Vaidumba family.<sup>4</sup> It may therefore be surmised that Vīman-Kundavvaiyār of the lithic records was the daughter of Vaidumba Bhīmarāja, the queen of Ariṇṇiya (956-957 A.D.) and the mother of Sundara-chōḷa Parāntaka II (956-973 A.D.). It was evidently after this Kundavai that her granddaughter, i.e. the daughter of her son Sundara-chōḷa and sister of the great Rājarāja I, was named.

Most of the recipients of the grant referred to as the *Kāmpus* of Vēnāḍu associate their proper names with place-names such as Vēmballi, Rākunḍa, Mēlikurti, Pichchali, Vuddini, etc. Some of the localities may be identified with villages of the same or similar names in the neighbourhood of Kalakaḍa such as Mēdikurti, Rātiguṇṭapalle (Rākunḍa), etc., lying in the Vayalpad Taluk, and Pichchalivāṇḍlapalle (Pichchali) and Vēmpalle (Vēmballi) in the Madanapalle Taluk. Vēnāḍu, the native land of the *Kāmpus* (tenants or farmers), must be looked for somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Vayalpad and Madanapalle Taluks only. However, there is no evidence to show that any area round about these Taluks bore the name of Vēnāḍu. If *vē* is understood in

<sup>1</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, Nos. 572, 587, and 589 of 1920.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 572.

<sup>3</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1921, p. 95, para. 26; *ibid.*, 1928, p. 51, para. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Vaidumbasaya kulāḍbhavān*.....*kalyāṇam*=*uduvāṇa*, etc. (above, Vol. XV, p. 68). Prof. Nilakanta Sastri assumes the expression *kalyāṇ* in this passage as the proper name of the princess, but, as has been construed in the translation, it may be only an epithet of the queen.



the sense of *vēyi* meaning 'a thousand' as in *vē-guḷḷu*, *vē-seruvulu*,<sup>1</sup> etc., it may be construed that *Vēnāḍu*<sup>2</sup> or *Vēyi-nāḍu* was a 1000-division.

The taxes, *Dogarārāchappaṇṇu*, *Paḍevāḷappaṇṇu*, *Paḍiyēripaṇṇu* and *Sandhivigrahipaṇṇu* are said to have been excluded from the king's award or *sthiti*, which, as the record specifies, comprised of all the minor taxes (*chiṇu-deralu*) inclusive of the *tivulḍesa*. By their very context, the four taxes which were excluded from the award came under the major taxes. In *Dogarārāchappaṇṇu*, the term *doga* apparently stands for *yuva*. The tax might be understood as one paid for the maintenance of the office of the *Yuvarāja*. *Paḍevāḷappaṇṇu* seems obviously to be a levy for maintaining the *Paḍevaḷa*, i.e. the commander of the army; *Paḍiyēri* (probably meaning *Paḍiyari*, i.e. *pratihāri*), and *Sandhivigrahi*, after whom the next two taxes are named, were important officers and the taxes raised in their name were perhaps meant for maintaining their offices. All minor taxes, which were exempted from payment according to the terms of the award, were, it is stated, headed by the *tivulḍesa* (lines 4-5). The meaning of this expression is, however, obscure.<sup>3</sup>

The third section of the record comprising lines 13-15 is highly interesting. Perhaps this too, like the second section (lines 10-12), was at first omitted by oversight from the main record and was added later on. This seems to account for its being engraved separately on another part of the wall, away from its place in the main record. The passage may be literally rendered thus :—

'If a man kills (*both*) the woman and the man caught red-handed in the act of adultery, there is no punishment (*for him*). If, instead of killing (*them*), he distresses<sup>4</sup> (*only*) the woman, either by cutting off her nose or by a milder punishment (*minṇaka*), they (i.e. the donees) are to collect a fine of 64 *gadyas* from the man.' We have perhaps to understand here that the person who commits the murder is the husband of the woman and that he does so under grave provocation. The right of levying this fine seems to have formed part of the award (*sthiti*) conferred on the *kāmpus* of *Vēnāḍu*, for the word *gonuvāru* at the end of the passage apparently refers not to the government but to the donees who obtained the *sthiti* from the king, namely, the *kāmpus* of *Vēnāḍu*. The cutting off of the nose of an adulteress and death to an adulterer are the punishments prescribed in an inscription from Kōgaḷi in the Bellary District, dated in Śaka 914 (992 A.D.) in the reign of Chālukya Āhavamalla.<sup>5</sup> It is noteworthy that this punishment for adultery imposed on persons of either sex conforms to that prescribed for the offence in the *Arthasāstra*.<sup>6</sup>

#### TEXT

- 1 Svasty-anēka-samara-saṃghaṭṭan-ōpalabdhā-vijayalakshmi-samālimṅita-viśāḷa-
- 2 vakshasthala Bhuvana-tripētra śrīmad-Irugeya-mahārāju dana paṭṭambu gaṭṭi[na]
- 3 santosaṃbuna Vēnāṇṭi kāmpulakū daya-sēsina sthiti [[\*] Dogarācha-paṇṇunu Paḍevāḷa-
- 4 paṇṇunu Paḍiyēri-paṇṇunu Sandhivigrahi-paṇṇunu veligānun-dakkambaḍina tivu-

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XI, p. 346, text lines 21-22.

<sup>2</sup> The Madanapalle Taluk abutting on Vayalpad on the west formed part of *Rēnāḍu*-7000 at the period of the record under review (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 184, Inscription C; *SII*, Vol. X, No. 639). It is not unlikely that this division extended even upto Vāyalpād. In that case, it is possible that in engraving the name of this territorial division, the scribe or the engraver committed a simple mistake of spelling it as *Vēnāḍu* for *Rēnāḍu*.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. P. B. Desai suggests that *Tivulḍ* may be a variant of *Tigulḍ*, and so it may be equated to *Tamiḷ*, and the expression understood as some levy connected with the Tamils.

<sup>4</sup> The word *kadapu*, from *kadumu*, seems to be used here in the same sense as Kannaḍa *kadubu*, meaning 'to press', 'to seize', 'to hold firmly', 'to distress', etc.

<sup>5</sup> *SII*, Vol. IX, part i, No. 77, lines 32-33.

<sup>6</sup> *Kautilya's Arthasāstra* (translation by R. Shama Sastry), p. 251.

<sup>7</sup> From impressions.



- 5 [desambu modalugānu jiru-dera]=ellā Vāyur-Ādityambu viḍiche [I\*] Dinin=aḷisinaṇḍu  
 6 i-guḍiyini Bāranāsiyīm lḷechchinavāṇḍu [I\*] i-sthiti vaḍasinaṇḍu Vēmbaḷli  
 7 Beytūrēkkiyu Chēlakāl-Āytannayu Rākunḍa Koṇḍeyayu Mēlikurṭi Chandiyanna-  
 8 yu Pulvēri Sirāmayya[yu\*] Līpara Gāmuṇḍunu Rakkasa Gāmuṇḍunu<sup>1</sup> [I\*] Vraṣinaṇḍu  
 9 Kabbada Kēsiyanna [I\*] Sēsinavāru Dantiy-ōvajanun-Abhinutāchariyu [I\*] maṇḡala [I\*]<sup>2</sup>

## Section II

- 10 maṇiyunu Malkoṇḍa Chāmi[yu ā]Pēreya<sup>3</sup>yu Veppari Sirivutti Gā[m]u[ṇḍunu]<sup>4</sup>  
 11 Mlām[paḷli] Kommaṇa Gāmuṇḍunu [Ka]riyakaṇṭi Vaidumba Raṭṭoḍiyu Picchali Vaidumba  
 12 Raṭa[ṭṭa]guḍiyu Vuddini Komma[ṇa]yu Vēnāṇṭi Dāsu Yaḷamkāriy-Aripuliyu [I\*]

## Section III

- 13 Rā[m]kādina naṁ[gaṁ]buna[m]-baṭṭi yālini maganinin-okkoḍ<sup>5</sup>u champina<sup>6</sup> daṇḍuvu<sup>7</sup> lēdu [I\*]  
 14 Aṭ[=okkoḍu] champaka āli mukku derichi kadapinanu miṇṇaka kadapinanu  
 15 maga-daṇḍuvu aṇuvādinālugu gadye[lu]<sup>8</sup> go[ṇ]uvāru [I\*] Dīniki[m] bariksha lēdu[I\*]

## TRANSLATION

Lines 1-12. Hail! This is the award (*sthiti*) graciously given by Bhuvana-tripātra Irugeya-mahārāja of the broad chest, embraced by the goddess of victory won in several battles, on the joyous occasion of his coronation, to the farmers (*kāmpus*) of Vēnāḍu, (*comprising*) the remission of all the minor taxes inclusive of the *tivu* [desas], but with the exception of the *Dogarāchapaṇṇu*, *Paḍevāḷa-paṇṇu*, *Paḍiyēri-paṇṇu* and *Sandhivigrahi-paṇṇu*, as long as the Wind and the Sun last. He, who destroys this, incurs the sin of having destroyed this temple and Bāraṇāsī (Banaras). (*The following are*) the recipients of the gift: Vēmbaḷli Beytūrēkki, Chēlakāla Āytanna, Rākunḍa Koṇḍeya, Mēlikurṭi Chandiyanna, Pulvēri Sirāmayya, Līpara Gāmuṇḍu, Rakkasa Gāmuṇḍu and again, Malkoṇḍa Chāmi, that (i.e. Malkoṇḍa) Pēreya, Veppari Sirivutti Gāmuṇḍu, Mlām[paḷli] Kommaṇa Gāmuṇḍu, Kariyakaṇṭi Vaidumba Raṭṭoḍi, Picchali Vaidumba Raṭṭaḍuḍi, Vuddini Kommaṇa, Vēnāṇṭi Dāsu, and Yaḷamkāriy-Aripuli.<sup>9</sup> The composer (*of this record*) is Kabbada Kēsiyanna; the engravers are Dantiy-ōvaja and Abhinutāchari. May it be well!

Lines 13-15. Apprehending adultery red-handed, if a man kills the woman and man (*involved*), no punishment is to be imposed (*on him*); but if, without killing (*both the persons*), he punishes (*only*) the woman by cutting her nose or by merely distressing her, they (i.e. the *kāmpus* of Vēnāḍu) should levy a fine of sixty-four *gadyas* (*from the culprit*). This is irrevocable.

## C

This record<sup>7</sup> is in Tamil. It is engraved in two long lines on the projecting tiers of the base-ment stones of the temple in question. The palaeography of the record is regular for the period

<sup>1</sup> There is a mark above the line between the letters *nu* and *vā*, probably indicating that the matter contained in lines 10-12 written at the top, was to be introduced here.

<sup>2</sup> There is a floral design here.

<sup>3</sup> The shape of *ya* is not normal. The hook attached to the cypher has two bends instead of one.

<sup>4</sup> The last two letters have suffered slight damage and are only partly preserved.

<sup>5</sup> The letters *kko*, *na* and *vu* in line 13 and *ju* in line 15 are written below the line just beneath the spaces where they are intended to be inserted, the spaces being indicated by cross marks just above the line.

<sup>6</sup> Vēnāṇṭi Dāsu may perhaps be an epithet of Yaḷamkāri Aripuli.

<sup>7</sup> A. R. Ep., 1940-41, App. B. No. 443.



# THREE VAIDUMBA INSCRIPTIONS FROM KALAKADA

B. Sections I and II



Scale: One-Tenth







to which it belongs. In respect of *orthography*, the Sanskrit *prāśasti* written in Grantha characters shows an overwhelming influence of the Tamil language, which has resulted in such queer spelling of the Sanskrit words as *samadikata* for *samadhigata*, *makā* for *mahā*, *anēha* for *anēka*, etc.<sup>1</sup> Further, the scribe has adopted the *tannagaram* (n) indiscriminately violating the rules of its correct usage.

The inscription records a gift of Muṛukkēttam, Kuḍiyēttam and Tirukkālattiēri as *dēvadāna* to the god Palliśvaramuḍaiya Mādēva at Kaṛkaḍai in Kīlai-Mārāyapāḍi in Irattapāḍikonḍa-chōlamandalam by Vaidumba-mārāyaṇ Tiḍaliśaṇ in the 49th year (i.e. 1119 A. D.) of the reign of Kulōttuṅgachōlādēva (i.e. Kulōttuṅga I). The *dēvadāna* so given was made over as *kāṇi* to Chāmuṇḍa-bhaṭṭaṇ of the Gautama *gōtra*, stipulating payment of a seventh share [of the produce] thereof [to the government].<sup>2</sup>

The record is the latest among the three and is later than B by nearly a century and a half. Tiḍaliśaṇ calls himself a Vaidumba-mahārāja and adopts the characteristic *prāśasti* (*anēka-samara*, etc.) of the Vaidumba family with some additional epithets such as *Siddhavaṭadēva-śrīpāda-padm-ārādhaka* and *Kalukaṭṭapura-paramēśvara*, not found in the records of the early members of the family. Among the dated records of the chiefs of Kalukaḍapura, this is the earliest yet known. Tiḍaliśaṇ was perhaps a later contemporary of Attirāja of circa 1100 A. D., who figures as an ancestor four generations removed from Udayāditya of the same family in a record of 1199 A. D. from Tāḍipatri.<sup>3</sup> There is, however, nothing to suggest any relationship between Tiḍaliśaṇ and Attirāja except that both of them call themselves the lords of Kalukaḍapura and bear the usual *prāśasti* of the family.

Kaṛkaḍai is identical with modern Kalakaḍa, the findspot of the records under review. It seems to have been referred to as Kaṛkaḍai-mānagar in a fragmentary inscription at Tiruchchatturai in the Tanjore District, which speaks of the destruction of this place by a feudatory Chōla chief.<sup>4</sup> It is said in the record under review that this village was included in Kīlai-Mārāyapāḍi in Irattapāḍikonḍaśōlamandalam. An inscription from Rāyachōṭi<sup>5</sup> in the Rayachoti Taluk of the Cuddapah District, which is abutting on the Vayalpad Taluk in the north, also mentions this division indicating its extent northwards in parts of this Taluk also. Kīlai-Mārāyapāḍi represented East Mārāyapāḍi and Mēlai or West Mārāyapāḍi is mentioned in an inscription from Peddatippasamudram in the Madanapal Taluk, to the west of Vayalpad.<sup>6</sup> In a Kannaḍa inscription<sup>7</sup> from the same Taluk, this territorial division is referred to as Mahārājavāḍi-7000 and as being governed by Rājārāja Brahmādhirāja under the Chōla king Rājādhirāja. The boundaries of this division seem to have extended far to the east as well as to the west at a later period as an inscription of Krishnarāya from Rāyachōṭi<sup>8</sup> mentions the two provinces, Udayagiri-Mārjavāḍa and Penugonḍa-Mārjavāḍa.

Muṛukkēttam, Kuḍiyēttam and Tirukkālattiēri, which appear to be villages, were given away as *dēvadāna* to the god Palliśvaramuḍaiya Mahādēva of Kaṛkaḍai and the god, i.e. the temple, was made over to Chāmuṇḍa-bhaṭṭaṇ of Gautama-gōtra as *kāṇi* under certain stipulations.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a similar instance of the influence of the local language on Sanskrit, compare above, Vol. XXVII, p. 146.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 287.

<sup>3</sup> *SII.*, Vol. IV, No. 798.

<sup>4</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1930-31, part ii, para. 30; *The Colas*, Part I, pp. 529, 621. Prof. K. A. N. Sastri assigns this record to the period of Rājārāja I.

<sup>5</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, No. 446 of 1911.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 537 of 1906. The division is spelt Mēlai-Mārāpāḍi with the *ya* in Mārāyapāḍi omitted, perhaps by mistake.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 295 of 1922.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 444 of 1911.

<sup>9</sup> The word *dēvarai* in line 2 of the text below, if understood literally, would mean that the god (i.e. the temple), to which the villages were granted, was made over to the priest. It is likely that some such term as *pāpi śeyyum* or *pājai śeyyum* following this word was inadvertently omitted by the engraver. See translation below.



In regard to the identification of the gift villages it may be pointed out that village names ending in *ētām* such as Niprēttam, mentioned in an inscription at Paḷḷikoṇḍai in the Gudiyattam Taluk may be cited besides Guḍiyāttam itself and Tālaiyāttam in the same (Gudiyattam) Taluk of the North Arcot District which is abutting on the Chittoor Taluk of the Chittoor District in the south. But whether the gift village Kuḍiyēttam can be identified with Guḍiyāttam, which is about a hundred miles to the south of the findspot of the record, is doubtful. I am unable to identify Murukkēttam and Tirukkālattiēri, though villages with names ending in *ēri* such as Ichchanēri, Ayyanēri, Dāmanēri, etc., are quite common in the neighbouring Taluk of Vayalpad. Rāyanārāyaṇaputtēri is mentioned in an inscription of Śaka 1153 (1232 A. D.) from Rāyachōṭi in the Cuddapah District as a village given as *tiruvīḍaiyāṭṭam* by Rāyadēva-mahārāja, a later chief of the Vaidumba family.<sup>1</sup>

TEXT<sup>2</sup>

1 Svasti śrī [ | \*] Samadika(dhiga)ta-pāñcha-mahāśabḍa makā(hā)maṇḍalēśvara anēha(ka)-samara-saṁka(gha)ṭṭan-ōbalabta (ōpalabḍha)-vijai(ja)ya-lakshmi-samālīṅgida (ta)-visāḷa-vaksha-sthaḷam kshatriya-pavitram Bhva(Bhuva)na-tripētram Vaitumbh-ā(b-ā)bharāṇam aṣṭa-mā-(mahā)siddhi-Kalukāṭāpura-paramēśvara Siddhavaṭadēva-śrīpāda-patmō(dm-ā)rāda(dha)ka para-pa(ba)ḷa-sādagam(dhakam) Pugaḷmādu viḷaṅga Jayamādu viruṁba nilamagaḷ nilava malarmagaḷ puṇara urima(mai)yiṇ-chiṇṇanda maṇimūḍi-śūḍi Villavar kulaitara Minava-nilaikēḍa ēṇai mannavar iliyal-urṇ-ilitarat=tikk-anaittum [tan] śakkaram naḍātti virāṣiṅgā[sa\*]nattu Avanimuḷuduḍaiyāḷ= oḍum viṇṇirund=aruḷiya Kōv-irāśakēsaripanmar āna Chakkaravarttiḷaḷ śrī-Kulōttuṇ-[ga\*]-śōḷādēvaṛkk<sup>3</sup>u yāṇḍu nā-

2<sup>4</sup> rppa<sup>5</sup>ttonpadāvadu Iraṭṭapāḍikoṇḍa-śōḷamaṇḍalattuk-Kīḷai-Mārāyapāḍi Kaṛkaḍaiyil Paḷḷisvaram-uḍaiya Mādēvaṛku Murukkēttamum Kuḍi-ē<sup>6</sup>ttamum Tirukkālatti-ē<sup>7</sup>riyum dēvadā-namāgak=kuḍuttu ivv-ēttaṅgaḷ ēḷil=oru vāram=iḍuvadāga id-dhanmam chantr-ā(ṇdr-ā)dita(tta)-varai nīrppa<sup>8</sup>-dāga id-dēvarai Gautama-gōttirattu Chāmunḍa<sup>9</sup>-paṭṭanukku kāṇiy-āga dā(dhā)rai vārttuk=kuḍuttēn Vaidumba-mārāśan Tiḷaḷiśānen [ | \*] it-tanmam iṛakkuvān Geṇgaik-[ka\*]raiyl kurār-ppa<sup>10</sup>śuvum brāmma(hma)ṇaraiyum koṇṇān pāvattil paḍuvān [ | \*]

## TRANSLATION

Lines 1-2. Hail ! I, Vaidumba-mahārājaṇ Tiḷaḷiśān, who have acquired the *pañcamāhaśabḍa*, who am the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, who have the broad chest embraced by the goddess of victory acquired after many battles, the pure among the Kshatriyas, Bhuvana-tripētra, the ornament of the Vaidumbas, the worshipper of the sacred lotus feet of the god of Siddhavaṭa, the subduer of the enemy forces, in the 49th year of Rājakēsarivarman Kulōttuṅgachōḷadēva<sup>1</sup>, gave to the god Paḷḷisvaramuḍaiya-Mādēva at Kaṛkaḍai in Kīḷai-Mārāyapāḍi in Iraṭṭapāḍikoṇḍachōḷa-maṇḍalam (the villages of) Murukkēttam, Kuḍiēttam and Tirukkālattiēri as *dēvadāna* and gave this god (i.e., the right of officiating as the priest of the temple and managing its *dēvadāna* lands) with libation of water as *kāṇi* to Chāmunḍa-bhaṭṭa of the Gautama *gōtra*, stipulating payment of a seventh

<sup>1</sup> A. R. Ep., No. 446 of 1911 ; above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> From impressions.

<sup>3</sup> The reduplication of the consonant succeeding *r* is unnecessary.

<sup>4</sup> Traces of the words *pugaḷmādu* are visible at the beginning of the second line.

<sup>5</sup> The rule of *sandhi* has not been observed here.

<sup>6</sup> The doubling of *p* after *r* is unnecessary.

<sup>7</sup> The letter *ḍa* is written below the line.

<sup>8</sup> The short *praśasti* of the king commencing with *Pugaḷmādu*, etc., is left out in the translation.



of the *vāram* (i.e. share of produce or income) from these *śūlams* (i.e. the villages ?) [to the government ?]<sup>1</sup> so that this charity endures as long as the moon and the sun last. Imprecation.

In the light of the information furnished by the records edited above we may briefly review the political vicissitudes of the Vaidumba chiefs who ruled in this area. The three records together show that Vaidumba rule over Kalakaḍa stretched for over two centuries and a quarter. However, they do not furnish a connected account of the members of this family. Gaṇḍa-triṇētra of A and Bhuvana-triṇētra of B figure apparently as independent kings. If the surmise that Bhīmarāja of the Madras Museum plate of Bhuvana-triṇētra<sup>2</sup> was the parent of Kundavā, the queen of Ariṇjaya, is conceded, one among Parāntaka's Vaidumba opponents was probably Bhīmarāja himself. Their subjugation by the Chōlas, followed by their matrimonial alliance with the conquering power, seems to have left the Vaidumbas virtually independent, but soon the family had to submit to the Rāshtrakūṭa power under Akālavarsha Kṛishṇa III as revealed by the Pālagiri inscription of Kaliga-triṇētra Bhīma-mahārāja, son of Maduka-mahārāja.<sup>3</sup> Vikramādityaṇ and Tiruvayaṇ, the Vaidumba vassals of the Rāshtrakūṭa monarch, figure in the Kīlūr inscriptions<sup>4</sup> as holding sway over the South Arcot region. With the death of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa, the Chōlas once again imposed their suzerainty over the Vaidumbas. Śaṅkaradēva and Sōmanātha, the son and grandson of Tiruvayaṇ, figure as subordinates under Rājarāja I<sup>5</sup> and Rājendra.<sup>6</sup> But their position under the successors of Rājendra is yet unknown until we come to the reign of Kulōttuṅga under whom Tiḍaliṣaṇ of record C figures as a vassal. It is, however, doubtful if this chief belonged to the line of Tiruvayaṇ, the members of which do not use the *prastati* which characterises the other branch. Moreover the sway of the branch represented by Tiruvayaṇ and his successors was confined to the area round about South Arcot, while Tiḍaliṣaṇ and his forebears, who called themselves the lords of Kalukaḍa, ruled round their ancestral home, independently whenever it suited them but bending before a suzerain as occasion arose. Some members of this line seem to have been subordinates of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa<sup>7</sup> while Tiḍaliṣaṇ ruled over Kalakaḍa as Kulōttuṅga's vassal.

## No. 47—DUBI PLATES OF BHASKARAVARMAN

(5 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

A few years ago a labourer discovered a set of inscribed copper plates while digging the earth near a Śiva temple called the Parisarēśvara-dēvālaya in the village of Dūbi in the Kamrup District, Assam, about three miles from the Pathshala railway station on the old Bengal-Assam Railway. The set contained no less than six plates. Unfortunately, however, the sixth or last plate is said to have been broken and lost soon after the discovery of the set which later found its way to the Assam State Museum at Gauhati. Mr. P. D. Chaudhury, Curator of the Museum, studied the inscription and published it in the *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. XI, Nos. 3-4, pp. 33-38; Vol. XII, Nos. 1-2, pp. 16-33. The paper, however, was not properly

<sup>1</sup> The *dēvadāna* villages were made over to Chāmuṇḍa-bhaṭṭa as *kāpi*, i.e. they were leased out to him, he being the lessee and Tiḍaliṣaṇ, the donor and the ruling chief obviously representing the government, the lessor. Hence the stipulation of payment of a seventh share, obviously to the government.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 67.

<sup>3</sup> A. R. Ep., No. 323 of 1935-36, p. 65, para. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 1905, p. 49, para. 28.

<sup>5</sup> *SI*, Vol. III, No. 51.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, No. 53.

<sup>7</sup> *SI*, Vol. IV, No. 798; above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 116.



illustrated with a complete facsimile of the inscription. The importance of the epigraph led me to request Mr. Chaudhury to give me an opportunity to examine the original plates. He very kindly complied with my request and sent the plates to the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, where they were properly cleaned and several sets of impressions and photographs of the inscription were prepared. On examination of the original plates as well as of their impressions and photographs, it was found that the text of the inscription as published by Mr. Chaudhury was not quite free from errors and that the real import of certain verses inscribed on the first side of the fifth plate, which contain information of great historical importance, was entirely misunderstood. As these stanzas disclose a number of hitherto unknown facts about the struggle between Gauḍa and Kāmarūpa about the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century, I re-edit the inscription in the following pages. My thanks are due to Mr. Chaudhury for the opportunity given to me to study and republish the inscription.

The set, as now preserved in the Assam State Museum at Gauhati, consists of **five plates** only. The original size of the plates, as shown by the second and fifth plates, the sides of which are better preserved, was 9·3" by 4·6". But all the plates show some signs of corrosion here and there and pieces of metal have broken away from all the four sides of some of them. The first plate is inscribed on one face only while the other plates have writing on both the faces. There are altogether 117 lines of writing. The second side of the second plate has 14 lines and the second side of the third plate 12 lines, while the inscribed faces of the other plates have 13 lines each. The letters are very carefully and beautifully formed. The effects of corrosion, however, have rendered it difficult to decipher the letters at the beginning and the end of many of the lines, while entire passages have become undecipherable in the lines at the top and the bottom of the plates in some cases. The plates are strung together on a ring, the two ends of which are secured in a ladle-shaped lump of bronze containing the seal. This resembles the brazen seal attached to other charters of the early kings of Assam. The ring-hole at the side of the plates is .8" in diameter, while the margin near it measures .6". The surface of the seal is oval, its diameter being 3·4" lengthwise and 3·1" breadthwise. On the upper part of it is countersunk the figure of an elephant to front. About two-thirds of the seal below this royal emblem is covered by the legend in 11 lines, there being a straight line demarcating the figure of the elephant and the legend. The signs for medial *ā* and *i* (cf. *datt-ā*° in line 1 and *dvī*° in line 6) in the legend have often ornamental shapes not to be noticed in the body of the inscription. The legend describing the ancestry of the king responsible for the charter under discussion reads as follows :—

- 1 Śrīmān=Naraka-tanayō Bhagadatta-Vajradatt-ānvayō mahārājā-
- 2 dhirāja-śrī-Prāgyōtish-ēndra-Pushyavarmmā tat-puttrō mahārājādhirāja-
- 3 ja-śrī-Samudravarmmā tasya tanayō Dattadēvyām mahārājādhirāja-
- 4 Śrī-Va(Ba)lavarmmā tēna jātō<sup>1</sup> dēvyām śrī-Ratnavatyām mahārājādhirāja-
- 5 śrī-Kalyāṇavarmmā śrī-Gandharvvavatyām śrī-Gaṇapativarmmā śrī-Ya-
- 6 jñavatyām śrī-Mahēndrō dvī-turagamēdh-āharttā śrī-Suvratāyām śrī-Nārā-
- 7 yaṇavarmmā śrī-Dēvamatyām śrī-Bhūtivarmmā śrī-Vijñānavatyām śrī-
- 8 Chandramukhavarmmā śrī-Bhōgavatyām dvīr-aśvamēdha-yā-
- 9 jī śrī-Sthiravarmmā tēna<sup>1</sup> śrī-Nayanāyām śrī-
- 10 Sūsthitavarmmā tēna<sup>1</sup> Śrī-Dhruvalakshmyām
- 11 śrī-Bhāskaravarmm-ēti [||\*]

<sup>1</sup> Properly *tasmāj-jātaḥ*. For similar use in inscriptions, see above, Vol. XXIX, p. 122.



The seal may be compared with the other known seals<sup>1</sup> of the king who issued the present charter. It will be seen that the name of Supratishṭhitavarman, found in the legend on the other seals before that of Bhāskaravarman, is omitted here. The name of Mahēndravarmā has been shortened to Mahēndra and that of Nayanāśōbhā or Nayanādēvī, wife of Sthiravarman, to Nayanā apparently owing to the consideration of space<sup>2</sup>. The mother of Bhāskaravarman is called Dhruvalakshmi as on the other seals and not Śyāmādēvī as in the Nidhanpur inscription<sup>3</sup>. One has also to note the forms of the names *Sthiravarman* (not *Sthitavarman*) and *Susthitavarman* (not *Susthiravarman*), which, as will be seen below, are both supported by the text of the inscription under discussion. The five plates together weigh 149 *tolas*, while the weight of the seal together with the ring is 87½ *tolas*.

The characters employed in the inscription belong to the eastern variety of the North Indian alphabet prevalent in the sixth and seventh centuries. They have a general resemblance with the characters of the Nidhanpur inscription of the same king who issued the present charter; but there are also certain remarkable differences in the forms of some *aksharas* and vowel-marks. The *palaeography* of the present record may be regarded as slightly earlier than that of the Nidhanpur plates. The top *mātrā* of the letters has been made thick in both the left and right ends; but, while in the left the thickness has a slight prolongation downwards, the right end of the serif has a short *ā-mātrā*-like stroke attached below it. Of initial vowels, we have *a* (lines 7, 16, 51), *ā* (line 44), *i* (lines 35, 50, 56, 57, 85, 86, 92, 103), *ī* (line 32) and *ē* (lines 88, 112). Amongst these, interesting is the form of *i* which is made by a *visarga* sign followed by the sign for *d*. The *ā-mātrā* is written in three different ways. Sometimes it is formed by slightly lengthening downwards the stroke at the right end of the serif, to which reference has been made above. In some cases, a small curve open towards the right is joined below the said stroke, while in many cases the *ā-mātrā* is made by joining the lower end of a slanting stroke above the right end of the serif of the consonants. Medial *ī* sign is made by means of two curved strokes placed side by side above the consonants, the left stroke being more curved towards the left than the right one. In many cases, the left curve is made into a loop, while the right stroke resembles the third variety of the *ā-mātrā* described above. Medial *u* is formed, as in early epigraphs, by putting a short vertical stroke below the consonants; but, in such consonants as *t*, *d* and *bh*, its lower end is raised above upto the level of the serif at the right side of the letter. Medial *ū* is indicated in such cases by adding a curve that joins the prolonged *u* stroke about the middle or a little below and ends beneath the consonant. The *akshara nu*, however, is formed by the prolongation of the lower limb of *n* a little downwards, and there are some cases of *tu* also formed in the same way. Medial *ṛi* has been once employed in line 58. Among consonants, *ṣ* is of the looped variety, usually known as the Eastern Gupta type, and there is hardly any difference between the form of this letter and that of *śh*. Another interesting fact is that the inscription employs both the so-called Eastern and Western Gupta types of the letter *h*, while *m* has only the form of the Eastern Gupta variety. The left curve of the letter *y* usually ends in another curved stroke having its opening downwards; but in some cases it either ends in a horizontal top stroke or is curved towards the right. This second form of *y* has little difference from that of the letter *gh*. *B* has usually been indicated by the sign for *v*; but there are a few cases in which the sign for *b* has been not only used in its proper place but also wrongly instead of *v* (cf. lines 29, 31, 33, 37). The final forms of *t* (lines 19, 35, 61, 94, 111) and *n* (lines 30, 49, 67, 73) are found many times in the inscription.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the only exception of the names of the donees at the end, the entire record is written in verse, although the versification, with the

<sup>1</sup> H. Sastri, *Nalanda and its Epigraphic Materials* (MASI, No. 66), pp. 69-70.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 261, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XII, Plate facing p. 74, text, lines 26 and 28.



repeated use of the same sort of expressions and ideas, shows that the author was only a second grade poet. Interesting from the orthographical point of view is the frequent reduplication of a number of consonants, including the palatal and cerebral sibilants, in conjunction with *r*, either preceding or following. The same consonants, preceded or followed by *r*, are, however, often found to be reduplicated in some cases but not so in others. Certain consonants followed by *y* are also found reduplicated in some cases (cf. *ārāddhya* in line 80). Final *m*, often before *ś* and *h*, has been changed to *n*. It has been wrongly substituted by *n* in *°bhujān-rājā°* in line 5 and is invariably changed to *anusvāra* at the end of the second and fourth feet of verses. In many cases, it has been changed to the corresponding nasal of the following consonant. Final *n*, which has been wrongly modified in *dōshām* in line 35, has not been changed to *anusvāra* in *sandhi* in some cases (cf. *°māns-tatha°* in line 88).

There is no trace of any date in the preserved portion of the inscription before us; but it is well known from Bāṇa's *Harshacharita* and other sources that the king who issued the charter was already on the throne in 606 A.D., when he sent an embassy to Harshavardhana of Thanesar and Kanauj, and that, according to Chinese evidence, he was continuing to rule as late as 648-49 A.D.<sup>1</sup> The first half of the seventh century may thus be roughly regarded as the reign-period of the issuer of our charter. The Nidhanpur inscription seems to have been issued about the beginning of the last decade of the king's career,<sup>2</sup> while the present charter may have been issued some time earlier.

The charter under discussion was issued by king Bhāskaravarman of the Nāraka, Bhauma or Varman dynasty, the earliest known historical ruling family of ancient Assam. Its aim was the renewal of an older charter originally issued by a predecessor of the king. The first part of the name of this earlier king occurring in verse of 76 of our record is damaged; but it may possibly be restored as Bhūtivarman who was the great-great-grandfather of Bhāskaravarman. It may be recalled in this connection that the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman similarly record the revival of another charter of Bhūtivarman which was damaged by fire.<sup>3</sup> The original charter recording the present grant is also stated to have been completely damaged (*ā-kṣhata*) and that is why the plates were burnt (cf. *samujjvālya*) for removing the old writing on them, reshaping them and re-engraving the new document.

From lines 112-117 of our record, it appears that the original grant was made in favour of two Brāhmaṇas of a Ghōsha family belonging to the Kauśika *gōtra* and Vājasanēya *charaṇa*. They were Bhaṭṭamahattara Priyaṅkaraghōshasvāmin and the āvasarika-Bhaṭṭa Dēvaghōshasvāmin. But when the charter was renewed after the lapse of more than half a century, Dēvaghōshasvāmin was no more and, besides Priyaṅkaraghōshasvāmin, a number of other persons, who were entitled to shares of the property granted to the original donees, had to be mentioned as *amśa-patis* or share holders. Of these, Parāśara, Viṣṇu, Yajña, Rudra, Vājin, Dhruva, Bhūma, Dakṣha and Śrēya-skara belonged to the same Ghōsha family of the Kauśika *gōtra* and Vājasanēya *charaṇa* and were probably descendants of the deceased Dēvaghōshasvāmin or of both Priyaṅkara and Dēva. Some other persons, belonging to *gōtras* like Maudgalya, Māṇḍavya, Kauśika and Ātrēya and not to the Ghōsha family to which the original donees belonged, are also mentioned as *amśa-patis*. They were probably descendants of the latter on the female side.<sup>4</sup> The case of these Ghōshas adds

<sup>1</sup> *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, pp. 63-64, 78; *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, Introduction, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Bengal*, op. cit., pp. 77-78.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *viditām=astu bhavatām=ētat-viśay-āntakpāti-Mayūraśālmal-āgrahāra-kṣhētram rājñā śrī-Bhūtivarmanayā kṛtām yat tat-tāmrapaṣṭ-ābhāvāt=karadam=iti mahārājēna Jyēṣṭhābhadrān vijñāpya punar=asy=ābhinava-paṭṭa-karavāya śāsanam datvā*, etc. (*Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, pp. 16-17.), and *śāsanā-dāhāt=arvāk*, etc. (ibid., p. 27).

<sup>4</sup> It is also possible to think that Priyaṅkara and Dēva were the principal donees who shared the gift with the *amśa-patis* mentioned separately. In that case, the *amśa-pati* Priyaṅkara was different from the principal donee of that name.



to the number of instances in which the name-ending of the members of a family became stereotyped into a cognomen in Eastern India in the age of the Guptas and their successors.<sup>1</sup> It has been suggested that such Brahmanic family names like Ghōsha, which are now found only among the non-Brāhmanas in the area about Bengal, points to the absorption of many early Brāhmana families in such non-Brāhmana communities of today as that of the Kāyasthas.<sup>2</sup> There is no indication about the donated property in the preserved portion of the inscription. The lost sixth plate of the charter probably contained this information.

The record begins with a verse in adoration to the god Śiva which also occurs at the commencement of the Nidhanpur inscription. It is interesting to note that, although the ancient rulers of Assam claimed descent from the god Viṣṇu through his son Naraka born of the goddess Earth, they were devoted to Śiva. The next three verses speak respectively of the mythological kings Naraka, his son Bhagadatta, and the latter's son Vajradatta, from whom the ancient kings of Assam traced their descent. Verse 5 credits Vajradatta with the performance of a number of horse-sacrifices. The next verse introduces Pushyavarman, progenitor of the royal family to which Bhāskaravarman belonged, as a descendant of Vajradatta and as a performer of sacrifices like the lord of the gods. We know that, according to the Nidhanpur inscription, Pushyavarman flourished when 3000 years had passed since the days of Vajradatta,<sup>3</sup> whom epic and Puranic traditions assign to about the beginning of the Kali age shortly after the great battle of Kurukṣhētra. This is another way of saying that Pushyavarman flourished in the fourth millennium of the Kaliyuga, that is to say, in the millennium starting with 102 A.D.<sup>4</sup> Since Pushyavarman was twelfth in ascent from Bhāskaravarman who ruled in the first half of the seventh century, counting about quarter of a century per generation, his rule may be roughly assigned to the second half of the fourth century A.D. It thus seems that the tradition about the beginning of the Kaliyuga in 3102 B.C. and the actual age of Pushyavarman were both known to the court-poet of Bhāskaravarman who composed the Nidhanpur record. Verses 6-10 of our epigraph describing the achievements of this king do not give historical informations of any great importance.

Verse 11 says that after Pushyavarman's death the throne passed on to his son **Samudravarman** who is described as belonging to the Bhaum-ānvaya in verse 15. There is little of interest in the description of Samudravarman with the exception of the facts that verse 13 refers to his death, verse 14 to his queen Dattavati (called Dattadēvi in the legend on the seal) and verse 15 to his son and successor Balavarman. It has been suggested that the names of Samudravarman and Dattadēvi were imitated from those of the Imperial Gupta monarch Samudragupta and the latter's queen Dattadēvi.<sup>5</sup> Considering the facts that naming of the feudatory's son after his overlord was not unknown in ancient India<sup>6</sup> and that Pushyavarman, as indicated above, was probably a younger contemporary of Samudragupta (circa 340-76 A.D.), this may be regarded as suggesting a younger contemporary of Samudragupta in the Brahmaputra valley about the second half of the fourth century.<sup>7</sup> The suggestion seems to be supported by the adoption of the use of the Gupta era by the rulers of ancient Assam as indicated by the Tezpur inscription of Harjavarman.<sup>8</sup> Verse 16 describing the activities of **Balavarman** says that he celebrated a number of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XIX, p. 19.

\* Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

\* Cf. *Vikrama Volume*, Ujjain, 1948, pp. 561-63.

\* Cf. *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, Introduction, p. 14.

\* Cf. *Successors of the Śatavāhanas*, pp. 176-78; 248 n. The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta suggests that Kāmarūpa (Assam) was a *pratyanta* or bordering state, but that its king was a subordinate ally of the Gupta emperor. See *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 257-58 (text, lines 22-23).

<sup>1</sup> *Kāmarūpasāsanāvalī*, loc. cit.

<sup>1</sup> *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, loc. cit.



sacrifices and went to heaven. The next verse introduces Balavarman a son and successor **Kalyāṇavarman** who was born, according to verse 17, of the queen Ratnadēvi, called Ratnavatī in the legend on the seal. Verse 20 speaks of Gaṇēndravarmā, son of Kalyāṇavarman from the queen Gāndharvatī. On the seal and also elsewhere the names of the king and the queen-mother are given respectively as Gaṇapativarman and Gandharvatī. Verse 22 says that Gaṇēndravarmā went to heaven after having installed his son as king.

The next verse introduces his son and successor **Mahēndravarmā** (called simply Mahēndra in the legend on the seal), born of the queen Yajñadēvi (called Yajñavatī on the seal and in the Nidhanpur inscription). Verse 24 says that Mahēndravarmā celebrated many sacrifices and that Suvratā was his queen. Verse 26 speaks of Mahēndravarmā's successor **Nārāyaṇa** (i.e. Nārāyaṇavarman) born of the queen Suvratā. The next verse refers to Dēvamati (elsewhere called Dēvatī), queen of Nārāyaṇavarman. Verses 28-29 speak of **Mahābhūtavarmā** as the son of Nārāyaṇavarman and Dēvamati. This king, otherwise called Bhūtivarman, is known not only from his Barganga inscription but also from verse 31 of our record to have performed the horse-sacrifice. It is interesting to note that the legend on Bhāskaravarman's seal does not credit Bhūtivarman with the performance of the *Āśvamēdha*, but applies the epithet *dvīś-turaga-mēdh-āhartā* (i.e. performer of two *Āśvamēdhas*) to Bhūtivarman's father Nārāyaṇavarman. This coupled with the fact that verses 29-30 of our record appear to speak of the installation of Mahābhūtavarmā (Bhūtivarman) to the throne before the death of his father Nārāyaṇavarman possibly gives us a clue. It seems that one of the two horse sacrifices, ascribed to Nārāyaṇavarman in the legend on Bhāskaravarman's seal, was performed early in his reign, while the second *Āśvamēdha* was celebrated when his son was either the *de facto* ruler of the country during his old age or probably the *de jure* ruler after his retirement.<sup>1</sup>

Verse 31 says that Mahābhūtavarmā died after having a son from queen Vijñānavatī and having celebrated the *Vājinēdha*, i.e. horse sacrifice, while the next stanza introduces his son and successor **Chandramukhavarman**. Verse 35 says that Chandramukhavarman got a son from queen Bhōgavatī, while verse 37 refers to some sacrifices performed by the king. Verses 39-48 describe the achievements of Chandramukhavarman's son without disclosing his name; but verse 49 gives his name as **Sthiravarman** and says that, after having lived for some time in the *pura*, i.e. the city which was the old capital of his family, this king made a new city in the holy river (*puṇyā nadī*), i.e. on the banks apparently of the river Brahmaputra. The verse suggests that the old capital of the family was not exactly on the Brahmaputra. The capital city of these kings is usually identified with modern Gauhati on the Brahmaputra.<sup>2</sup> This may have been the city built by king Sthiravarman but the older city may also have been situated not very far from Gauhati. Verse 50 refers to the beloved wife of the king who is represented as belonging to the Bhaum-ānvaya. The next stanza apparently speaks of Sthiravarman's queen Nayanā, Nayanadēvi or Nayanāśōbhā, although its second half that apparently contained the name cannot be satisfactorily deciphered. We have seen that according to Bhāskaravarman's seal, Sthiravarman was the performer of two *Āśvamēdha* sacrifices. Whether any reference to this achievement of the king was made in the concluding words of verse 51 cannot be determined.

Verses 52-53 describe the birth of **Susthitavarman**, son of Sthiravarman. Verses 55-58 are all partially damaged and cannot be completely deciphered. According to the Nidhanpur inscription, another name of Susthitavarman was *Mṛigāṅka*. It is not impossible that one of the damaged verses contained the same information. There is also no reference in the extant portion of his description to his struggles with Mahāsēnagupta of the so-called Later Gupta dynasty as

<sup>1</sup> See *IHQ*, Vol. XXI, pp. 144-45; above, Vol. XXX, pp. 65-66.

<sup>2</sup> *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, Introduction, pp. 8, 22.



known from the Apsad inscription.<sup>1</sup> Verse 55 speaks of the king as highly learned in the various branches of learning, while verse 59 seems to refer to the king's *guru* (named Nṛīsaṅkara ?) who is compared to the god Śaṅkara (Śiva). Verses 60-61 describe Susthitavarman's queen Dhruvalakshmi. The next verse says how queen Dhruvalakshmi gave birth to two sons. Verse 63 refers to the two sons of Dhruvalakshmi, who were both endowed with signs of royalty, and singles out one of the two brothers (apparently the elder of them) who is called Aridamanēndra. Verse 64 deals with the good qualities of the same Aridamanēndra. The following stanza says that the first of the two brothers was named **Supratishṭhitavarman** and the second **Bhāskaravarman** and both of them are said to have been dear to all in the family of the Varmanas.

Verse 66 probably begins with a description of the elder brother Supratishṭhitavarman, who, as we have seen, seems to have been also called Aridamanēndra in verses 63-64. The concluding portion of the stanza, possibly referring to Supratishṭhitavarman's accession to the throne after Susthitavarman's death, cannot be completely deciphered. Verse 67 seems also to continue the description of king Supratishṭhitavarman. But the king's name cannot be traced in the extant portions of verses 66-67. The next verse again speaks of the activities of the two brothers jointly.<sup>2</sup> The first half of this stanza appears to suggest that king Susthitavarman died when his sons Supratishṭhitavarman and Bhāskaravarman were still young in age. The second half of the stanza says that when, apparently not long after Susthitavarman's death, the Gauda army, strong in the waters (i.e. in naval warfare), reached (i.e. invaded the country of the two young brothers), Supratishṭhitavarman and Bhāskaravarman were not afraid to advance against them with a small force. The two brothers have been compared here with Bala (i.e. Balarāma-Saṅkarshaṇa) and Achyuta (i.e. Kṛishṇa-Vāsudēva) who are often represented in epic and Puranic literature as fighting with success against heavy odds. Verse 69 describes the battle between Supratishṭhitavarman and Bhāskaravarman on the one hand and the Gaudas on the other. The first half of the stanza speaks of the two brothers fighting with their piercing arrows and of their becoming as full of arrogance as the two heroic brothers Bala and Achyuta when the latter stood unconquered in their fight with the demon chief Bāṇa. The *Vishṇu Purāṇa*<sup>3</sup> describes the victory of Balarāma and Kṛishṇa over Bāṇa-āsura. It may be pointed out that Balarāma's contribution in this battle is not regarded as conspicuous and is hardly emphasised in the account of the battle found in various sources.

It is thus rather strange that the battle with Bāṇa was singled out by the poet from the numerous stories of the joint victories of Balarāma and Kṛishṇa over their enemies. The poet may have been inspired to refer to Bāṇa's battle with Balarāma and Kṛishṇa by the fact that the main battle between the Gauda elephant force (indirectly compared with Bāṇa's hosts) and the two brothers Supratishṭhitavarman and Bhāskaravarman (compared with Balarāma and Kṛishṇa) was actually fought near Tezpur on the Brahmaputra in Assam, which is traditionally identified with Bāṇa's capital Śōṇitapura where the battle described in the epic and Puranic literature is said to have taken place. The second half of verse 69 describes how Supratishṭhitavarman and Bhāskaravarman, as they had done in the cases of other enemies previously defeated and killed by them, dispersed, in this case also, the huge elephant force of the Gaudas by means of their arrows. It is interesting to note that the elephant force of the Gaudas has been compared here with the Krauñcha mountain range which is specially associated in literature with the demon chief Bāṇa.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Corp. Ins. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 202 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The joint mention of the exploits of the two brothers may suggest that the Gauda invasion had taken place before the installation of Susthitavarman's successor.

<sup>3</sup> Vaṅgavāsi ed., Section V, Chapter 33.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Mahābhārata*, Vaṅgavāsi ed., Śalya-parvan, chapter 46, verse 80 : Bāṇō nām-ātha Daityō Bālēḥ pūrō mahā-balaḥ | Krauñchaparvatam-āśritya dēva-saṅghān-ādḥāvata || The piercing of the Krauñcha is, however, ascribed to Skanda-Kārttikēya and not to Balarāma and Kṛishṇa.



The first half of verse 70 says how the two brothers Supratishthitarman and Bhāskaravarman, with the help of their various weapons, spread consternation in the ranks of the enemies; but, alas (*ahō*), as the second half of the same stanza says, they were completely covered by the striking weapons of the Gaudas and fell into swoon (*mōhan-gatau*), when the enemies caused them to be encircled by their fierce elephants and captured both of them (*āsādītau*). The first half of verse 71 describes how the enemies, i.e. the Gaudas, took the two brothers to their own country (i.e. Gauda). This is said to have been due to their ill luck (*vidhi-vaśāt*)<sup>1</sup>; but their good qualities (*guṇavattay-aiva*), as said in the latter half of the stanza, soon enabled them to return home.

There is thus no doubt that Supratishthitarman and Bhāskaravarman were carried as captives to Gauda by the Gauda army, but that they were afterwards reinstated by the king of the Gaudas, whom they apparently pleased by offering allegiance. That the two brothers were away from their country only for a short time is made clear by the second half of the same verse which says that, when the two brothers soon returned and got back their own kingdom (*prāpya-sva-rājyam-achirāt-punar-ūgatau tau*), they caused great delight to their paternal land (*pitṛyaṁ jagat*). The first half of verse 72 refers to the death of Supratishthitarman that took place some time after (cf. *īatō*) the events described in the previous stanzas. The latter half of this stanza, which cannot be deciphered satisfactorily, apparently speaks of the accession of Bhāskaravarman to the throne. The following verse, only a few passages of which can be read, also seems to describe the achievements of Bhāskaravarman as a ruler. The next three stanzas continue to describe Bhāskara's activities and achievements, some of which seem to be quite interesting. Verse 74 describes king Bhāskaravarman as a great poet and dialectician. The third foot of verse 75 referring to his re-acceptance of the royal fortune after a ceremony of purification suggests that the kingdom had passed to the hands of enemies (apparently the Gaudas) sometime before he succeeded in regaining complete control over his dominions. This may further suggest that his elder brother Supratishthitarman died shortly after his reinstatement by the Gauda king. Verse 76 referring to the renewal of an old charter originally granted by a predecessor of Bhāskaravarman and the following lines in prose mentioning the original donees as well as the then share-holders of the property granted have already been discussed above.

It will be seen that the inscription under discussion supplies a number of valuable informations not known from other sources. That Sthiravarman transferred his capital to a new city built by him on the bank of the Brahmaputra and that Supratishthitarman was also known as Aridamanēndra are such new informations. But the most important historical information supplied by the record is that about the invasion of Prāgyōtisha or Kāmarūpa, the kingdom of the rulers of the Nāraka, Bhauma or Varman dynasty, by the Gaudas shortly after the death of Susthitavarman during the rule of his young son Supratishthitarman. Since Supratishthitarman seems to have been on the throne for a short time and since his younger brother Bhāskaravarman is known to have succeeded him sometime before 606 A.D., this event must have taken place about the closing years of the sixth century or the beginning of the seventh. The name of the Gauda king who led or sent this expedition against Kāmarūpa cannot be determined with certainty. But he may have been the celebrated Gauda monarch Śaśāṅka who was a contemporary of Bhāskaravarman and is known to have ascended the throne sometime before 605 A.D., when he joined the Mālava king Dēvagupta in an expedition against the Maukhari ruler Grahavarman. Since, however, the dates of both Śaśāṅka's accession and Susthitavarman's death cannot be precisely determined, it cannot be definitely said that it was Śaśāṅka himself, and not his predecessor on the Gauda throne, who was responsible for the expedition. The Gaudas in this case reached the heart of the Bhauma kingdom and the battle between the Gaudas and the royal brothers Supratishthitarman and Bhāskaravarman may have taken place near modern Tezpur in Assam. As

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the wellknown case of Chālukya Vijayāditya (above, Vol. IX, p. 203, text lines 25-26, etc.).



we have seen, the two brothers were defeated in the battle, and were taken captive to Gauda, although the Gauda king shortly afterwards sent them back to Kāmarūpa. There is hardly any doubt, as already indicated above, that Supratishthavarman regained his throne by offering allegiance to the king of Gauda whose action in this case was guided by a principle recognised by ancient Indian rulers.<sup>1</sup> It seems that, for some time after the carrying away of Supratishthavarman by the Gaudas, the kingless state of Kāmarūpa was actually in the possession of the Gauda army. Even after the reinstatement of Supratishthavarman and during the early years of the rule of his brother and successor Bhāskaravarman, the Kāmarūpa kingdom seems to have owed allegiance to Gauda. But Bhāskaravarman must have thrown off the Gauda yoke even in the earlier part of his reign (cf. verse 75 of our record). This is suggested by his alliance with Harshavardhana, an enemy of king Śaśāṅka of Gauda, about 606 A.D.

In this connection it is necessary to sketch the background of the foreign policy of Gauda and Kāmarūpa and their struggle in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. As already indicated above, the political influence of the Gupta emperors seems to have spread over Kāmarūpa in the second half of the fourth century. But, owing to the decline of the Imperial Guptas in the earlier part of the sixth century, the Bhauma kings of Assam appear to have thrown off the Gupta yoke. This is suggested by the performance of the horse-sacrifice by king Nārāyaṇavarman, his son Bhūtiavarman or Mahābhūtiavarman and the latter's grandson Sthiravarman. The reigns of Nārāyaṇavarman and Bhūtiavarman may be roughly assigned to the first and second quarters of the sixth century, while Sthiravarman seems to have ended his rule some years before the end of the same century. The throwing off of the Gupta yoke by the kings of Kāmarūpa in the first half of the sixth century may have engaged them in a struggle with the latest members of the Imperial Gupta family still continuing to rule over North Bengal.<sup>2</sup>

Shortly afterwards, however, the Gaudas, originally subordinate to the Imperial Guptas, established an independent kingdom comprising wide regions of Central and South-western Bengal and they soon extended their power over North Bengal also.<sup>3</sup> This brought the Gaudas face to face with the kings of Kāmarūpa which then appears to have included parts of North Bengal at least upto the river Karatōyā in the west. Ancient Indian political thinkers regarded two powerful states situated side by side as natural or potential enemies of each other, while a powerful state lying on the further side of the enemy state was regarded as a natural or potential friend.<sup>4</sup> Besides Gauda and Kāmarūpa, two other powers, viz. the Maukharis of Bihar and U. P. and the so-called Later Guptas of Mālava (East Malwa), were also playing an important part in the political history of Northern India<sup>5</sup> and it is interesting to note that the principles of a state's foreign policy as enunciated by the ancient Indian political thinkers seems to have been actually followed by these four powers in their political relations with one another. The Gaudas are known to have been enemies of their eastern neighbours, i.e. the kings of Kāmarūpa,<sup>6</sup> as well as their western

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *grahana-māksa* in line 20 of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta (*Select Inscriptions*, p. 257) and *grihita-pratimukta* in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa*, IV, 43.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Damodarpur inscription of the Gupta year 224=543 A.D. (*Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 337).

<sup>3</sup> See *IHQ*, Vol. XIX, p. 276, 280. The *Ārya-Maṇjuśrī-mūlakalpa* (ed. Sankrityayana, verses 722-25) refers to Harsha's victory over Śaśāṅka at the battle of Puṇḍravardhana (modern Mahāsthān in the Bogra District) which was the headquarters of the Gupta province comprising North Bengal.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Kullāka's commentary on the *Mānu Smṛiti*, VII, 156.

<sup>5</sup> See *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XI, pp. 69-74.

<sup>6</sup> This is suggested by the struggle between Gauda and Kāmarūpa described in the record under discussion, by the fact that the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman were issued from his camp at Karpasuvarpa, the capital of the Gauda kings, and by Bhāskaravarman's alliance with Harshavardhana who was an avowed enemy of the Gauda king Śaśāṅka.



neighbours, i.e. the Maukharis,<sup>1</sup> while they were friends of the Later Guptas who ruled on the further side of the Maukhari dominions.<sup>2</sup>

The Later Guptas were similarly enemies of the Maukharis<sup>3</sup> but friends of the Gaudas and again enemies of the Kāmarūpa kings.<sup>4</sup> It is very probable that the Bhauma kings of Kāmarūpa were likewise friends of the Maukharis. At least this is suggested by the haste with which Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa offered friendship to Harshavardhana as soon as the latter came to be the successor of the last Maukhari king Grahavarman. Harshavardhana belonged to the family of the Pushyabhūti of the Eastern Punjab and the neighbouring region. That family also became powerful after the decline of the Imperial Guptas. At first the Pushyabhūti were matrimonially allied with the Later Guptas;<sup>5</sup> but, when the throne of the Later Gupta king Mahāsēnagupta, who was probably the maternal uncle of the Pushyabhūti king Prabhākaravardhana, passed to the usurper Dēvagupta, they contracted matrimonial relations with and became friends of the Maukharis.<sup>6</sup> Some of the known facts of history indicating the political relations among the above powers were discussed by me elsewhere.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to the Haraha inscription of Vikrama Samvat 611=553 A.D. (above Vol. XIV, pp. 115 ff.; *JRASS*, Letters, Vol. XI, p. 69, n. 4), Maukhari Išānavarman defeated the Gaudas, while the *Harshacharita*, supported by the accounts of the Chinese pilgrim Hsien-tsang, describes how the king of Gauda (Śaśāṅka) led an expedition jointly with the king of Mālava (apparently Dēvagupta) against the Maukhari king Grahavarman and was responsible for the death of the latter's brother-in-law Rājyavardhana, the Pushyabhūti king of Thanesar (Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, pp. 63-68). Earlier success of the Gaudas against the Maukharis at least in Bihar is suggested by the fact that Śaśāṅka seems to have been originally a viceroy under the Gauda king with his headquarters at Rohtasgarh in the Shahabad District (cf. *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 284). The fact that according to the Apsad inscription, king Mahāsēnagupta of Mālava (probably a friend of the Gauda king) led an expedition against king Sūsthitavarman of Kāmarūpa without encountering Maukhari opposition seems to indicate the same state of things. It is probable that the encounter between Mahāsēnagupta and Sūsthitavarman and between the Gaudas and the latter's sons were two phases of the same war resulting from a joint Gauda-Mālava invasion of Kāmarūpa.

<sup>2</sup> The Gauda king Śaśāṅka was a friend of the Later Gupta ruler of Mālava (Dēvagupta) who usurped Mahāsēnagupta's throne. They fought together against the Maukharis and their Pushyabhūti relatives. As indicated above, Mahāsēnagupta also was possibly a friend of the Gaudas and led his Kāmarūpa expedition as an ally of the contemporary Gauda king.

<sup>3</sup> The Later Gupta king Kumāragupta defeated Maukhari Išānavarman and extended his power upto Prayāga (Allahabad) in the east, but the same Maukhari king defeated and killed Kumāragupta's son Dāmōdaragupta and he himself or his son Sarvavarman extended Maukhari power in Bundelkhand (cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 25; above, Vol. XIX, pp. 17 ff.). Sarvavarman's grandson Grahavarman was defeated and killed by the Mālava king (Dēvagupta) with the help of the king of Gauda (Śaśāṅka).

<sup>4</sup> Mahāsēnagupta defeated the Kāmarūpa king Sūsthitavarman on the banks of the Lauhitya or Brahmaputra probably in alliance with the Gaudas.

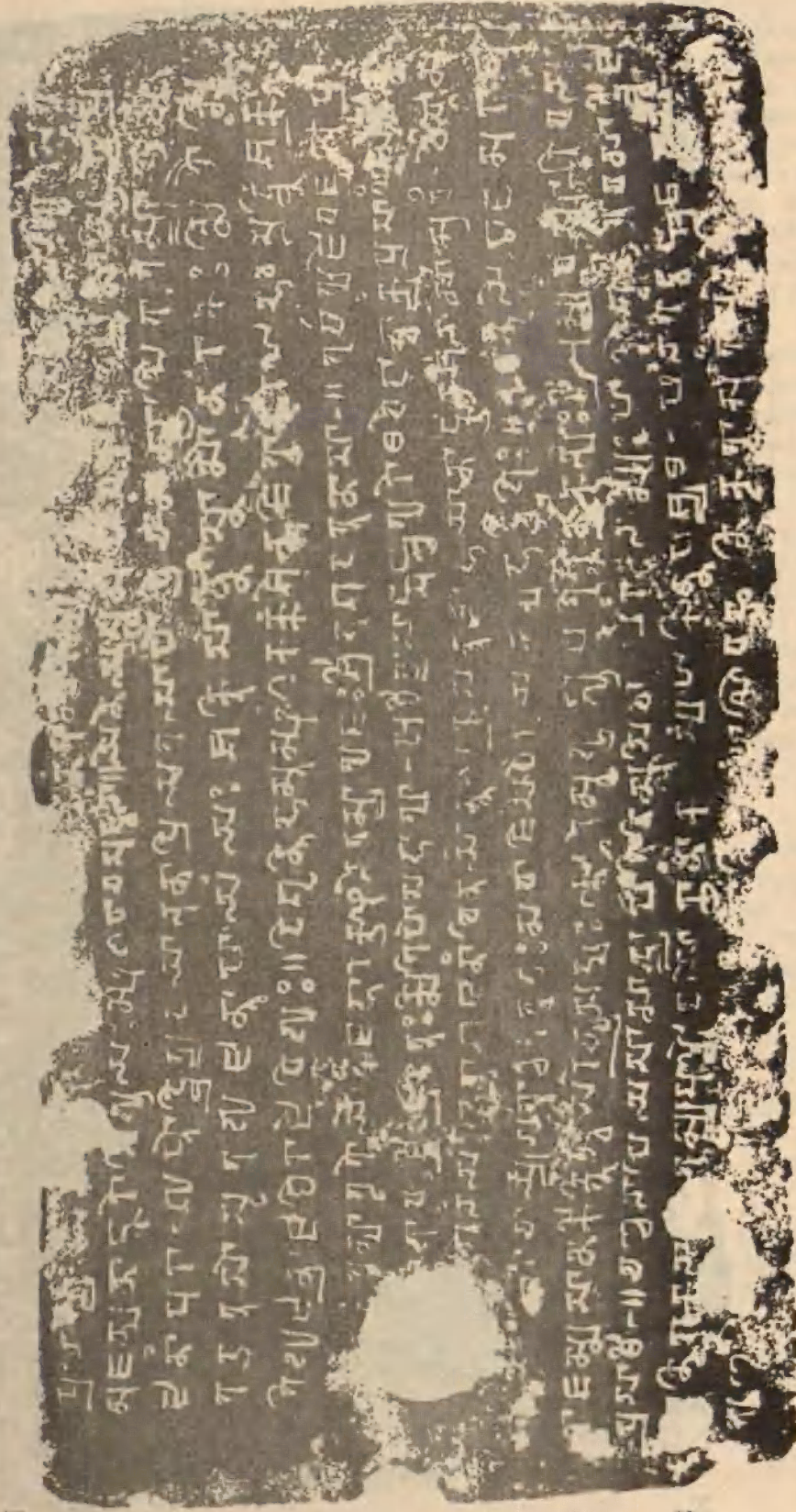
<sup>5</sup> It is usually believed that the Pushyabhūti king Prabhākaravardhana's mother Mahāsēnaguptā was a sister of Mahāsēnagupta of the Later Gupta dynasty. After the usurpation of Mahāsēnagupta's throne by Dēvagupta, his sons Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta fled to Prabhākaravardhana's court for protection. According to the *Harshacharita*, Kumāra was installed as king by Prabhākaravardhana's son Harshavardhana (*IHQ*, Vol. XIX, p. 278, n. 2), although the country where he was installed is not specified. He may have been given merely the Mādhavavarman may have been established by Harsha as his viceroy over some parts of Bihar where his son Adityasēna carved out a powerful kingdom after Harsha's death.

<sup>6</sup> Prabhākaravardhana's daughter Rājyāśrī was married to Maukhari Grahavarman. After the death of Grahavarman at the hands of the Mālava king (Dēvagupta) supported by the Gauda king (Śaśāṅka), Prabhākaravardhana's eldest son and successor Rājyavardhana came to fight with the enemies of his brother-in-law. But he was soon killed by Śaśāṅka. Then Rājyavardhana's younger brother and successor Harshavardhana took the field against the Later Guptas and Gaudas. He succeeded in clearing the Maukhari kingdom of the enemies and ultimately annexed it to his own dominions. He transferred his capital from Thanesar to Kanauj possibly because the latter had been the capital of Grahavarman.

<sup>7</sup> *JRASS*, Letters, Vol. XI, pp. 69-74.



# DUBI PLATES OF BHASKARAVARMAN—PLATE I



SCALE: ACTUAL SIZE







The friendship between Harshavardhana and Bhāskaravarman contracted in 606 A.D. with a view to humbling the power of king Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa ultimately led to their joint victory over Gauḍa sometime after the death of Śaśāṅka who was ruling as late as 619 A.D. over wide regions of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The Nidhanpur charter of Bhāskaravarman was issued from his camp at Karpasuvārṇa, the capital of the Gauḍa kingdom, in the present Murshidabad District of West Bengal, when the two friends were apparently engaged in besieging the Gauḍa capital. This event has been ascribed by some writers to a date between 638 and 642 A.D.<sup>1</sup> There is no mention in that record of the Gauḍa invasion of Kāmarūpa during Bhāskaravarman's youth. The reference to this event in the present charter may suggest that the Dūbi plates were issued when the memory of Bhāskara's success in throwing off the Gauḍa yoke was not dimmed by the lapse of many years and by the subsequent military successes of the Kāmarūpa king. The date of this record may, therefore, be tentatively assigned to the earlier part of Bhāskaravarman's reign.

It has been observed that the extant portion of the inscription before us does not speak of the locality which presumably was granted by the present charter. There is, however, mention of the old capital of the family and the new capital built by Sthiravarman without specifying their names. We have already discussed their probable location. In the legend on the seal, Pushyavarman is described as the lord of *Prāgjyōtisha*, which, together with the later Kāmarūpa, was the name applied to the dominions of the early kings of Assam. The heart of the country was the Gauhati region of Assam, but it extended upto the river Karatōyā in the east. Gauḍa was the name both of a people and of the country inhabited by them. A late tradition seems to suggest that, in the narrow sense, Gauḍa indicated only the small area lying to the south of the Padmā and the north of the Burdwan region in South-west Bengal, although it seems that originally the course of the Padmā lay to the north of the present locality called Gaur (Gauḍa) in the south of the Malda District. Thus the present District of Murshidabad together with the southern part of Malda may have been the original Gauḍa. At the time of our inscription, however, Gauḍa seems to have indicated the entire dominions of the Gauḍa kings. At a later date the name Gauḍa was applied to the whole of the western half of Bengal and still later to the entire Bengali-speaking area.<sup>2</sup>

#### TEXT<sup>3</sup>

[Metres : verses 1, 13, 22 *Vaṁśasthavīla* ; verses 2, 37, 50-53, 55, 58, 62, 67, 68, 70, 75 *Sārdūla-vikrīḍita* ; verse 3 *Upajāti* (*Indravajrā-Vaṁśasthavīla*) ; verses 4, 6, 9, 11, 18, 20, 28, 49, 57 *Upajāti* (*Indravajrā-Upēndravajrā*) ; verses 5, 15, 40 *Upajāti* (*Indravamśā-Vaṁśasthavīla*) ; verses 7, 8, 10, 12, 17, 25, 27, 29, 32-36, 41-48, 59, 61, 65 *Anuśṭubh* ; verses 14, 16, 56 *Indravamśā* ; verses 19, 26, 30, 76 *Indravajrā* ; verse 21 *Upēndravajrā* ; verse 23 *Upajāti* (*Upēndravajrā-Indravamśā*) ; verses 31, 66, 69, 73, 74 *Sragdharā* ; verse 39 *Upajāti* (*Indravamśā-Indravajrā*) ; verse 54 *Mandākrāntā* ; verses 60, 64 *Āryā* ; verses 63, 71 *Vasantatilaka* ; verse 72 *Śikhariṇī*.]

#### First Plate

1 \*Prāṇa[mya dēvaṁ śaśīśekharaṁ priyaṁ Pinākinam bhasma-kaṇair=vibhūṣhitam(tam )  
vibhūta]\*yē bhūtimat[āṁ]

<sup>1</sup> *History of Bengal*, op. cit. p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 56-57.

<sup>3</sup> From the original plates kindly lent by Mr. P. D. Chaudhury, Curator of the Assam State Museum, Gauhati, and from impressions and photographs prepared at the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund. I am indebted to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra and Mr. P. B. Desai for some suggestions. The errors in the published transcript of the record have not been indicated here.

\* There is no trace of the symbol for *Siddham* at the beginning of the line.

\* Most of the *akṣaras* placed within square brackets in this line and in the following lines are totally lost. The lost *akṣaras* in verse 1 have been restored from the Nidhanpur copper-plate inscription of Bhāskaravarman, which also begins with the same stanza.



- 2 sujanmanān=karō[mi] bhūyaḥ sphuṭa-vācham=ujva(jjva)lām(lām) || [1\*] Yēn-ēyam=va-  
(yam va)su[dhā Varāha-vapushā sthityai pra]-
- 3 jānām purā <sup>1</sup> gupt=ōddhri(ōddhri)tya dayālunā priyatayā pōttrē cha samsthāpitā [|\*] tasy=ā  
[bhūt=su]-
- 4 ta uttamō=mrītabhujān=tāpāyam(ya) yaḥ śaktimān=nāmn=āsau Narakaḥ kshitaḥ kshi-
- 5 ti-bhujān=rā(jām rā)jādhirājō vibhuḥ || [2\*] Dig-danti-hasta-sphuṭa-karkkaś[na] jivā  
[karē]ṇ=āhava-mūrddhni Śakkrām(kkrām) |<sup>2</sup>
- 6 tan-mātrito yō [vi]jahāra kuṇḍalē tasy=ā[tma]jāḥ śrī-Bhagadatta-nāmā || [3\*]<sup>3</sup> Trip-ātma<sup>4</sup>  
Vajradhara-pra-
- 7 bhāvaḥ śrī-Vajradattaḥ kṣatipō mahātmā |<sup>5</sup> adhītya s-āṅgāś=cha(āṅgāś=cha)turō=tha  
Vēdān=vākyam pramāṇam sa[may-ā]-
- 8 khilam yaḥ [| 4\*] [Jūātvā] gajānām vinay-ōnnaya-kkraman=tathā hayānān=ku[la]-śīla-sa-  
shthavam(vam) |<sup>6</sup> [dēv-āsu]-
- 9 r-āchāryya-mataṇ=cha tatva(ttva)taḥ sa vājimēdhair-ayajan-maharddbibhiḥ || [5\*] [Tad-a]-  
nvayē [rā]jasu Rā[ja]-
- 10 rāja-sa(sa)māna-kirttiśhv=amarēndra-sadma(ttva)ḥ [|\*] ya(yā)tēshv=abhūd=bhūpatir=Indra-  
kalpaḥ śrī-[Pushya]va[rmm-ā]ri-va(ba)la-
- 11 pramāthī ||<sup>7</sup> [6\*] Chañchal=āpi yam=āsādyā patim Viśṇum=iv=āparam(ram) |<sup>8</sup> Lakshmīḥ  
pā[ṇi-grihit=ē]va sādhdvī jā-
- 12 [tā] nirā[kulā] [| 7\*] Tasya puṇy-ōday-ōtthānām karmmaṇām kin=na paśyatha |<sup>9</sup> phalaṁ tad  
vaśā(vamśa)-ja[nmānō]
- 13 bhuñja[tē] ∞ ∪ — ∪ ∞ [| 8\*] [Puṇyāni] [karmma]ṇi va(ba)hūni kṛtvā sutaṁ sa lēbhē  
∪ ∪ — ∪

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 14 — —<sup>10</sup> [|\*] Śakkrēṇa — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — — yātō narēndrae=[tridi]vauka[sānām ||] [9\*] ∞ ∞<sup>7</sup>  
[nusmritya] bhūpālē vini-
- 15 ∞ ∞ ∪ — ∪ ∞ [|\*] Tasya [tā]dṛig=abhūd=vā(d=bā)hur=ari-nāri-vilāpadaḥ || [10\*] Gatē  
tu tasmins=Tri(smims=Tri)daśēśa-sakhyam=abhūn=narēndra[h\*] pitri-
- 16 [tu]lya<sup>11</sup>-vikkramaḥ [|\*] prakhyātimān=jūā(ū=jūā)na-guṇ-ōday-ōrjjitaḥ samudra-tulya[h\*]  
sa Samudravarmma || [11\*] Agādha-svachchha-gambhīrō

<sup>1</sup> This mark of punctuation, indicated by a short horizontal stroke, is unnecessary.

<sup>2</sup> The punctuation mark is indicated by a short horizontal stroke.

<sup>3</sup> The metre is a variety of *Upajāti* having three of the feet in *Indravajrā* and one in *Vamśasthaviḥ*. The double *daṇḍa* at the end of the stanza is preceded by an unnecessary punctuation mark.

<sup>4</sup> *Tad-ātmajō* or *nrip-ātmajō* is intended. Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, p. 157 and n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> The double *daṇḍa* is preceded by an unnecessary punctuation mark.

<sup>6</sup> One may suggest *surarāja-kalpam*.

<sup>7</sup> The last *akṣaras* may have been *tanma*.

<sup>8</sup> The *akṣara* *tu* looks more like *tyau*.



ii

*[The manuscript page contains dense handwritten text in Devanagari script, which appears to be a form of Sanskrit or Hindi. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines across the width of the page. A large, irregular white stain or hole is present near the center-left, obscuring several lines of text. The ink is dark brown/black on aged paper.]*

SCALE: ACTUAL SIZE



42 44 46 48 50 52

42 44 46 48 50 52



- 17 vyāla-ratn-ōpasēvitaḥ [\*] mahatvā(ttā)ch=chhaitya-yōgāch=cha tulyō jaladhinā nṛipaḥ  
|| [12\*] Chiram sa bhūktvā nṛipa-saṅgha-pūjitō guṇ-ānvitaḥ
- 18 śattru-tamō-pahō vaśī<sup>1</sup> kṣhitim samagrām gu(śu)bha-ratna-maṇḍitām jagāma yōg-ābhira-  
tas=trivishṭapam(pam) ||<sup>2</sup> [13\*] Śrī-Dattavatyām prathī[tō ma]-
- 19 hāva(ba)laḥ śrīmān=abhīṣṭa-sṭhiti-kāraṇa-kkramāt [\*] dharmm-ānugaḥ pāṛthiva-lakṣha-  
ṇaiḥ śritaḥ prajñā-guṇair-āpa narēndra-
- 20 tām=assu || [14\*] Śārān=sa sōdhvā jvalan-ōpamān=raṇē jitvā va(ba)liyān=sava(ba)lān=api  
dvishah [\*] vu(bu)bhōja Bhau[m-ānva]-
- 21 ya-bhūṣhaṇō mahī[m] yatas=tatō=bhūd=Va(Ba)lavarmma-saṁjñakaḥ || [15\*] Bhuktvā  
mahīn=kundha<sup>3</sup>-ratna-bhūṣhitām(tā)m=ishṭvā cha n-āikaiḥ
- 22 kratubhiḥ sudakṣhipaiḥ [\*] kṛitvā ripūṇām va(ba)la-[māna-kha]ṇḍanan=[dh]yānēna yātō  
divam=ēva kāmada[h] || [16\*] Tasya kalyā-
- 23 ṇa-śēshēṇa kalyāṇa-chaya-sambhṛitaḥ [\*] Kalyāṇavarmma nṛipatir=bhūtaḥ kalyāṇa-kāra-  
kaḥ || [17\*] Śrī-Ratnadēvi-prabha-
- 24 vō manasvī bhu(bhū)t-ōpakār-aika-rasa-pravṛitta[h\*] [\*] [Vri]ttrāri-śaktir=nnihat-āri-pakṣhaḥ  
kṣhapākar-ākāra-mukhō ma[h-aujāḥ] || [18\*]
- 25 Karmmāṇi kṛitvā sa śubhāni rājā hatvā ripūṇām mahatān=[kulāni] <sup>4</sup> [bhuktvā] cha bhō-  
[gān=su]kṛi[tair=u]pāttān=kālēna
- 26 Śa[kkr-āti]thitān=jag[āma] || [19\*] ∪ — ∪ — — ∪ — ∪ — — ∪ — ∪ — — ∪ — ∪ — — ∪ — ∪  
yugma[h] [\*]

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 27 Gaṇēndravarmma=ājani bhūmināthō Gāndharvvavatyā[m\*] timirāri-kāntiḥ || [20\*] Ga-  
[ṇē]ndra-[tulya]ḥ sa Ga[ṇē]ndra-
- 28 varmmā <sup>1</sup> prabhāva-yōg-ātisayair=upētaḥ [\*] kṣhitikṣhitām kṣhāram=iva kṣhatēshu dvi-  
shām pratāpāya
- 29 sutām sa lēbhē ||<sup>2</sup> [21\*] Guṇaiḥ pit=ēv=ābhavad=ēsha bhūtalē kṣhitim sa bhuktvā Janak-  
ōpamō balī <sup>3</sup> janam samāhū-
- 30 ya guṇ-ānvitam sutām niyōjya rājyan=divam=ēva yātavān ||<sup>4</sup> [22\*] Sa Yajñadēvi-tanayō  
jit-ārīr=mMahēndrava-
- 31 rmm=Āmararāja-vikkramaḥ [\*] bubhōja rājya[m\*] rajanīkar-ābhah papau cha samyak=sva-  
su[tām=i]va prajām(jām) ||<sup>2</sup> [23\*] Viji-
- 32 tya gām sāgara-mēkhal-āntām dvishah samāniya vaśam va(ba)lēna [\*] ijē sa rājā kkratubhir=  
mMahēndravach=chhri-
- 33 Subra(vra)tān=ch=āpa Śachīm=iva priyām(yām) ||<sup>2</sup> [24\*] Ādyā bhūpāla-maryyādā-sṭhitir=  
darśa(rśa)na-darppaṇē <sup>1</sup> tasmi-

<sup>1</sup> The punctuation is indicated by a short horizontal stroke.

<sup>2</sup> The double *daṇḍa* is preceded by an unnecessary punctuation mark.

<sup>3</sup> A word like *kāñchana* in the place of *kundha* would suit both the metre and the sense.

<sup>4</sup> The punctuation mark, indicated by a short horizontal stroke, is unnecessary.



- 34 [n=nrī]pēndra-chandrē tu dēvi ka(kā)ntir=iv=āsritā ||<sup>1</sup> [25\*] Tasyām=Adityām=iva Chakra-  
pāpir=nNārāyaṇō mānushatām prapa[dya] [|\*]
- 35 tēn=ēva nāmā kalijān=niyantū dōshām(shān) prajāyā iva pārthivō=bhūt || [26\*] Tasya  
Dēvamatir=ddēvi patnītvam pra[tya]-
- 36 padyata |<sup>2</sup> Padmā Nārāyaṇasy=ēva śrī-Nārāyaṇavarmanah || [27\*] Bhūtyai prajānām=iva  
Kārttikēyam Bhūtādhīpa[h\*] Pa-
- 37 rvvatarājaputtrām(ttryām) |<sup>3</sup> guṇ-ādhivāsō vasatīm vibhūtyā[h\*] śrī-Dēvamatyām=udapi-  
padat=sah || [28\*] Śrī-Mahābhūtaba (va)rmamānam
- 38 mahābhūtam=iv=āparam(ram) tam khyāta=va(ba)la-varmmānam=abhyasiñchach=cha [mā]-  
nadaḥ || [29\*] Bhuktivā sa bhōga(gā)n=prachurān=yathēchchhan=datv[ā](ttvā)
- 39 [ja]nēbhyaś=cha yathābhikāmam(mam) |<sup>4</sup> saumyō=pi rājā bhayakṛd=ripūnām yōgēna yātaḥ  
sva-tanam(num) viha(hā)ya ||<sup>1</sup> [30\*] Pittryām sam-
- 40 prāpya rājyam surapati-sadṛiśaḥ khyāta-vīryō=mita-śrī[r=nnirjji]ty=ārāti-chakkrām sva-  
bhūja-yuga=va(ba)lād=ātta-śastram sa-
- Third Plate, First Side*
- 41 [mastam] [|\*] [Dē]vyā[m=Vi(vyam Vi)]nānavatyām] śa[śi-sa]ma-vadanām sūnum=utpādyā  
dhīmān=ishṭv=āsau Vā[jimēdha]n=narapa[ti]r=agamach=Chhakra-[vāsam]
- 42 yāsasvī ||<sup>1</sup> [31\*] Tataḥ kram-āpta-vijayaḥ śrīmad-bhūpēndra-bhūshitaḥ [|\*] śrī-Chandramu-  
khavarmm-ākhyō va(ba)bhūva vasudh-ādhipaḥ ||[32\*]
- 43 Smara-līlā-chal-āpāngair=llōchanaiḥ pura-yōshitām(tām) |<sup>2</sup> gatavān=ēka-pātratvam paras-  
parajihirshaya ||<sup>1</sup> [33\*] Siṅhā(Siṃhā)sa[na]-
- 44 gatō rājā rarāja savit=ēva sah [|\*] ratna-bhābhīḥ sa(su)-paṭubhir=nnayan-ānandakṛit=sudhī-  
[h\*] || [34\*] Ānanda-hētur=llōkānām sva [ya]-
- 45 m=ānanditaḥ sukhī ||<sup>1</sup> ( ) janayāmāsa tanayām ddē(dē)vīm=Bhōgavatīm=prati ||<sup>2</sup> [35\*] Sa  
pūrvv-ōpātta-dharmmēṇa vidyā-bhūti-ja-
- 46 y-ādibhi[h] [|\*] varddhamānam sutam dṛishṭvā ra(rā)j=āgāt=paramā[m\*] mudam(dam) ||<sup>1</sup>  
[36\*] Kṛitv=āsau vidhivad=drutam va(ba) lavatām mān-ā-
- 47 pabhaṅgam dvishām jitvā sāgara-mēkhalām vasumē(ma)tīm=ishṭvā cha yajñair=[mmu]huḥ  
[|\*] dānēn=ārthi-janam
- 48 śriyā cha suhṛidaḥ santōshya prithvīpatir=yyātaḥ Śakra-salōkatām prithu=va(ba)laḥ sam-  
sthāpya puttrām kshītau [| 37\*]
- 49 Sa puttrī tēna mumudē lōk-āntara-gatō=pi san [|\*] Rāmōṇ=ēva purā rājñā svarggē Daśa-  
rathō nrīpaḥ || [38\*] Kṛitvā ya[thā]va-
- 50 t=p[i]tri-dēva-tarppanam paurān=sa samyak=parisāntvya cha prabhuh [|\*] lagnē [Dhru]vē  
sarvva-guṇ-ōpapaṇnē siṅha(siṃha) sanam siṅha (siṃha) iv=ā-

<sup>1</sup> The double *daṇḍa* is preceded by an unnecessary punctuation mark.

<sup>2</sup> The punctuation is indicated by a short horizontal stroke.



DUBI PLATES OF BHASKARAVARMAN—PLATE III

iii.b

54

56

58

60

62

64

54

56

58

60

62

64

SCALE: ACTUAL SIZE



This image shows a fragment of a palm-leaf manuscript. The text is written in an ancient script, likely Tamil, and is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines. The fragment is dark and irregularly shaped, with a large circular hole near the top center. The text is written in a dark ink or pigment on a lighter background. The script is highly stylized and characteristic of ancient South Asian writing systems.



- 51 rurōha ||<sup>1</sup> [39\*] A-prachyutam karmma kṛtan=tatō dvijair-ddhruv-ābhūshēkaṁ [v]idhivach-  
cha śāntikaṁ(kam |) sa-śaṅkha-nādaṁ saha-
- 52 dundubhiḥ(bhi)-svanaṁ Surēśavat=sō-nuva(ba)bhūva bhūmipah || [40\*] Tasya dēvakul-  
ōdyāna-bhavan-ārāma-śōbha[yā] ||<sup>2</sup>
- 53 [ti]raskṛita-Śunāsīrapura-ka[rva]ṭapattanē ||<sup>3</sup> [41\*] Nira[sta]-stōya-durbhiksha-marak-  
ōpadrav-ādikē ||<sup>4</sup> nitya-ya-

*Third Plate, Second Side*

- 54 — — ∪-vyagra-svalaṅkṛita-jan-ātatē ||<sup>1</sup> [42\*] ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪  
∪ ||<sup>2</sup> ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪
- 55 skandhāvārē sarit-patīḥ || [43\*] N=aiva vastu jagaty=asti nirddōsham=iti yan=mataṁ(tam) ||<sup>3</sup>  
vīta-d[ōsh-ānuva(ba)ndhēna]
- 56 sva-guṇais=tad=apākṛita[m\*] ||<sup>1</sup> [44\*] Vīta-rāgōṇa tēn=ēha sa-kalaṅkā nṛpāḥ kṛitāḥ ||<sup>2</sup>  
indun=ēva mahiddhrāṇām gu[hāḥ]
- 57 sa-tamasah kṛitāḥ || [45\*] Saṁkhyāta-[kula]-sārēṇa sārēṇa jagatī-bhṛitā[m\*] ||<sup>3</sup> jagad-ānanda-  
charitair-ddhāttrā kṛita iva
- 58 kshitau || [46\*] Tā(Ta)t-saṅga-virahē nṛpām maraṇām jivatām=api ||<sup>4</sup> sat-saṅgamō hi vidu-  
shām bhūshā rakshā cha giyatē || [47\*]
- 59 Praṇat-ānēka-sāmanta-śīrō-maṇi-śikh-āruṇō(ṇau |) sthala-padma-śriyam(ya)n=dhattaḥ pādan  
yasya [ji]t-ā-
- 60 tmana[h\*] || [48\*] Śrīmān=purē śrī-Sthiravarma-nāmā nītvā [cha ta]smin=katicchid=dināni  
||<sup>1</sup> sa-paura-bhṛityaiḥ [saha] va(ba)[ndhu]-
- 61 bhiś=cha punyē nadē sō=tha purīm=akārshshīt || [49\*] Tasy-ārāti-kul-āravinda-śāśinō  
Bhaum-ā[nvaya]-
- 62 śla(ślā)ghinō nānā-śāstra-pad-ārtha-nīschita-matēr=vVē[dē]shu ch=ādhitinaḥ ||<sup>2</sup> prakhyāt-  
ānvaya-pauruṣa-
- 63 aya nṛpatēr=āpanna-trishṇā-chechhidō dēvī śrīr=iva rūpiṇī [priyatamā] kānt=ābhavan=mānini  
||<sup>3</sup> [50\*]
- 64 Paulōm=iva Śatakratōḥ Paśupatē[r=Durg=ēva Śai]lēndrajā ||<sup>4</sup> — — — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪
- 65 ∪ — — — ∪ — — ∪ — ||<sup>1</sup> — — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ — — — ∪ — — ∪  
— — — — ∪

*Fourth Plate, First Side*

- 66 ∪ — ∪ — ∪ vipul=ōrvv=iva prajā-janma-bhūḥ || [51\*] Ttrayyām=agnir=iv=āddhva[rēshu]  
vipulō nī[tvā] ∪ — — ∪ —

<sup>1</sup> The double *daṇḍa* is preceded by an unnecessary punctuation mark.

<sup>2</sup> The punctuation is indicated by a short horizontal stroke.

<sup>3</sup> The punctuation, indicated by a short horizontal stroke, is unnecessary.

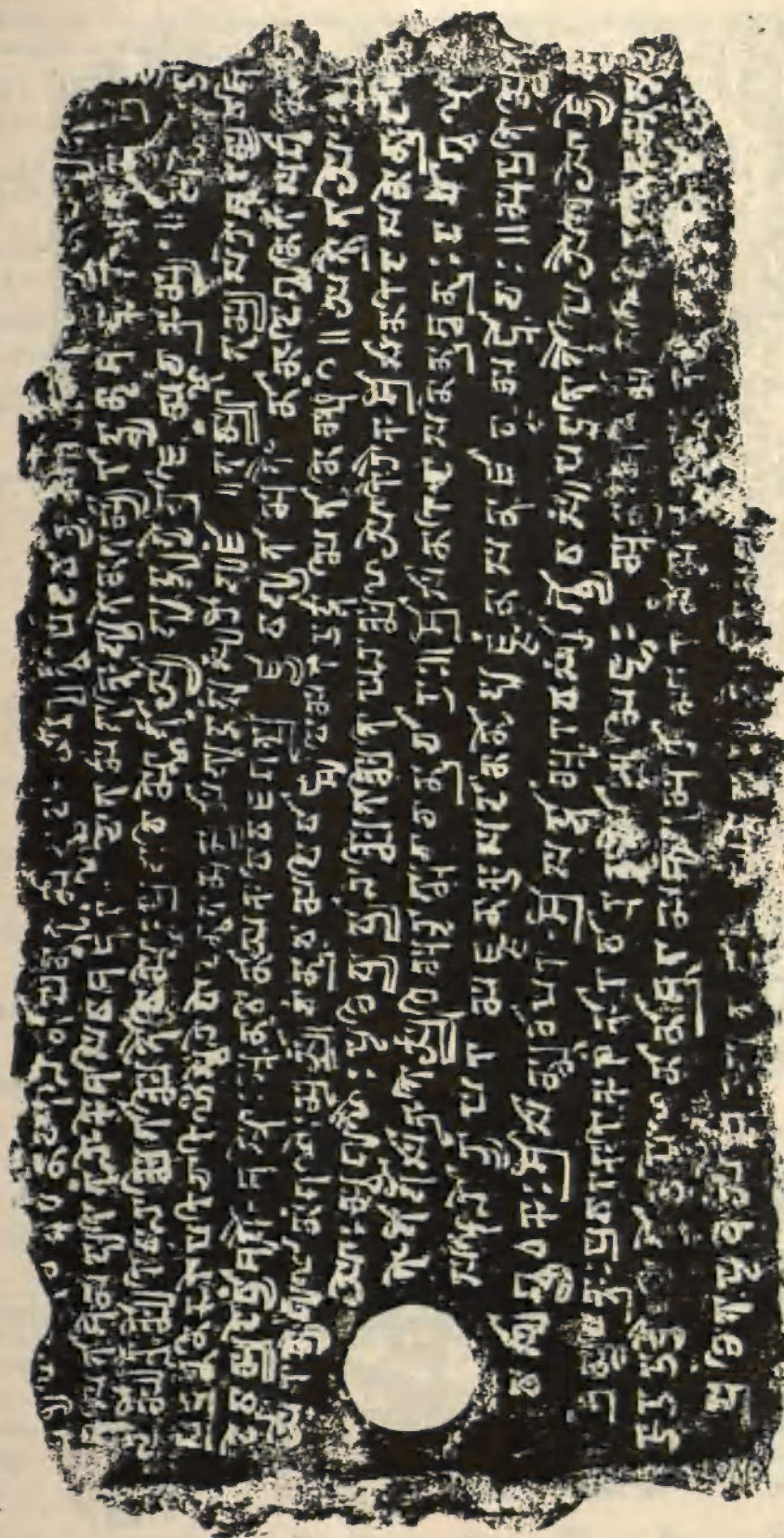






DUBI PLATES OF BHASKARAVARMAN—PLATE IV

iv, b



SCALE: ACTUAL SIZE



92

46

96

86

100

102

101

92

三

96

86

88

50

104



- 85 yōḥ sva-guṇaiḥ prithivya[m] vyālakṣita-kṣhitipa-lakṣaṇayōr=ih=aika[h\*] śrīmān=Arida-  
manēndra<sup>1</sup> iti [pra]-
- 86 tōbhī<sup>2</sup> bhīm-ākṛitir=yyudhi suhṛitsu cha chandra-chāruḥ || [63\*] Śrīmān=Aridamanēndraś=chandra iv=ākhaṇḍa[la]<sup>3</sup>-
- 87 maṇḍalō=hy=apara[h\*] sajjana-kumud-ānandō durjjana-manuj-āvja(bja)-saṅkōchaḥ ||  
[64\*] Supratishṭhita-
- 88 varmm-ākhyā ēkaḥ śrīmāns=ta(māms=ta)th=āpara[h\*] |<sup>4</sup> śrīmad-Bhāskaravarmm-ākhyō  
Varmma-pad[dh]atitau(taḥ) pi(pri)yaḥ || [65\*] Yō jyē[shṭhaḥ]
- 89 śrēṣṭha-vaktraḥ pravara-kari-kar-ākāra-vā(bā)hu[r=mmṛig-ākṣa][h\*] sinḥaḥ(sinhā)-ska-  
ndha[h\*] — — — — — stambha-[chā]-
- 90 r-ūrur=uchchai[h] [|\*] chitrō rūpēṇa nānā-śruta-subhaga-sudhā-sāra-sampūrṇa — — — —  
— — — — —
- 91 prathita-prithu-yaśāḥ — — — — — || [66\*] Yēna — — — — — — — — — —  
— — — — —

## Fifth Plate, First Side

- 92 — — — — — l-ōdita-śaśi-prasparddhi-kānti-tvishā |<sup>4</sup> smṛity-uttuṅgita-lōka-lōchana-  
chayasy=āgrē-
- 93 dya [yā]vat=kṣhitau chētō-bhittishu chāru-rūpa-charitēn-ātm=ātra chitrīkṛitah || [67\*]  
Yāv=ētau prathamē vayasy=api Prithu-pra-
- 94 [sparddhi]-satv-ō(ttv-ō)dgamaḥ Śakr-ānśam(kr-āmśam) vidhinā pragatya pitari kṣm-  
āntar-nnīlīnē kkramāt [|\*] prāptē Gauḍa-va(ba)lē va(ba)[li]ny=api
- 95 [ja]lē visrambha-saṁra[m\*]bhataḥ stōkair=ēva Va(Ba)l-Āchyutāv=iva va(ba)lair=yyau li-  
lay=ōpasthitau ||<sup>2</sup> [68\*] Tattr=ōpasthāya yuddhē
- 96 [Hari]-kuliśa-śitais=tūrṇam=ākarpṇa-pūrṇair=vVā(r=bbā)ṇair=vVā(r=bBā)ṇ-āsura-ājāv=ajita-  
bhujā-va(ba)lau tāv=iv=āvāpta-darppau [|\*] Gauḍa-
- 97 [nām li]lay=aiva pravara-kari-ghaṭāḥ Kkrauṇja(ncha)-śail-āvalivad=va(d=ba)hvīḥ(hvī)s-  
tā(s=tē)shām=abhēttām hata-vividha-ripū-
- 98 [ṇāḍ=cha] vā(bā)ṇair=yyathā taiḥ [| 69\*] Nānā-sāyaka-śakti-chakkra-kanayaḥ(ya)-prās-  
ās[i]-ghātaiḥ śitaiḥ kṛtvā
- 99 [vyāku]la-vihvala[m\*] va(ba)lam=ahō tat=tūrṇam=ēva dvishām(shām) |<sup>4</sup> tigmais=tach-  
chhara-tōmaraiḥ su-va(ba)huśaś=chhannau hi mō-
- 100 haṇ=gatau vanyābhiḥ kariṇām ghaṭābhir=ahitai[r\*]=vyāvēṣṭya ch=āsāditau || [70\*] Dēśam  
svakam vidhi-vaśād=upanītayōś=cha

<sup>1</sup> The metre requires a word like *arāti* instead of *ari*. But the expression *Aridamanēndra* found both in verses 63 and 64 seems to indicate a secondary name of the elder prince.

<sup>2</sup> *Prakṛāṣṭi* seems to be intended.

<sup>3</sup> This *la* is redundant.

<sup>4</sup> The punctuation is indicated by a short horizontal stroke.

<sup>5</sup> The double *daṇḍa* is preceded by an unnecessary punctuation mark.







DUBI PLATES OF BHASKARAVARMAN—PLATE V

८७

१०६  
 १०८  
 ११०  
 ११२  
 ११४  
 ११६

१०६  
 १०८  
 ११०  
 ११२  
 ११४  
 ११६

SCALE: ACTUAL SIZE



SEAL



(From a photograph)



RAJAPRASASTI INSCRIPTION<sup>1</sup> OF UDAIPUR

(Continued from Vol. XXIX, part V)

## Abstract of contents

## Slab I ; Invocation

The contents of the first slab are mostly invocatory, though the main theme of the inscription, namely the construction of the artificial lake called Rājasamudra, is also alluded to at places as in verse 3. The first thirteen verses constitute a *Bhavānistōtra*, the following nine a *Gaṇēśa-stōtra* and the rest a *Sūrya-stōtra*. There are altogether thirty stanzas, the concluding portion of the last one being destroyed. Although the first eulogy is designated as *Bhavāni-stōtra*, yet in it are invoked some other deities as well, such as Rāma in verse 1, Ramā in verse 5, Sarasvatī in verse 6, and so forth. In the last verse of this *stōtra*, that is in verse 13, the poet has introduced his name as Raṇachhōḍa, whose parentage is given further on in the record.

## Slab II ; Canto I

The second slab also has an invocation in the beginning, comprising eight stanzas, collectively named in the inscription as *Maṅgalāshṭaka*. From the first verse we gather that the temple of Ēkalinga (13 miles to the north of Udaipur) was situated near the stream Kuṭilā<sup>2</sup> on the top of the mount Vivara. It is indicated in verse 7 that Rāṇā Rājasimha was a descendant of the solar race to which belonged Manu, the first of the kings. After the *Maṅgalāshṭaka*, verse 9 describes the poet Raṇachhōḍa to be a Tēlaṅga Paṇḍita, born in the Kaṭhōṇḍī family ; his father's name is given as Madhusūdana, while his mother is one Vēṇī, daughter of the family of the Gōsvāmins.<sup>3</sup> The same stanza speaks of Raṇachhōḍa's two brothers whose names appear to be Bharata and Lakshmaṇa, for whose teaching the *Rājaprasasti* was utilized. The next verse, i.e., verse 10, tells us that the king, while residing at Dhōdhumdā, commenced the construction of the great lake on the 7th day of the dark half of the month of Māgha in the year (or rather after the completion of the year) 1718 (of the *Vikrama Samvat*), and that the poet Raṇachhōḍa at the same time began to compose the *prasasti* of that lake at the command of the king.

In verse 16 the poet says : ' I compose this work in the language of the gods, i.e., in Sanskrit, because the works composed in that language, like the *Mahābhārata*, are everlasting like the immortals themselves, whereas *Bhāshā* works are short-lived as the mortals themselves.' Then, before

<sup>1</sup> The inscription seems to have been noticed for the first time by Major A. N. Bruce, Political Agent at Hadoti, and Captain J. J. Blair, Assistant Agent to the Governor General in Rājputāna, during their visit to Udaipur early in the eighties of the last century. Yadurāya, a Brahmana of Rājnagar, was subsequently asked to transcribe the record and to despatch the transcript of each canto to Major Bruce as soon as it was complete. The text thus received by Major Bruce was being forwarded to Captain Blair at Tonk who had it translated into English by Pandit Ramkarna of Tonk. Sixteen cantos were thus transcribed and translated into English when the work suddenly stopped due to the sad demise of the two English officers. The labour was, however, not wasted ; for, Munshi Deviprasad prepared a summary of the contents of the sixteen cantos with the help of Pandit Ramkarna's translation and published it in Urdu as a brochure titled *Tārīkh Rājprashasti* (Nawal Kishore Press, Cawnpore, 1884). The transcript was, however, defective as some names had either been wrongly read or altogether omitted (including that of Hamīr) by Deviprasad. Kavirāj Shyāmaldās published the text in the *Vivarinōḍa* which was not accessible to us.

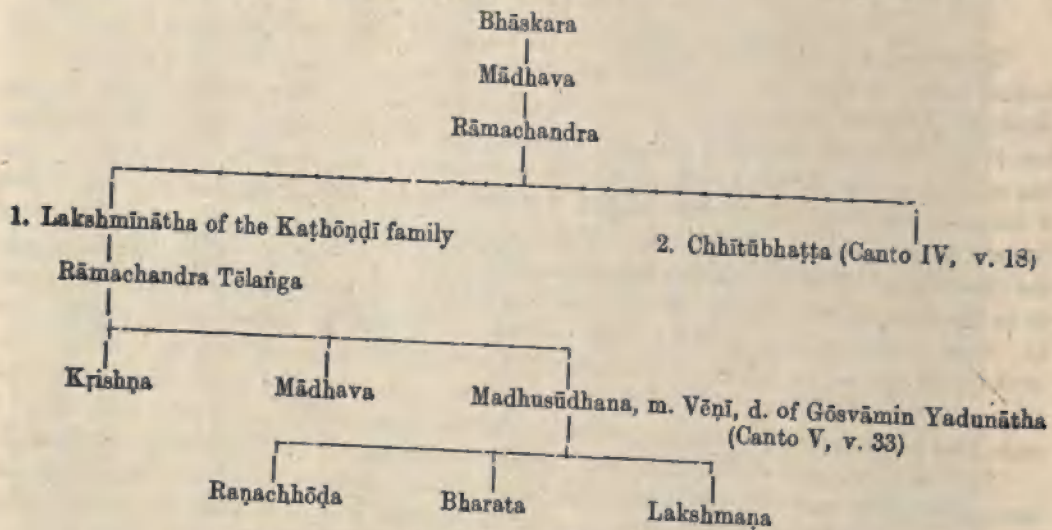
<sup>2</sup> It is a small stream near the Ēklingaji temple and is also mentioned in the *Ēkalinga-māhātmya* of the time of Mahārāṇā Rāimal. See Ojha, *History of Udaipur State* (in Hindi), Vol. I, p. 112, n. 1. Perhaps the same stream is mentioned in the Śrīāgi-Rishi Inscription, v. 20. See above, Vol. XXIII, p. 237.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently connected with the Gōsvāmins of Nāthadvārā, whose ancestors originally came from the Telugu country. Viṭṭhalanātha, the second son of Vallabhāchārya, the founder of the Vallabha sect of the Vaishnavas acquired the title of Gōsvāmin. This family was originally settled in Brindāvan and Mathura but later on in V.S. 1728 moved to Nāthadvārā with the deity Raṇachhōḍji during the reign of Mahārāṇā Rājasimha out of fear of molestation at the hands of Aurangzeb.



proceeding to describe the family history of Rānā Rājasimha, commencing from the king Vāshpa, the poet cites a concordant passage stated to be from the *Vāyupurāṇa*, which, according as the poet gives it, occurs in the *Ēkaliṅga-māhātmya* in the sixth chapter of the *Mēdapāṭiya-khaṇḍa* of the said Purāṇa. Once Pārvaṭi, being distressed by the pangs of separation from Śiva, was shedding tears and in that condition she addressed Nandin thus: 'O Nandin! since I am shedding tears today, being unable to bear the separation from Śiva, therefore you will, owing to a curse formerly uttered by me, become a king named Vāshpa (tear).<sup>1</sup> At the holy place called Nāgahrada (Nāgdā, near Ēkaliṅgajī) you will worship Śiva and will thereby acquire a kingdom which you will enjoy in the same way as Indra enjoys his, and afterwards will attain to heaven.' Next, with distressed looks Pārvaṭi said to Chaṇḍagaṇa: 'Since you, as a door-keeper, have failed in your duty by not guarding the door, therefore be thou a hermit, Hārīta by name, in Mēdapāṭa (Mewār)! Having adored Śiva there, you will attain to heaven.'<sup>2</sup>

Towards the end the poet declares his intention first to describe the solar house, and concludes the first chapter by giving his own lineage thus:—



### Slab III ; Canto II

The third slab which contains the second canto of this *Rājapraśasti-mahākāvya*, gives a list of the Sūryavamśi kings, which is for the most part mythical. Verse 18 gives Kuśa and Lava as Rāma's son and grandson respectively, whereas according to other sources they both are Rāma's sons. The list enumerates mythical kings beginning from Manu and ending with Vijaya, the total number being one hundred and thirtyfive. There is a pause after the mention of the 92nd (or 93rd) king of the list, namely Bṛihadbala, where the poet points out that Bṛihadbala was killed by Abhimanyu in the Mahābhārata battle and that the kings up to Bṛihadbala have been described as the past kings and those from Bṛihadbala downwards as the future kings by Vyāsa. After mentioning Sumitra, the 122nd king, in verse 30, the poet again points out that the line of kings terminating with Sumitra is known as the Ikshvāku family and that the kings, as told by the poet, are also enumerated in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* in its ninth *skandha*. In verse 35 we are told that these kings belonged to Ayōdhyā. From the next verse we learn that Vijaya, the last monarch, left Ayōdhyā, conquered the rulers of the southern region and

<sup>1</sup> For another fanciful derivation of the name Vāpā, see the Jagannātharāya temple inscription, above, Vol. XXIV, p. 65, v. 8.

<sup>2</sup> The extant texts of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* proper, however, does not contain this reference.



settled there.<sup>1</sup> A heavenly voice asked Vijaya to adopt *āditya* instead of *rāja* as the component part of his successors' names. The purport of the verse seems to be that Vijaya began to call himself as belonging to the Sūryavaṁśa as against the Ikshvāku- or Raghuvamśa.

The language of the last three lines is Mewāri. These give the dates *Sam*. 1718, 7th day of the dark fortnight of Māgha and *Sam* 1732, 15th day of the bright fortnight of Māgha, as those of the commencement and the consecration respectively of the Rājasamudra by Rāṇā Rājasimha.

#### Slab IV ; Canto III

The third canto, inscribed on the fourth slab, opens with an invocation to Kṛishṇa and then continues the genealogical list from Vijaya onwards, which runs as follows : Vijaya-Padmāditya - Śivāditya - Dhārāditya (?) - Sujasāditya - Sumukhāditya - Sōmāditya - Śīlāditya - Kēśavāditya - Nāgāditya - Bhōgāditya - Dēvāditya - Āsāditya - Kālabhōjāditya - Grahāditya ; thus fourteen *ādityas*. The sons of Grahāditya were all known as Guhilaṭas (*Skt.* Guhila-putra). The eldest of them was Vāshpa.<sup>2</sup>

Vāshpa was, as described above, an incarnation of Nandin. He became a disciple of the sage Hārītārāśi, likewise an incarnation of Chaṇḍa, a *gaṇa* of Śiva. While residing at Nāgahradapura,<sup>3</sup> Vāshpa worshipped the god Ēkalīṅga, i.e., Śiva, who favoured him with boons, saying : ' Be thou the lord of Chitrakūṭa (Chitor). Let Chitrakūṭa be always under the sway of your descendants.' Thus, Vāshpa, at the age of fifteen received fortune through the favour of the god Ēkalīṅga and the sage Hārīta, on the 7th day of the bright fortnight of Māgha after 191 (or 791<sup>4</sup> ?) years had elapsed. The verses 13-17 describe Vāshpa's valour and appearance : he used to wear a gold bracelet weighing 50 *palas*, which was given to him by his preceptor Hārīta who, in turn, had received it from Śiva (Ēkalīṅga)<sup>5</sup>. In verse 18, we are told that Vāshpa conquered the Mōri king Manu-rāja,<sup>6</sup> captured Chitrakūṭa and ruled there. The next verse says that he assumed the title of *Rāvala*.

From the following verse we learn that Vāshpa's son was *Rāvala* Khamāna, from whom was born Gōvinda. Then was Mahēndra ; his son was Ālū, his son was Simhavarman, his son Śakti-kumāra, his son *Rāvala* Śālīvāhana, his son Naravāhana. Next Ambāprasāda, Kīrtivarman, Naravarman, Narapati, Uttama, Bhairava, Puñjarāja, Karṇāditya, Bhāvasimha, Gōtrasimha, Haṁsarāja, Śubhayōgarāja, Vairāḍa,<sup>7</sup> Varisimha, *Rāvala* Tējasimha, Samarasimha. This last was the husband of Prithā, sister of the king Prithvirāja. Out of regard for this relation he assisted the Chauhāna king of Delhi (Prithvirāja) in his battle against the Gōri Sahibādīna (Mu'izzuddin Muḥammad, also known as Shihāb-ud-dīn) of Gajjanī (Gazni). We are told

<sup>1</sup> According to the Jagannātharāya temple inscription it was Pramāditya, son of Vijaya, who went to the south (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 65, v. 6). Cf. with this the story found in Pāli, of Vijaya, son of Sihabāhu, ruler of Lāḷa (Rāḍha) who colonised Ceylon for the first time.

<sup>2</sup> Some of these names are historical and are found in the Ātapur and other inscriptions. But the order of succession is here hopelessly mixed up. See Ojha, *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 94 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The same as Nāgdā, one mile from Ēklīṅgaḷi. For traditions connected with Nāgdā, see Nainai, *ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

<sup>4</sup> Ojha thinks that the traditional date of Vāshpa's succession, viz. V. S. 191, is an error for V. S. 791, see *ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 109-10. For various traditions and historical accounts about Vāpā, see Deviprasad, *Tārīkh Rājprashasti*, pp. 16-17 and note, Ojha, *ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 94 ff., and *Muhanot Nainai ki Khyāt* (Nāgarī Prachārīṇi Sabhā ed.), pt. i, pp. 11-12, 15-16.

<sup>5</sup> See also the Mount Abu Inscription of Samarasimha, v. 11, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 347 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Apparently identical with the Mōri king Māna or Mānasbhaṅga who ruled in Chitor in the early part of the eighth century. See *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1934-35, pp. 56-57.

<sup>7</sup> Instead of *Vairāḍa*, Munshi Deviprasad inadvertently gives the name Ranmal. (*Tārīkh Rājprashasti*, p. 19).



that Samarasimha was followed by his soldiers numbering twelve thousand, captured the Gōri king, but was unfortunately killed in the battle. Reference is made to a *Bhāṣā* work, called here *Rāsā* (perhaps the same as *Prithvirāja-rāsā*), in which, it is stated, the details of this battle are given. Samarasimha's son was *Rāvala* Karṇa. With him ends the list of the twenty-six *Rāvalas*.<sup>1</sup>

*Rāvala* Karṇa had two sons: *Rāvala* Māhapa and *Rāhapa*. The first is said to have ruled as a king at Dūṅgarapura (Dūngarpur in Rājputānā). The second, it is narrated, went to Maṇḍavara (Mandor in Jodhpur State and ancient capital of Mārṇar) by order of his father and the prediction of a soothsayer. There he vanquished Mōkalasimha, and brought him as a captive to his father Karṇa. The latter deprived Mōkalasimha of his title of *Rāṇā* which he bestowed on his son *Rāhapa* who was later on better known as *Rāṇā* or *Rānā* (sic) only.<sup>2</sup> This *Rāhapa*, being blessed by Śaraṣālya, a learned Brāhmaṇa of the Pallivāla (Pālivāl Brahmins of Rājputānā) family,<sup>3</sup> ruled at Chitrakūṭa. He also came to be known as *Sisōdiyā* from the fact that he had formerly dwelt for some time at *Sisōdanagara*. *Rānā* *Rāhapa*'s descendants bore the same *virūda* of *Rānā*.

The last two verses (35 and 36) give the genealogy of the poet, which is the same as found in the end of the slab II above. The record closes with the date of the consecration of the *Rāja-samudra*, namely *Sam* 1732, *Māghī* 15 (i.e., *Māgha paurṇimā*).

#### Slab V ; Canto IV

The fourth canto opens with an invocation of the *ṭamāla* tree on the bank of the river *Yamunā* and then the genealogy is continued. His (*Rāhapa*'s) son was *Rānā* *Narapati*;<sup>4</sup> then came from father to son, *Jasa* (*Yaśaḥ*) *karṇa*, *Nāgapāla*, *Puṇyapāla*,<sup>5</sup> *Prithvīmalla*, *Bhuvanasimha*, *Bhīmasimha*, *Jayasimha* and *Lakshmasimha* who bore the title of *Gaḍhamāṇḍalika* apparently because he was the conqueror of the fort of *Maṇḍalgaḍh*, and whose younger brother was *Ratnasī*, the husband of *Padmini*, for whose sake *Allāvādīna* (*Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī*) besieged *Chitrakūṭa*. *Lakshmasimha* with his twelve brothers and seven sons fought and died in this battle; only one of his sons namely *Ajēsi* survived, who succeeded him to the throne. *Lakshmasimha*'s eldest son was *Arasi*<sup>6</sup> who died with his father and whose son *Hamīra* held the reins of the kingdom (after *Ajēsi*). *Hamīra* was well known for his liberality and as one who showed the holy river *Ganges* on his forehead. It was again he who built the black (stone) image of *Ēkalinga* (*Śiva*) with four faces,<sup>7</sup> accompanied by *Śyāmā* (*Pārvatī*), after the crystal figure of *Śrī* (*Lakshmī*) deposited in the lake of *Indrasaras* had been ascertained to be lost. *Hamīra*'s son was *Kshētrasimha*, his son *Lākhā* (*Lakshmasimha*) and his son *Mōkala*.<sup>8</sup> This last named had a brother called *Rāvata* *Bāgha* who had no children. *Mōkala* got a tank, named *Bāghelā* after his brother, constructed at *Nāghrada* (with the wish that his brother *Bāgha* be blessed with a child). *Mōkala* also built a marble enclosure to the temple

<sup>1</sup> This list closely follows the *Khyāts* with the exception of *Puñjarāja* whose name is omitted in the latter and *Ratnasimha* (I) who comes between *Samarasimha* and *Karṇa*. See *Ojha*, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 92, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> This is according to the *Khyāts* and not borne out by authentic history. See *ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 205 f.

<sup>3</sup> For details, see *ibid.*, p. 206.

<sup>4</sup> The name of *Dinakar* found in the *Khyāts* and the *Jagannātharāya* temple inscriptions has been omitted after *Narapati* apparently through oversight.

<sup>5</sup> *Pūrṇapāla* according to the *Khyāts* and the *Jagannātharāya* temple inscription.

<sup>6</sup> From *Arasimha* downwards the genealogy is in keeping with that found in reliable records.

<sup>7</sup> Tradition, however, connects the installation of the *Chaturmukhalīṅga* with *Mahārājā* *Rāyamalla* one of whose inscriptions is found at *Ēkalingajit*. In the *Mokalji* temple inscription *Hamīra* is stated to have built a temple and a tank (see *Bhavnagar Inscriptions*, p. 67, v. 16). *Ojha* (*ibid.*, p. 206) identifies this temple with the temple of *Annappūrṇā* at *Chitor* and the tank with the one in the vicinity of the temple. It was from the time of *Hamīra* that *Udaipur* came under the *Sisodās*.

<sup>8</sup> These are also mentioned in other records such as the *Kumbhalgarh* and *Śrīngarīshi* inscriptions.



of Ēkalīngs. Having performed pilgrimage to Dvārakā he went to Śāṁkhōddhāra (the island of Beyt to the southwest extremity of the Gulf of Cutch), while in the meantime a *siddha* entered the womb of his wife for obtaining kingdom. The *siddha* became Mōkala's son Kumbhakarṇa. It is said that the water of the Ganges used to flow at night from the forehead of Mōkala. Mōkala's son Kumbhakarṇa was the builder of the Kumbhālamēru fort.<sup>1</sup> He had one hundred and sixteen wives. His son was Rāyamalla,<sup>2</sup> and the latter's Saṁgrāmasiṁha (Sāṅgā) who, accompanied by two hundred thousand soldiers, marched as far as Phattēpura<sup>3</sup> in the dominions of Bābara, the king of Dillī, and fixed the boundary of his kingdom up to Piliyākhāla. His son was Ratna-siṁha<sup>4</sup> after whom his brother Vikramāditya became king. His brother, Rānā Udayasiṁha, (who followed him) built a lake called Udayasāgara (6 miles to the east of Udaipur), founded the city of Udayapura and, on the occasion of the consecration of the lake, performed charities such as *tulādāna* as well as granted the village of Bhūravāḍā to Chhitūbhaṭṭa and his brother Lakshmi-nātha.<sup>5</sup> One of his warriors, the Rāṭhōḍa Jaimala,<sup>6</sup> as well as the Sisōdiyā Pattā,<sup>7</sup> and Īśvaradāsa kūṭa. Udayasiṁha was followed (on the throne) by his son Pratāpasīṁha who had a quarrel with the Kachhavāha chief Mānasiṁha on the question of dining together.<sup>8</sup> The latter sought the help of Akabbara with whose army he met Pratāpasīṁha in battle at Khambhanaura.<sup>9</sup> During this terrific struggle, while Mānasiṁha was seated in an iron cage on the back of an elephant, Pratāpa's eldest son Amara, flung a spear at the temple of Mānasiṁha's elephant; while Pratāpa did the same himself, the elephant fled. At that time, Pratāpasīṁha's brother Śaktasiṁha, who accompanied Mānasiṁha, seeing the situation, thus spoke with affection: 'O rider of the blue horse! look behind' Pratāpa looked behind and saw a horse. Mānasiṁha then sent two horse! look behind' Pratāpa looked behind and saw a horse. Mānasiṁha then sent two Mugalas (Mughals) to give chase to Pratāpa; Śaktasiṁha also followed. The two Mugalas fought with Pratāpa, and were killed by Śaktasiṁha who was then recognised by Pratāpa as his brother.<sup>10</sup> Thereafter Akabbar came and waged war with Pratāpa, and finding the latter powerful, left his eldest son, named Śēkhū (Prince Salim<sup>11</sup>), there and himself went to Āgrā. Amarasīṁha took

<sup>1</sup> Kumbhagarh on a high peak of the Arāvalli about 25 miles north of Nāthadvārā.

<sup>2</sup> Udayasiṁha (Udā), the patricide, is omitted here as in many other inscriptions.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently refers to Fatehpur Sikri. Piliyākhāla is identical with the Pili river near Bayānā in the former Bharatpur State. According to the *Bābarnāmā* the territory of Rānā Sāṅgā extended up to Piliyākhāla on the north, river *Sindh* (by which must be meant the *Kālī Sindhu*) on the east, Mālavā on the south and hills of Mewār on the west. Rānā Sāṅgā had sent a messenger to Bābar, before his invasion, inviting him to India and offering him the territories up to Delhi, while he (Sāṅgā) himself wanted to extend his dominions up to Āgrā. See *Umraī Hanood*, p. 292.

<sup>4</sup> Ratnasīṁha was Sāṅgā's son by Dhanabāī, daughter of Bāghā Sūjāvat, the grandson of Rānā Jōdha of Jodhpur, while Vikramāditya and Udayasiṁha were born of Karmavati, daughter of Narbad (Narpat) and grand-daughter of Rānā Bhūmiḍa of Bāndī. See Ojha, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 384, notes 3-4. Ratnasīṁha and Vikramāditya are not mentioned in the Jagannātharāya temple inscription.

<sup>5</sup> This village is in the Rājnagar District and is also mentioned in the Jagannātharāya temple inscription, Slab B, vv. 113-14, see above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 76-77. The name of Vanavīra (a natural son of Prithvirāja, son of Mahārājā Rāyamalla) who usurped the throne after putting Vikramāditya to death is not mentioned in the list.

<sup>6</sup> Jaimal (Jayamalla) was the eldest of the eleven sons of Rāṭhōḍ Vīramadēva of Mēḍtā. See Ojha, *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 412 and note 4.

<sup>7</sup> Son of the well-known Chāṁḍā. See *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 416, note 1.

<sup>8</sup> For details see Ojha, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 428 and notes 1 and 2.

<sup>9</sup> Village Khamṇaur, near the famous battlefield of Haldighāṭī and about 8 miles from Nāthadvārā.

<sup>10</sup> This refers to the well-known story of Pratāpa and his horse Chētak mentioned in all the bardic chronicles and also by Tod.

<sup>11</sup> Akbar used to call Jahāṅgīr as Shaikhū Bābā during his infancy. Jahāṅgīr was so named as he was born due to the blessings of Shaikh Salīm, the saintly dervish of Fatehpur Sikri (see *Tūzūk-i-Jahāṅgīrī*, Rogers and Beveridge's translation, p. 2). Salīm was, however, too young to join the battle at this period. See Ojha, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 439, n. 5, para. 3, and Deviprasad, *Tārīkh Rājparashastī*, p. 31, note.



away Khanakhana's wives and honourably returned them to Khānakhānā.<sup>1</sup> Šekhū wondered at that. Afterwards Šekhū became the king Jahāngīra of Dillī and came again to fight with Pratāpa whom he encircled. Leaving behind his son Khurrama (Prince Khurram), Jahāngīra returned to Delhi. Afterwards Pratāpa met the Sulatāna Chagtā Sērīma,<sup>2</sup> paternal uncle of the king of Dillī, who was mounted on an elephant in battle at the pass of Dēvēra,<sup>3</sup> where a Sōlāmkī *paḍihāraka* (*pratihāra*) chopped off two legs of the elephant, and Pratāpa himself pierced the temple of the animal. The elephant fell down and Sērīma then mounted a horse. Then Pratāpa's son Amara pierced Sērīma along with his horse with a spear. At Pratāpa's command Amara pulled out the spear from the body of Sērīma. Sērīma desired to see the warrior who struck him like that whereupon Pratāpa showed him a soldier. Sērīma said it was not the man. Then Pratāpa showed him his son Amara whom Sērīma recognised and praised. Then eightyfour *sthānapālas* (chiefs) went to Kōsīthala (Kosīthāl *thikānā* in Udaipur State), etc., and Pratāpa dwelt at Udayapura, where he once presented his turban and some money to a bard. This bard later happened to go to see the king of Dillī. At that time he took off that turban from his head and kept it in his hand. When he saluted the king of Dillī in that manner, the Sultan asked what it was and was told that as the turban had belonged to Rānā Pratāpa he did not keep it on his head. The emperor understood the implication and was pleased.<sup>4</sup> Thus Rānā Pratāpa became famous among both Hindus and Muslims as an 'unbendable' hero.

The canto thus closes with the glorification of Rānā Pratāpa.

The language in the latter half of the canto is not explicit. It presupposes a knowledge on the part of the reader of the wellknown events connected with the life of the Mahārānā as narrated in bardic chronicles, and thus summarises a number of events in a disconnected manner.

#### Slab VI ; Canto V

After Rānā Pratāpa, his son Amarasīmha came to the throne, some details of whose history have already been given above, such as his part in his father's fight against Mānasīmha, his taking away of Khānakhānā's wives and his killing of Sulatāna Sērīma. He also fought with Khurrama, son of Jahāngīra and afterwards with Abadullahakhānā.<sup>5</sup> He was surrounded by twentyfour chiefs (*sthānēśvaras*). He killed Kāyanakhānā (Qāim Khān), a servant of the king of Dillī, at Ūntālā (Untālā, 20 miles north-east of Udaipur). There he destroyed Mālapura. His son Karṇasīmha destroyed Sīrōmja (Sironj in the former Tonk State), Mālava and Dhanūdhēmra (perhaps Dhanērā in the former Indore State), and got much booty.<sup>6</sup> Then at the command of Jahāngīra, Khurram entered into a treaty with Amarasīmha who came down from his place, Udayapura, to Gōghūmdā (20 miles north-west of Udaipur) whereto Khurrama also came. There they both met in a worthy manner and contracted friendship.<sup>7</sup> Rānā Amarasīmha dwelt in Udayapura where

<sup>1</sup> Mirzā Khānkhānā, son of Bairam Khān. This is also well known from the chronicles. See Tod (Crooke's ed.), *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, p. 398.

<sup>2</sup> The name of Chagtā Sērīma, who is mentioned here as uncle of the king of Delhi, is not met with in the *Akbar-namā* and *Tūzūk-Jahāngīrī*. As has been pointed out by Deviprasad, he was, perhaps, an officer of the Moghul army whom the writer of the record has inadvertently called as uncle of the king of Delhi (*ibid.*, p. 33, note). Bhandarkar has inadvertently identified him with Salīm Jahāngīr (*List of North Indian Inscriptions*, p. 137), for in the present record he is called Jahāngīr's uncle. We know from Muslim records that Jahāngīr was too young to join the battle and that the king of Delhi at this time was Akbar and not Jahāngīr.

<sup>3</sup> This pass is two miles to the west of Dewir in the south-easternmost part of Ajmēr-Mārwārā.

<sup>4</sup> This event is also mentioned by Munshi Deviprasad in his *Mahārānā Śrī Pratāpasīmha-jī kā jīvan-charitra*. See Ojha, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 486, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Abdullā Khān Fīroz Jang, a commander of Jahangir's army, who according to Muslim historians defeated Karan, the son of Rānā Amarsing in 1611.

<sup>6</sup> See Ojha, *ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 492-93.

<sup>7</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 496-97.



he performed the great gifts and ruled peacefully. To his *guru* Lakshminātha, Amarasimha gave away a village named Hōli.<sup>1</sup>

After Amarasimha, his son **Karṇasimha** became king; when he was a boy, he had performed a silver *tulā* charity on the banks of the Ganges and had given a village in charity to the Brāhmaṇas of Śūkara-kṣhētra.<sup>2</sup> He also destroyed, as said before, Dhamdhērā, the country of Mālavā and the city of Sirōhī. He made Akhērāja, the lord of Sirōhī, defeat his enemies.<sup>3</sup> His feet bore the auspicious signs of lotus, and he was equal to Karṇa in liberality as well as in valour. And when Khurrama, son of Jahāṅgīra, the lord of Dillī, turned against his father, Karṇasimha gave him shelter in his own country and, when Jahāṅgīra died, sent his (Karṇa's) brother Arjuna with him (Khurrama) and made him (Khurrama) the lord of Dillī.<sup>4</sup> He (Khurrama) then came to be known as Sāhijahām (Shāhjahān).

In the year 1664, on the 2nd day of the bright half of the month of Bhādra, **Jagatsimha** was born to Karṇasimha, from the latter's wife Jāmbuvatī, a daughter of the Rāthōḍa chief called Jasavanta, *alias* Mahēchā(?). Jagatsimha was crowned king on the 3rd day of the bright fortnight of the month of Vaiśākha in the (Chaitrādi) Vikrama year 1685.<sup>5</sup> By his order, his minister Akhērāja attacked Dūmgarapura whose chief *Rāvala* Puṁja took to flight while the city of Dūmgarapura was sacked.<sup>6</sup> Again, ordered by Jagatsimha, Rāthōḍa Rāmasimha raided the city of Dēvaliyā (Deolia, 5 miles from Partābgarh in the former Partābgarh State), plundered it and killed its chief *Rāvata* Jasavanta along with the latter's son Mānasimha (Mahāsimha according to other sources).

Jagatsimha had two sons, Rājasimha and Arasī, the former of whom was born on the 2nd day of the dark half of the month of Kārttika in the year 1686, and the latter a year later from his wife Janādē, daughter of Rāthōḍa Rājasimha, chief of Mēḍatā (Mēḍtā); he had also a natural son Mōhanadāsa. Jagatsimha afterwards subjugated Akhērāja, the chief of Sirōhī and seized the territory from Tōga-Bālisā, whom Akhērāja had vanquished. He then had a palace, called Mērumandira, constructed within the premises of his residence, and another, called Mōhanamandira,<sup>7</sup> on the banks of the lake called Pichhōlā.

At the command of Jagatsimha, his Pradhāna (Chief Minister) Bhāgachārṇḍa<sup>8</sup> invaded Bāmsavālā (Bāmsavārā) whose chief *Rāvala* Samarasī along with the ladies fled to the hills, but afterwards owned Jagatsimha's overlordship and paid him a tribute of two lacs of rupees.

The king Jagatsimha gave his daughter in marriage to Bhāvasimha, son of Śatruśālya (Śatruśāl Hādā), the ruler of Būṁdī and at the same time gave twentyseven other girls in marriage to different princes. On that occasion he also decorated the temple of Ēkaliṅga with flags and a gold cupola.

In the year 1698 on the occasion of the Dipāvalī festival the Queen Mother Jāmbuvatī went on pilgrimage to Dvārakā where she worshipped the god Raṇachhōḍa and performed charities including a silver *tulā* gift. She also gave two *halas* of land at the city of Āhaḍa (Āhār, outside the

<sup>1</sup> This village is in the Gīrvā District. Cf. the Jagannātharāya *prastāvi*, verse 114, above Vol. XXIV, pp. 64 and 77.

<sup>2</sup> Soron in Etah District, U. P., also connected with the life of Tulsidās. According to the Jagannātharāya temple inscription, Rājasimha also performed a gold *tulā* in the same place (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 87, verse 27).

<sup>3</sup> Karṇasimha helped Akhērāja (who was about 2 years old at the time), son of Rao Rājasimha of Sirōhī, to regain the throne. See *Nainsikī Khayāt* and Ojha, *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 513.

<sup>4</sup> For details, see Ojha, *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 514 ff. As has been pointed out by Deviprasad, it was Purvoz and not Khurram as given in the present record (*Tārikā Rājprastāvi*, p. 38, note).

<sup>5</sup> According to the Jagannātharāya temple inscription, this date was the 5th of the bright half of Vaiśākha of (Śrāvṇādi) Vikrama Samvat 1684. See above, Vol. XXIV, p. 61.

<sup>6</sup> Also mentioned in the Jagannātharāya temple inscription, above, Vol. XXIV, p. 70, verse 54.

<sup>7</sup> Apparently named after his natural son Mōhanadāsa. Pichhōlā, as the name also indicates, is situated in the western extremity of the city.

<sup>8</sup> See Ojha, *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 524, n. 1.



city of Udaipur) to Vēṇī, daughter of Gōsvāmin Yadunātha, granting a deed in the name of her (Vēṇī's) husband Madhusūdanabhaṭṭa.<sup>1</sup>

From his accession onwards Jagatsimha performed a silver *tulā* charity every year, besides giving other gifts. In the year 1704 during the month of Āshāḍha on the occasion of the solar eclipse (Tuesday, 22nd June, 1647 A.D.), Jagatsimha worshipped the lord Ōṃkāra, one of the *Jyōtirlingas*, especially venerable to Māndhātṛi, at Amarakantaka, and performed a gold *tulā* gift there.<sup>2</sup> That time onwards he performed a gold *tulā* every year. He had performed various other great gifts on the occasions of his birthday anniversaries, such as *Kalpavriksha*, *Svarnaprithvi*, *Saptasāgara* and *Viśvachakra*.<sup>3</sup> In the said year (1704) in the month of Kārttika, Jagatsimha's mother Jāmbuvatī<sup>4</sup> set out on pilgrimage. She first visited Mathurā and saw Gōkula where she witnessed the festivals of Dipāvali and Annakūṭa connected with lord Gōvardhana; then on the fullmoon day of the month of Kārttika at the holy Śūkara(-kshētra) on the banks of the Ganges she performed a silver *tulā-dāna*. There she was accompanied by her daughter's daughter Nandakūṃvarī, daughter of Karṇa, the ruler of Bīkānēr and wife of Haṭhisimha, the ruler of Ramapura, who also performed a silver *tulā* gift. She (Nandakūṃvarī) had in the previous year also given the *Umāmahēśvara* gift to Raṇachhōḍa (the poet), having made him stand before the Queen Mother Jāmbuvatī, at the latter's instance. Jāmbuvatī made another silver *tulā* gift at Prayāga, and after visiting Kāśī, Ayōdhyā and other holy places she returned home where she performed a number of silver *tulā* gifts again. Further, she made Jagatsimha's wife give the *Umāmahēśvara* gift to Vēṇī and her husband Madhusūdana. To these two were given similar gifts also by the queens of Rāṇā Amarasimha, all amounting to thirty. In that year on the fullmoon day of the month of Vaiśākha, Jagatsimha erected a temple to the deity Jagannātharāya and on the occasion of the consecration he made the following gifts: one thousand kine, *Kalpalatā*, *Hiraṇyāśva*, and five villages.<sup>5</sup> To Madhusūdanabhaṭṭa he made the Mahāgōdāna gift, and to Kṛishṇabhaṭṭa the village of Bhairṇasāḍā (near Chitor).<sup>6</sup> He also performed the *Ratnadhēnu* (gift).

<sup>1</sup> Also mentioned in the Jagannātharāya temple inscription, above, Vol. XXIV, p. 77, v. 118.

<sup>2</sup> See also above, Vol. XXIV, p. 62 and n. 3 and pp. 73-74, vv. 77-86, Amarakantaka mentioned in v. 35 of the *Rājaprasasti* apparently refers to Māndhātā itself, where the temples of Ōṃkārnāth and Amareśvara are situated on either bank of the river and should not be confused with Amarakantak in the Rewā State.

<sup>3</sup> According to the Jagannātharāya temple inscription, the *Kalpavriksha*, *Saptasāgara* and *Viśvachakra* charities were performed on his birthday anniversary in V.S. 1705, 1707 and 1708 respectively. See above, Vol. XXIV, p. 62.

<sup>4</sup> She was a daughter of Rāthor Jasavanta (Mahēchā) as mentioned in v. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Also mentioned in the Jagannātharāya temple inscription, see above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 79-80, vv. 15-16 and v. 22.

<sup>6</sup> See above, Vol. XXIV, p. 64. In the courtyard of the Ōṃkārijī temple, situated on the other side of the Narmadā at Māndhātā, there is actually a stone inscription of Jagatsimha, dated Sāṃvat 1704. This record is in two parts, the first of which is in eleven lines containing the origin and the genealogy of the Guhilas. In the family of Raghu was born Bāpa Rāvala whose descendants were Rāṇā Rāhappa. After that come the names of his descendants beginning with Narapati down to Jagatsimha, omitting the name of Kumbhakarṇa's son, the patricide Udā and also those of Ratnasimha II and Vikramāditya who reigned between Saṃgrāmasimha and Udayasimha II. The name of Vanavīra who usurped the throne after murdering Vikramāditya is also omitted. The second part of the inscription consisting of 23 lines is mainly devoted to Jagatsimha and his visit to Māndhātā. In the family of Bāpa and Guhadātta was born, of Jāmbuvatī and king Karṇa, Jagatsimha. Desirous of visiting the temple of Śiva worshipped by Māndhātṛi, he started from his capital and visiting Amarakantaka on the way reached Ōṃkāreśvara. Then, in the town of Māndhātā, he distributed his weight in gold mixed with pearls and precious jewels. The occasion of the gift was a solar eclipse in Vikrama Sāṃvat 1704, dark half of Āshāḍha, Tuesday (22nd June, 1647 A.D., Tuesday). The inscription also states that the Rāṇā had also two *śraṇas* erected at Māndhātā for the *tulā* ceremony, which were the work of Mukunda, son of Bhāru. Other artisans mentioned in this connection are Bhūdhara and Arajuna (Arjuna), son of Kālā of the Guhāvatā family. The names of the artisans mentioned here are also found in the Jagannātharāya temple inscription and the *Rājaprasasti*.



Verse 51 gives the following genealogy : Udayasimha, Pratāpa, Amarasimha, Karṇa, Jagat-simha, Rājasimha and Jayasimha, and also states that Jayasimha caused the *prasasti* to be engraved on stone.

Verse 52 states that the poet Raṇachhōḍabhaṭṭa completed the *Rājaprasasti kāvya* on the fullmoon day of the month of Māgha in the year 1732 when Rājasimha performed the consecration ceremony of the Rājasamudra.

The inscription on this slab closes with the names of the masons : Urajaṇa, Sukhadēva, Kēsā, etc.

### Slab VII ; Canto VI

In the year 1709, on the 2nd day of the dark fortnight of the month of Phālguna, Rājasimha ascended the throne,<sup>1</sup> performed a silver *tulā-dāna*, gave away his sister in marriage to Anūpa-simha, the eldest son of Karṇa of the Bhuruṭiyā clan,<sup>2</sup> and also married seventy-one girls, daughters of his relatives, to different Kshatriya chiefs.

In the year 1710, on the 11th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Pausa, a son, named Jayasimha, was born to Rājasimha from (his wife) Sadākumvarī, daughter of Rāva Imḍramāna of the Paṁvāra (Paramāra) family (of Bijholiā). The other sons of Rājasimha were Bhīmasimha, Gajasimha, Sūrja(ryasimha), Imḍrasimha, Bahādurasimha<sup>3</sup> and Nārāyaṇadāsa. This last named was a natural son. Rājasimha built himself a pleasure garden, called Sarvartuvilāsa.<sup>4</sup>

In the year 1711, in the month of Āśvina, Rājasimha heard of Shāhjahān's (Shāhjahān's) arrival in Ajamēru (Ajmer) and of his minister Sādullahakhāna's<sup>5</sup> arrival in Chitrakūṭa, whereupon he sent his priest Bhaṭṭa Madhusūdana, a Tēlaṅga Brahman of the Kaṭhōmḍī family, to Sādullākhāna. The Khāna addressed the Bhaṭṭa as *Paṇḍita* and asked why the Rājā had recalled Garibādāsa<sup>6</sup> as well as Jhālā Rāyasimha from Delhi ; the Bhaṭṭa replied that similar incidents had occurred even before. Śaktasimha, brother of Rājā Pratāpa, and Rāvata Mēgha<sup>7</sup> originally came (to Delhi) from

<sup>1</sup> For details, see *ibid.*, p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> Another sister was married to Bhāvasimha, son of Satruśāla Hādā of Būndi. See slab VI, above, v. 29.

<sup>3</sup> For further details, see Ojha, *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 578, notes 2-5.

<sup>4</sup> Situated in the south-east corner of the city of Udaipur. See above, Vol. XXIV, p. 63.

<sup>5</sup> Sa'd-ullāh was the Chief Minister of Shāh Jahān. He was the son of Amīr Baksh, and was born in 1599 A.D. at Chenut, a village in the Jhang District of the Punjab. He studied Persian and Arabic under Khwājā Mullāh of Lahore. For his profound scholarship he was presented before Shāhjahān in 1641 A.D., where he distinguished himself as an eminent scholar and statesman. In 1645 A.D., on Islām Khān's appointment as the Subedar of the Deccan, Sā'dullāh Khān was appointed the Prime Minister. His rise was rapid and spectacular. He distinguished himself as a builder, administrator, and last but not the least as a scholar. He founded the city of Saidābād between Mathura and Agra, and it was during his prosperous regime that the Tāj at Agra, the Jām-i-Masjid, the Red Fort and the Peacock Throne at Delhi were constructed. He also erected various Masjids at Agra and Lahore. He relieved Murād during the Mughal campaign of Balkh and Quandhār in 1646 A.D., where he gave a good account of himself as a general. In 1653 A.D. he was sent against Rājā Rājasimha, who had started extensive repairs to his fort at Chitor, where he defeated the Rājput army and conquered the fort in a remarkably short period of fifteen days. He was the author of the following works :—

1. Sā'dullāh Khānī.
2. Risālā Takht-i-S-taus
3. Tafsiṛ Al Hamd Shraff.
4. Majmuā Ashiyār
5. Bādshāhnāmā Shāh-i-Jahānī.

The gift of fourteen cities, which according to the *Rājaprasasti* was made by Shāh-Jahān to Rājā Rājasimha through the good offices of Sā'dullāh Khān, is not, however, corroborated by Muslim historians. For details see *Hayāt-i-Sāleh ; Life of Sā'dullāh Khān*, Prime Minister of Emperor Shahjahan (in Urdu) by Muhammad Ahmad (Nawalkishore Press, 1909) and Ojha, *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 533 ff. and p. 534 n.4.

<sup>6</sup> Son of Karṇasimha and uncle of Rājasimha.

<sup>7</sup> For Rāvata Mēgha and his activity, see Ojha, Vol. I, pp. 504-06.



Mewār and were given a position by the lord of Delhi but afterwards returned to Mewār and thus it is clear that God had created two places for Kshatriyas (viz., Delhi and Mewār). Then the Khāna again asked the Bhaṭṭa as to how many horsemen the Rānā possessed. The Bhaṭṭa's answer was "twenty thousand"; whereupon the Khāna said: "Well, the lord of Dillī possesses one hundred thousand horsemen. How then is there equality between the two?". The Bhaṭṭa answered that the Creator had meant that the Rānā's twenty thousand horsemen are equal to one hundred thousand horsemen of the lord of Dillī. Thereafter the Khāna and Jayasimha had a talk with each other, and it was settled that, if the Rānā's son accompanied the Khāna and saw Shāhjahān, he (the Khāna) would see that the lord of Dillī (Shahjahan) gave fourteen cities to the Rānā.<sup>1</sup>

Thus Madhusūdana rendered a loyal service to the Rānā. After considering how his priest's son had a conference with the son of the lord of Dillī, Rājasimha sent the *Mahākumāra* (the senior prince) Sultānasimha along with a number of Ṭhakkuras in the company of Dārasakōha (Dārā Shukoh) to meet Shāhjahān.

Rājasimha, who in respect of fortune, liberality and prowess was equal to Vikramāditya, gave away in charity his mother Janādē's weight in silver, and also redeemed himself of the pledge of an elephant-gift by giving five hundred silver coins to Bhaṭṭa Madhusūdana.

He sent the *vaiśya* Rāghavadāsa to the fort of Maṇḍalagaḍha (Mandalgarh, 100 miles to the north-east of Udaipur) and had the Rāthōḍa Rūpasimha<sup>2</sup> driven out of the fort.

In the year 1713 on the fullmoon day of Kārttika he performed the Brahmāṇḍaka gift at the temple of Ēkalinga, according to the Vedic rituals. This gift of Rājasimha is praised by the poet in vv. 32-36.

Rājasimha, thinking that it was not proper to perform an *āśvamēdha* sacrifice in the Kali age, did the following in order to gain all the merit of that sacrifice: In the year 1713, on the 11th day of the bright half of the month of Pausa, on the auspicious day of Manvādi, he gave away a white horse, Nanala by name, along with a gold saddle, to his *guru* Madhusūdana.

After that the king Rājasimha went to Banaras along with his *guru* Madhusūdana and stayed there (for a while).

#### Slab VIII ; Canto VII

In the year 1714, on the 10th day of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha, the king (Rājasimha) set out on his victorious expedition. Then follows the description of flags, cannons with cannon balls (or guns with bullets), armour of the kings, etc. There is then a conventional enumeration of different countries not only in India but even outside India represented as fearing danger from Rājasimha, viz., Aṅga, Kalinga, Vaṅga, Utkala, Mithilā, Gauḍa, Pūrva (parts of U. P. and Bihar), Larkā, Konkan, Karpāṭa, Malaya (Malabar), Draviḍa, Chōla, Sētubandha (Rāmēśvara), Surāshṭra, Kachchha, Taṭṭa (in Karachi Dist.), Valaka (Balkh), and Kharāṇdhāra (Kandhāhār), etc. His specific exploits, however, were as follows:

- (1) Destruction by his soldiers of the city of Dāribā.<sup>3</sup>
- (2) A tribute of 22,000 rupees from the inhabitants of Maṇḍala (Māṇḍal in the former Udaipur State).
- (3) A similar tribute by the people of Vanahēḍā (Banarā, 5 miles east of Maṇḍal).
- (4) A similar tribute from the people of Sāhipurā (former Shāpurā estate).

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 99, note 5.

<sup>2</sup> Ruler of Kishangarh who received the Jāgīr of Mandalgarh from Aurangzeb (see Ojha, Vol. I, p. 536).

<sup>3</sup> Approximately 12 miles north-east of Kankroli Railway station.



- (5) A tribute of 60,000 rupees from Rāyasīmha, Chief of Tōḍā (in the former Jaipur State, 50 miles south of Jaipur; the place is known as Tōḍā Rāysīmha) whereto he (Rājasīmha) had sent his chief Phattēchanda. The amount was offered by Rāyasīmha's mother as a ransom.
- (6) The reducing to ashes of the Mahirava city of Viramadēva.<sup>1</sup>
- (7) Plundering of Mālapurā (Mālpurā in the former Jaipur State).
- (8) His soldiers also conquered the following and exacted tributes from their chiefs: Tōṛṅka (former Tonk State), Sāmbhari (Sāmbhar in the former Jaipur State), Lālasōṭi (Lālsot in the former Jaipur State, 20 miles east of Chātsu) and Chātsu (Chātsu in the former Jaipur State).

Amarasīmha stopped there for a few hours only but Rājasīmha stopped there for nine days, but could not proceed beyond the river Chhāini<sup>2</sup> on account of its being flooded during the rains. So he returned to his capital, Udaipur.

#### Slab IX ; Canto VIII

In the year 1714, in the month of Jyēshṭha, while encamping on the banks of the Chhāini river, he (Rājasīmha) heard the news of Aurangajēba's becoming the lord of Dillī, whereupon he sent his brother Arisīmha (to the lord of Dillī). He went as far as the Sīmha river. The lord of Dillī conferred on Arisīmha the country of Dūmgarapura and others. Arisīmha gave all those to his brother Rājasīmha who, being pleased, did his brother due honour by presenting them to him.

In the year 1714, when Aurangajēba waged war against his brother Sūjā, Rājasīmha sent his son Siradārasīmha (Sardārsingh) to the assistance of Aurangajēba. Siradārasīmha won the latter's favour by his heroism and got from him horses, elephants and lands as presents which he (Siradārasīmha) placed at the disposal of his father (Rājasīmha). The latter, being pleased, gave all those to him (Siradārasīmha) back.

In the year 1716, he invited Giridhara through the Thakkuras, and made him a *Rāvala*, placing him in charge of Dūmgarapura. The *Rāvala* served Rājasīmha loyally.

In the year 1716, in the month of Śrāvaṇa, the king (Rājasīmha) went against the country of Vasāḍa (Vasād in Mandasor territory). Rāvata Harisīmha negotiated through Jhālā Sulatāna, Rāva Sabalasīmha Chauhān, Rāvata Raghunātha Chōḍāvata and Śaktāvata Muhakamasīmha and coming from Dēvaliyā (Deoliā) took refuge under Rājasīmha, paying him a tribute of 50,000 rupees, along with a pair of elephants, the male one's name being Manarāvata.

In the year 1715, on Tuesday, the 9th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Vaiśākha (date irregular), by the order of Rājasīmha his minister Phatēchanda set out against Vāmsavāla (Bānswāra), taking with him cavalry 5,000 strong. He vanquished Rāvata Samarasīmha and made him pay 100,000 rupees as a tribute, a bull-elephant, a cow-elephant, ten villages and right to custom duty (*dēśa-dāna*) and also made the Rāvata a vassal of Rājasīmha. The king (Rājasīmha) returned to the Rāvata the ten villages, the right to custom duty, and 20,000 rupees (out of the 100,000 rupees).<sup>3</sup>

Again, at the command of Rājasīmha, Phatēchanda destroyed Dēvaliyā and put to flight its chief Harisīmha. Harisīmha's mother presented her grandson Pratāpasīmha to Phatēchanda

<sup>1</sup> He was the brother of Sujansingh of Shāhpurā (see Ojha, *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 537).

<sup>2</sup> According to Deviprasad, it is the same as Chamhal river (*Tārīkh Rājprashasti*, p. 47 and note). It may, however, be pointed out that it was known as *Charnasvatī* in classical literature.

<sup>3</sup> In the Baiḍvās well inscription (in vernacular) of Phatechanda, which is earlier in date, this amount is given as Rs. 5,000.



along with a sum of Rs. 20,000 as well as a cow-elephant. Phathēchanda being filled with pity levied a light tribute. He brought Pratāpasimha with him and produced him before Rājasimha. In this way Phathēchanda became a favourite of Rājasimha.<sup>1</sup>

Akhērāja, the *Rāva* of Sirōhī, was already loyal to Rājasimha. Thus Rājasimha kept him in subjection through affection only.

In the year 1716, in the month of Phālguna, the king got a gate with heavily nailed doors constructed at the great *ghāt* of Damhabārī (Dēbārī) adjoining the hill.

In the year 1717, the king Rājasimha, accompanied by a huge army, went to Krishnagaḍha (former Kishangarh State) and married Rāthōḍa Rūpasimha's daughter who was intended to be married to the lord of Dillī.<sup>2</sup>

In the year 1719, the king subjugated the country of Mēvala<sup>3</sup> after destroying the Minā forces. The whole of Mēvala he gave to his subordinate chiefs.

In the year 1720, *Raṇavala* Rāmasimha, by the order of Rājasimha, went to Sirōhī with an army and there released *Rāva* Akhērāja, who was placed in captivity by the latter's son Udayabhāna and restored his territory to him.<sup>4</sup>

In the year 1721, on the 8th day of the dark half of the month of Mārgaśīrsha, king Rājasimha gave away his daughter Ajavakūmvarī in marriage to Bhāvasimha, son of the Bāghelā chief Anūpasimha, the lord of Bāndhava<sup>5</sup> (Bandhogarh in the former Rewa State), marrying at the same time ninety-eight girls of his relatives to various high chiefs. On that occasion king Rājasimha dined together with the Kshatriyas of a lower rank, namely his son-in-law Bhāvasimha and his relatives, who then proclaimed: "We have been purified by eating Rājasimha's food which is as holy as that received from the deity Jagannātharāya".<sup>6</sup> The king then gave gifts of horses, elephants and ornaments to the bridegrooms.

In the year 1721, in the month of Māgha, on the occasion of a solar eclipse (Friday, 6th January, 1665 A.D.), the king performed gifts of *Hiranyakāmadhēnu*, costing Rs. 2,000, and silver *tulā* and made a gift of an elephant called Gajamauktika.

In the year 1725, on the 10th day of the bright half of the month of Māgha, on the consecration of a tank at the village of Baḍī,<sup>7</sup> the king performed a silver *tulā* gift, naming the tank as Janasāgara. On that occasion he gave to the priest Garibadāsa two villages, Guṇahatindā and Dēvapura. The digging of the tank cost 680,000 rupees. This charitable deed he performed in honour of his late mother Janādē<sup>8</sup> (lit. he assigned the merit to his mother). Also, on that very day, at Udayapura, at the instance of the Rāṇā (Rājasimha), (his son) the young prince Jayasimha, performed the consecration ceremony of another tank, called Raṅgasaras, giving great gifts.

V. 53 gives the genealogy (Udayasimha, Pratāpa, Amarsimha, Karṇasimha, Jagatsimha, Rājasimha and Jayasimha) and states that the last mentioned caused the present *praśasti* to be engraved on stone.

<sup>1</sup> See Ojha, *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 540-41.

<sup>2</sup> Her name was Chārumati. This marriage of Rājasimha enraged Aurangzeb who is alleged to have separated the *parganas* of Gayaspur and Basāvar from Udaipur State and given them to Harisimha, the *Rāva* of Devastvā. See *ibid.*, pp. 541, 42.

<sup>3</sup> Southern portion of Mewar. Ojha, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 543.

<sup>4</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 543.

<sup>5</sup> It may be pointed out that Bāndhavēśa is one of the epithets of the rulers of the Rewā house even at present.

<sup>6</sup> The temple of this deity is at Udaipur.

<sup>7</sup> To the west of Udaipur.

<sup>8</sup> Daughter of Rāthor Rājasimha of Medtā.



At the end are given the date of the completion of the *kāvya* as also of the lake, viz., V.S. 1732, Māgha pūrṇimā, Thursday (20th January, 1676 A.D.), the date of commencement, viz., V.S. 1718, Māgha vadī 7, Wednesday (1st January, 1662 A.D.), names of masons, etc., etc.

## Slab X ; Canto IX

Invocation to Kṛishṇa, the uplifter of Mount Gōvardhana. In the year 1698, when Jagat-siṁha was reigning, Rājasiṁha, in his heir-apparency, at the age of twelve, went to the fort of Jaisalamēra for his marriage.<sup>1</sup> It was at that time that he conceived the idea of constructing a lake, finding the area covered by the following sixteen villages as fit for that purpose : Dhōdhumā, Sannavāḍa, Sivālī, Bhigāmavadā, Mōrchanā, Pasōmda, Khēḍī, Chhāparakhēḍikā, Tāsōla, Mēḍāvaraka, Bhāna, Luhānaka, Vāmsōla, Guḍhalī, Kāmkarōlī and Maṭhā. After wards when he had become king, in the month of Mārgaśīrsha in the year 1718, he went to see the deity Rūpanārāyaṇa,<sup>2</sup> and on that occasion he re-inspected the land with a view to starting the construction of the lake. He consulted his priest in the matter and the latter assured that the scheme would mature if three pre-requisites are ensured, namely full faith, friendship with the lord of Dillī and abundant funds. And these there were. The work was thus taken in hand. The Rāpēmḍra (Rājasiṁha) undertook to dam the Gōmatī<sup>3</sup> river between two big hills. A start was made on the auspicious day of Wednesday, the 7th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Māgha in the year 1718 (Wednesday, 1st January, 1662 A.D.). Sixty thousand workmen were employed for digging the earth in connection with the construction of the dam. The Mahārāpā (Rājasiṁha) used to supervise the work himself, as befitted the great enterprise. He divided the work into various sections and entrusted them to different chiefs. Immense quantities of water had to be removed for laying good foundations of the dam, and for that purpose different devices were employed. The water so removed was led to the neighbouring villages for the purpose of irrigation. That converted them into flourishing towns. In the year 1721, on the 13th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Vaiśākha, Monday (Monday, 17th April, 1665 A.D., year being Śrāvaṇādi) the foundations of the dam were laid by Raṇachhōḍarāya, the eldest son of the priest Garībadāsa.

## Slab XI ; Canto X

Invocation to Hari, the Dvārakānātha ! Rājasiṁha built a palace on the mount Suvarṇaśaila<sup>4</sup>, a veritable fortress. In the year 1726, on the 10th—the Paḍo daśamī day in the month of Mārgaśīrsha<sup>5</sup>, the king observed the opening ceremony of the palace.

In the year 1726, on the 2nd day of the dark half of the month of Kārttika, the king Rājasiṁha made the following two great gifts to Brāhmaṇas : (a) Mahābhūtaghaṭa,<sup>6</sup> composed of a hundred *palas* of gold, accompanied by five Kalpadrumas, each composed of a hundred *palas* of gold (or silver ?), (b) Hiraṇyāśvaratha<sup>7</sup>, costing one thousand silver coins, i.e., rupees. The two gifts cost him altogether 11,670 rupees.

In the year 1726, on the 13th day of the bright half of the month of Vaiśākha, the king fixed the auspicious day (*muhūrta*) for the inauguration of the dam at the town of Kāmkarōlī. The lofty dam consisted of big stone slabs, cemented with lime. In the year 1726, in the months of Jyēṣṭha and Āshāḍha, the water of the lake increased considerably on account of rain. The main

<sup>1</sup> Rājasiṁha married Kṛishṇakumārī, daughter of Rāval Manōhardās of Jaisalmer.

<sup>2</sup> The Viṣṇu temple of Rūpanārāyaṇa is in the village of Sevantri, not far from Kankroli.

<sup>3</sup> The Gōmatī rises from the eastern hills of the Arāvalli range and discharges its waters in lake Dhebars.

<sup>4</sup> This refers to the palace at Rājnagar, near the lake.

<sup>5</sup> See note to the Text.

<sup>6</sup> For these *mahādānas* see Hēmādri, *Chaturvarga-Chintāmaṇi*, Dānakhaṇḍa (ed. A.S.B.), pp. 342, 279 and 287.



dam as completed by the masons on Sunday, the fifth day (*smara-tithi*) in the dark half of the month of Āshāḍha in the year 1726 A.D., after eight years, five months and six days from the commencement of its construction.

In that very year, the water that came afresh in the lake was removed by the masons for excavating the *chatushkīs*. Numerous squares were excavated in the lake by expert masons hailing from distant lands. The heaps of earth that were dug out in connection with these excavations were removed by thousands of labourers and utilised in building up the dam.

In the year 1727, on the occasion of his birth-day anniversary, king Rājasimha gave the great gift of Hēmahastiratha,<sup>1</sup> composed of 1,020 *tolas* of gold.

In the year 1727, the day for launching boats<sup>2</sup> in the lake was fixed, which was the 4th day of the dark fortnight in the month of Āshāḍha. However, till the 3rd day there was not enough water in the lake, and that caused much anxiety in the minds of the people, especially because in the next year Brihaspati was going to enter Simha and there was to be no other auspicious day for the ceremony of launching boats in the lake. Rānāvata Rāmasimha proposed that more water should be brought in from elsewhere into the *Chōkaḍīnas*<sup>3</sup> so that the launching ceremony should come off on the appointed day. However, the priest, Garibadāsa, arranged for a recitation of Varuṇa hymns replying that thereby the god Indra would surely send rain and remove the obstacle. And it did happen so: in the afternoon of the 3rd day it rained heavily with the result that the lake had enough water and king Rājasimha performed the launching ceremony sitting in a boat, bedecked with silver and tastefully decorated.

In the year 1728, on the fullmoon day of the month of Jyēshṭha, the masons stopped the supply-mains (*nala-vimudraṇa*) at the command of the king.

In the year 1729, in the month of Māgha, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse (Monday, 12th January, 1674 ?), the king performed the following *mahādānas*: Kalpalatā,<sup>4</sup> composed of 250 *palas* of gold, Pañchalāṅgala,<sup>4</sup> consisting of five *halas*, composed of 180 *tolas* of gold along with the village of Bhāvali. The two charities comprised 1,028 *tolas* of gold.

In the year 1829, on the eleventh day of the dark fortnight of the month of Phālguna, the king performed the inauguration ceremony of the *saṅgi-kārya* of the principal dam.

In the year 1729, in the month of Jyēshṭha, on the 7th day of the bright fortnight, king Rājasimha caused to be constructed four stone *pratōlis* each with a surrounding wall in the tank, called Indrasaras, near the temple of Ēkaliṅga,—the tank which had steps and whose dam was in a ruined condition. This cost him 18,000 rupees.

At the end the poet says that he composed the *praśasti* at the command of the Rāpā who having listened to it ordered it to be engraved on stone slabs.

#### Slab XII ; Canto XI

Canto XI, after obeisance to Gaṇēśa, gives the measurements of the principal dam, steps, pavilions and so forth, which are only of architectural interest. The details given can be fully understood if verified on comparison with the actual constructions. The standard of measurement of length employed is *gaja*, Urdu *gaz*, i.e., 'yard'. The measurement of the principal dam is given as follows: length at the base 515 *gaja* and at the top 581 *gaja* and the width at bottom 55 *gaja*. The following architectural terms are noteworthy, though the meaning of some of them is

<sup>1</sup> For these *mahādānas* see Hēmādrī, *Chaturvarga-chintāmaṇi*, Dānakhaṇḍa (ed. A.S.B.), pp. 342, 279 and 287.

<sup>2</sup> For the ceremony of launching boats in connection with excavation and conservation of a lake, see Hēmādrī, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> For the meaning of *Chōkaḍīna*, see above, p. 39, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> For these two *mahādānas*, see Hēmādrī, *op. cit.*, Dānakhaṇḍa, pp. 331 and 281.



not clear: *pīṭha* 'basement', *mēkhalā*, *tilaka*, *saṃgikārya*, *stara* 'layer', *garbha-kōshṭha*, *parva-kōshṭha*, *chatuskī* (excavated squares at the bottom of the lake), etc. The minor dams seem to be named after the nearest village, tree or the like, such as *Nimba-sētu*, *Bhadra-sētu*, *Kāmkarōli-sētu*, *Asaṭiyāgrāma-sētu*, *Vaṃsōlāgrāma-sētu*, etc. The monotony of the details is occasionally relieved by a play upon the numbers or drawing similes as in vv. 14, 15, 19, 34, 36, 45, and 56.

### Slab XIII ; Canto XII

This canto continues the description of the minor constructions in and around the lake, giving their measurements. Verse 5 states that on the border of the village *Mōrchanā*, there is a hillock in the lake, on the western peak of which is perched a pavilion sacred to *Varuṇa*, the god of waters. The villages completely submerged in the lake are stated to be *Sivāli*, *Bhīṃgavada*, *Bhānō*, *Luhāṇō*, and *Guḍhalī*, and those partly submerged were *Mōrchanā*, *Pasōṃda*, *Khēḍī*, *Chhāparakhēḍikā*, *Tāsōla* and *Maṃḍōvara*. The rivers or rivulets that drained into the lake are said to be *Gōmatī*, *Tāla* and *Kailavā*. Besides, the tanks, wells, etc., of the villages of *Kāmkarōli*, *Lōhāṇa* and *Sivāli*, numbering thirty, also merged into the lake.

From verse 13 onwards the poet praises the great enterprise of his patron, *Rājasimha*. The maximum limit prescribed by *Viśvakarman* for artificial lakes is 6,000 yards in length. Whether anybody ever constructed a lake of that length is doubtful, but *Rājasimha* even exceeded that limit, the lake constructed by him measuring 7,000 yards in length.

The poet now informs that formerly *Rāṇā Udayasimha* had attempted to construct a dam on that very spot, but his attempt was a failure. Afterwards he constructed a lake which was named after him, viz., *Udayasāgara*.

In the year 1730 there came heavy floods in the river *Tāla*, which caused much destruction in the city. In the same year in the month of *Āśvina* the lake had water eight *hastas* in depth due to waters coming from the *Gōmatī*.

On the fullmoon day of the month of *Māgha* in that year *Rājasimha* performed the great gift of *Suvarṇapṛithivī*,<sup>1</sup> that consisted of 500 *palas* of gold, costing 28,000 rupees.

In the year 1731, on the 5th day of the bright fortnight of *Śrāvaṇa*, the artisans hailing from *Lāhōra* (Lahore), *Gurjara* (Gujarat) and *Surita* (Surat), floated a big boat, called *Jahāja*, built by them, in the lake.

In that year, on the occasion of his birth-day anniversary, *Rājasimha* performed the great gift of *Viśvachakra*,<sup>1</sup> consisting of 500 *palas* of gold.

### Slab XIV ; Canto XIII

After the completion of the construction of the lake, *Rājasimha*, in connection with its inauguration ceremony, sent invitations to princes, relatives, friends and others. The poet utilizes the occasion by describing the immense expenditure of wealth by *Rājasimha* as host to the invitees. We are told how the king sent his messengers with horses, chariots, elephants, palanquins, etc., to fetch his guests, what elaborate arrangements he made for the stay of his guests by way of setting apart big mansions and erecting tents, all fully furnished and decorated, as well as by accumulating all sorts of provisions, toilet requisites and other necessary articles, and how he collected cloths, ornaments, horses, elephants, cows, etc., to be given in charity. Apart from princes, the invitees included learned men, poets, bards and holy men. The city became choke-full of people. They brought many presents to *Rājasimha* who accepted only as much as seemed proper and returned the rest.

<sup>1</sup> For this see *Hemādri*, *op. cit.*, *Dānakhaṇḍa*, pp. 301 and 326.



On the 2nd day of the bright half of the month of Māgha in the year 1732, Rājasimha's consort, the Paramāra princess Rāmarasadē<sup>1</sup>, performed, at the instance of her husband, the consecration ceremony of a step-well in the Dahabāri<sup>2</sup> Ghaṭṭa, which had cost 24,000 rupees.

Then, Rājasimha ordered three *maṇḍapas* to be constructed on the dam, one for performing the inauguration ceremony of the lake, another for a *hēma-tulā* ceremony and the third for the Hātakasaptasāgara<sup>3</sup> gift. A short description of each *maṇḍapa* with its particular construction is given.

The *muhūrta* fixed for the inauguration ceremony was Saturday, the 10th—Pāṇḍu daśamī day<sup>4</sup> of the month of Māgha, in the year 1732. Five days earlier, that is on the 5th day of the bright half of Māgha, the king, in consultation with the priest, elected the *ritvigs* (priests) to perform the rites in connection with the ceremony. Their total number was twenty six (two *hōtris*, two *jāpakas* and two *dvārapālas* with reference to every one of the four Vēdas, these amounting to twenty four, one Brāhman and an Achārya, the total thus being twenty six); following the *Matsya Purāṇa* where the merit of such election is also given.

#### Slab XV ; Canto XIV

The chief queen, **Sadākumhvarī** by name, daughter of the Paramāra Rāva Indrabhāna (of Bijōliā), decided to perform a silver *tulā* ceremony, for which a *maṇḍapa* was quickly constructed overnight and there the preliminary rites were observed as enjoined by the *śāstra*. Garibadāsa, the priest, and his son (Raṇachhōḍa), intended to perform gold and silver *tulā* ceremonies (respectively), for which two *maṇḍapas* were erected and preliminary rites were observed there. The mother of king Rāyasimha and wife of king Bhīma of Tōḍā, son of Rāṇā Amarasimha, also expressed her desire to perform a silver *tulā* ceremony, for which also the Rāṇā's men constructed a *maṇḍapa* overnight, providing it with all accessories; and preliminary rites were performed there.

There was Rāva Balū of the Chōhāna family of Vēdalāpura. His son was Rāmachandra, and the latter's second son was Kēsarisimha who was made second Rāva of Salāmvari (Salūmvar) by Rāṇā Rājasimha. His brother Balaṇdisimha urged him to perform a silver *tulā* ceremony, saying, 'The king has made you Rāva, therefore, you should perform a *tulā* ceremony'. Thereupon Kēsarisimha undertook to perform the ceremony. Therefore, a *maṇḍapa* was erected quickly and the preliminary rites were celebrated. The Bārhaṭa bard Kēsarisimha also performed a silver *tulā* near Khadiravātaka.

On the 7th day of the bright fortnight of Māgha, Rājasimha's consort Jōdhapuri,<sup>5</sup> daughter of Rāthōḍa Rūpasimha, at the instance of her husband consecrated a step-well at Rājanagara, which cost 30,000 rupees.

On the 9th day (of the bright half of Māgha), the people were treated to the music of the royal band and other festivities also took place. In the decorated main *maṇḍapa* came Rājasimha accompanied by his priest, brothers, sons, grandsons and the princes who had been invited. There he performed the purification ceremony and other preliminary rites. He worshipped Dharitṛī (the earth goddess), Gaṇēśa, Gōtradēvī, Gōvinda, etc., and then gave seats to the elected priests headed by Garibadāsa and honoured them, presenting them with rich *dakṣiṇā* consisting of clothes, jewels, etc.

<sup>1</sup> She was the daughter of Pṛithvisimha, granddaughter of Juharasimha and great-granddaughter of the Paramāra Rāyasala of Ajmer.

<sup>2</sup> Dēvārī. The name of this well is given as 'Jaya' in the Trimukhi well inscription. See Ojha, *History of Rājputānā*, pt. ii, p. 885, n. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Further details of the *Saptasāgara* gift are given below in Canto XVII. See also Hēmādri, *op. cit.*, Dānakhaṇḍa, p. 337.

<sup>4</sup> See Text, Canto X, note on v. 4.

<sup>5</sup> If she is the daughter of Rūpasimha of Kishangarh, as she appears to be, her name was Chārumatī.



## Slab XVI ; Canto XV

The fifteenth canto describes the king's *jala-yātrā*, worship of the god Varuṇa, naming ceremony of the lake, etc. He went in a procession, headed by richly attired Brāhmaṇas and priests on elephants, followed by gaily dressed ladies carrying jars full of water, with a band playing in front. This *jala-yātrā* presented an unprecedented scene in the city. Afterwards, in a tastefully decorated pavilion, he got the water pitchers brought by the ladies arranged in rows and there conducted the worship of Varuṇa, adoring at the same time the nine Grahas and other presiding deities.

Then, in that great *maṇḍapa*, accompanied by priests and learned men, the king kept vigil, preparatory to the final ceremony on the following day. He got up early next morning, and once again worshipped Varuṇa in company with his relatives, including ladies. Then, as if with the intention of making the lake a second ocean, he threw in it various gems as also fish, tortoises and alligators. After that he worshipped a cow along with her calf and performed the *gō-tāraṇa* rite. Finally, the naming ceremony of the lake took place. The king asked the priest what name to give to the lake, and the priest in reply suggested two names, Rājasāgara and Rājasamudra. Both these names were accepted and given to the lake with due ceremonial five days after the above ceremony, when *hōmas* were performed and the king, followed by his retinue, circumambulated the lake, at the same time inspecting the newly erected structures.

## Slab XVII ; Canto XVI

The sixteenth canto opens with a verse stating that the Udayasagara lake was consecrated by Rājā Udayasimha on Vaiśākha sudi 3 in the year 1620 and then goes on elaborating the description of Rājasimha's circumambulation of the lake. Rāvala Jasavantasimha said to Rājasimha : " Udayasimha, while consecrating the Udayasāgara lake, circumambulated it, seated in a palanquin, accompanied by ladies. Now you may also do likewise, or, if you prefer, you may ride on a horse which may be given away in charity after the circumambulation " Rājasimha listened to these two alternative proposals but kept quiet. In the midst of the priests, bards, ladies, and others standing by, the king then started circumambulation on foot even though there were horses, elephants and palanquins in attendance. They spread quilts on the ground so that the king should walk in comfort, but those he simply touched with his toe and got them removed. He even put off his shoes and walked bare-footed, to the great admiration of all. Thus he went walking bare-footed on the rough ground and as he walked, he made charities on the way in a lavish manner. According to the rite, he surrounded the lake with an unbroken thread, casting it as he walked round it. In the midst of his queens, bedecked with glittering jewels, the king, clad in white, looked like the moon surrounded by stars. He was constantly being besprinkled (with water) by his queens. It rained at that time and it appeared as if even the god Indra was attracted to the scene. Seeing that his brother Arisimha and queen (Rāmarasadē), the Paramāra princess, who were unaccustomed to walking bare-footed felt tired and sore, he asked them to mount the palanquins.

At the end, all the flower-garlands which were presented to him during his circumambulation, he threw in the Rājasamudra lake as an offering to Varuṇa. The whole circumference of the lake was 14 *krōśas*, and the king circumambulated it in five stages, encamping (with his retinue) at every stage.

On the 13th day (of the bright half of Māgha) one of the elephants fell into the lake near the Kamalabūrj, but soon afterwards it came out. It looked as if the god Varuṇa presented the king with an elephant for his religious merit.

The six days taken by him in the circumambulation purified the king, as it were, of the six *ūrmis* and he was thus to enjoy perfect health in all the six seasons.



On the 14th (of the bright half of Māgha), he performed the preliminary rites of a *suvarṇa-tulā* and a *Saptasāgara mahādāna*. The two *maṇḍapas* erected for the purpose were beautifully decorated with flower garlands, flags, etc. The worship of the Earth-goddess, as well as of Hari, Gaṇeśa and Vāstu was conducted, the election of the priests made, the recitals of the Vēdas commenced and *hōmas* performed. All this was done preparatory to the consecration ceremony of the lake.

#### Slab XVIII ; Canto XVII

The subject of the seventeenth canto is the accomplishment of the consecration of the Rāja-samudra lake along with the ceremonies of the Saptasāgara gift and the gold *tulā* gift.

On the fullmoon day the king took his seat in the auspicious *maṇḍapa*, accompanied by his priests and relatives. The latter included his brother Arisimha, sons Jayasimha, Bhimasimha,<sup>1</sup> Gajasimha,<sup>2</sup> Surajasimha,<sup>3</sup> Indrasimha and Bahādurasimha, grandsons Amarasimha (son of Jayasimha), Ajabasingha, Manōharasingha and Dalasingha. There were other princes and Thakkurās, the priest Raṇachhōḍa and the minister Bhikhū, also present at the ceremony. He performed the *pūrṇāhuti*, that is, the last rite, of the dedication of the lake which was to be for the benefit of the public at large. By this act Rājasimha equalled Dilīpa, Rāma and Yudhisṭhira who had respectively performed the Aśvamēdha sacrifice, constructed a bridge across the sea and celebrated the Rājasūya *yajña*.

Similarly he performed the final rites of the gold Saptasāgara<sup>4</sup> great gift, the prominent features of which were the seven vessels filled with different contents and representing different deities, each representing a *sāgara* : filled with salt, Brahman ; with milk, Kṛishṇa ; with ghee, Mahēśa ; with *guḍa*, Sūrya ; with curds, Mahēndra ; with *ghee* and sugar, Rāma ; and with water, Gaurī.

Afterwards he entered the *tulā-maṇḍapa* accompanied by his people and there performed the gold *tulā* ceremony, weighing himself along with his grandson Amarasimha, the weight of the gold being 9,000 *tolas*.

The canto ends with the two verses, describing the lineage of the poet Raṇachhōḍa, that are found also in some other cantos.

#### Slab XIX ; Canto XVIII

This eighteenth canto records certain gifts by Rājasimha and others, made on the occasion of the consecration ceremony. The latter half contains mostly the conventional praises of the king, the lake, etc.

Rājasimha gave the following twelve villages to his chief priest Garibadāsa : Ghāmsō, Gudhō, Sirathala, Sālōla, Alidaka, Majjhēra, Dhanēriya, Jhāḍindikā, Sādaḍī, Ambēri, Sarōla and Mānasana. To other Brāhmaṇas he gave away villages and land, measuring many *halas*.

The chief queen of Rājasimha (i.e., Sadākumvarī) performed a silver *tulā* gift. The priest Garibadāsa and his son Raṇachhōḍarāya performed gold and silver *tulā* gifts respectively.

<sup>1</sup> Both Jayasimha and Bhimasimha were sons by the chief queen Rāmarasadō. It was the popular belief that they were twins and Bhimasimha was actually born first but as the news of the birth of Jayasimha reached his father first he was considered elder. Ojha has, however, shown from several sources that Bhimasimha was younger by at least 7 months and 4 days. Jayasimha's date of birth, according to the *Rājaprasasti* (Canto VI, vv. 4-6) was v. 1710, Pausa vadi 11 which Ojha takes as correct. See Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 882, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Indrasimha, Gajasimha, Bahādurasimha, Sultānsimha and Sardārsimha (last two not named here) were born of Chandramati, daughter of Rāval Sabalasingha of Jaisalmer.

<sup>3</sup> Ojha gives the name as Suratsimha whose mother's name is not definitely known.

<sup>4</sup> See *ante*, Canto XIII, note 3.



The mother of Rāyasimha, the chief of Tōḍā, performed a silver *tulā* gift. The *Rāva* of Salūnbarī, Kēsarisimha of the Chōhāna family, performed a silver *tulā-dāna*. Bārhaṭa Kēsarisimha, the bard, performed a silver *tulā* gift.<sup>1</sup>

On that day, the lake was called Rājasamudra, and following that, the king also named the palace on the hill Rājamandira and the city Rājanagara.

The further charities performed by the king on that day included also other articles, such as grains of all kinds, cooked food, sugar, *guḍa*, ghee, etc.

The penultimate verse contains the genealogy of the royal family from Udayasimha down to Rājasimha's son Jayasimha by whose order this *prasasti* was engraved on stone slabs.

The last verse tells that the *Rājaprasasti* was completed on the fullmoon day of the month of Māgha in the year 1732 (the day of the consecration of the lake Rājasamudra itself).

#### Slab XX ; Canto XIX

This canto does not impart any additional information. It contains a poetic description of the lake, mostly comparing it to the ocean. Besides, it once again recounts the gifts given by Rājasimha on the occasion of the consecration. All the gold, silver, etc., used for the *tulā* ceremonies were distributed among the 46,000 Brāhmanas who came for the occasion from various parts of the country. In addition were given many *halas* of land and villages donated by copper-plate charters. Finally it tells how Rājasimha presented his guests with costly gifts of garments, horses and elephants at the time of their taking leave of him after the ceremony was over.

The last two verses contain the genealogy of the poet Raṇachhōḍa as in some other cantos.

#### Slab XXI ; Canto XX

The twentieth canto gives details of the gifts made by Rājasimha to his relatives and the contemporary princes invited.

The Rāṇā (Rājasimha) sent through Raṇachhōḍa Bhaṭṭa the following presents to Rāṭhōḍa Jasavāntasimha, the ruler of Jōdhapura<sup>2</sup>: one elephant, called Paramēśvaraprasāda, which cost 9,500 rupees, two excellent horses, one called Phattē which cost 2,500 rupees, and the other called Kanakakalaśa, which cost 600 rupees, and, besides, many pieces of brocade and other costly clothes.

To the city of Ambēri he sent his priest Rāmachandra with the following presents for the Kaobchhavāhā king Rāmasimha: one elephant, called Sundaragaja, that cost 10,250 rupees, two horses, one called Chhavisundara, that cost 1,500 rupees, and the other called Hayahadda, that cost 750 rupees, and many costly clothes.

To *Rāva* Anūpasimha, the ruler of Bikanēri,<sup>3</sup> he sent the following presents through Mādhava Jōshī: one elephant, called Manamūrtti, that cost 7,500 rupees, two horses, one called Sahan-simḡāra, costing 1,500 rupees, and the other called Tējanidhāna, costing 750 rupees, and many costly clothes.

To *Rāva* Bhāvasimha Hāḍā, the ruler of Būndī, he sent the following presents with Bhāskara Bhaṭṭa: one elephant, Hōṇahāra, costing 10,376 rupees, two horses, Sarvaśōbha and Siratāja, costing 1,500 and 750 rupees respectively, and costly clothes.

To the Chandrāvata *Rāva*, Muhukamasimha, he sent to Rāmapura the following presents with Bhaṭṭa Dvārakānātha: one elephant, Phattē dōlati (daulat), costing 7,250 rupees, two horses, Mōhana and Hayasarasa, costing 1,500 and 750 rupees respectively, and costly clothes, as before.

<sup>1</sup> See also canto XIV for the same gifts repeated here.

<sup>2</sup> Jaswant Sing (1638-78), first Mahārājā of Mārwar.

<sup>3</sup> Son of Mahārājā Karṇasimha (1669-1698 A. D.)



Similarly for *Rāvala* Amarasimha Bhāṭī, he sent to Jēsalamēru the following presents with Dēvānanda Jōshi : one elephant, Pratāpaśringāra, costing 11,500 rupees, two horses, Hayamukuta and Ratimūrtti, costing 1,500 and 750 rupees respectively, and costly clothes.

Again, to *Rāvala* Jasavaritasimha of Duṅgarapura, he sent the following presents with Dvivedi Harijī : one elephant, Sāradhāra, costing 6,500 rupees, and costly clothes. At the time of the consecration of Rājasamudra (where he was present) Rājasimha had also given him two horses, one called Jasaturaga, costing 1,000 and 500 rupees respectively, and many costly clothes.

To his Chief Minister, Dōsī Bhikhū, he gave one elephant, Pratāpaśringāra, costing 11,000 rupees, and clothes.

To *Rāpāvala* Rāmasimha, who was the chief of those entrusted with the supervision of the construction work of the Rājasamudra, he gave an elephant, Siranāga, costing 7,000 rupees, and clothes, while to the other Thākuras and Kshatriyas he gave altogether sixty-one horses, costing 25,551 rupees.

On this occasion, the bards and minstrels also received from the king a generous gift of two hundred and six horses, costing all told 27,571 rupees.

Further, to Bāṁdhavēsa (Bāghelā ruler of Bandhōgaḍh, i.e., Rewā) Bhāvasimha he sent, through Lādhu Masānī as *lādhūka* (?) for the purpose of pilgrimage, an elephant, Anūparūpa, costing 7,000 rupees, two horses, Vinayasundara and Dilasāra, costing 950 and 400 rupees respectively, and costly clothes.

To some chiefs, who had come there on invitation, he gave eighteen horses, costing 4,300 rupees.

To the mother of Rāyasimha, the ruler of Tōḍā, and his sons, he gave a female elephant, Sahōlī, costing 3,000 rupees.

To some other chiefs, who had come there on invitation, he gave thirteen horses, costing 3,450 rupees, to still some others, seven horses, costing 561 rupees (each).

To those of the bards and minstrels who were *ināmdārs* or freeholders of his own and of his ancestors, he gave two hundred horses, costing 13,136 rupees. The details thereof are as follows : 23 horses to his own free-holders, 23 to those of *Rāpā* Jagatsimha, 4 to those of Karṇasimha, 7 to those of Amarasimha, 18 to those of Pratāpasimha, 38 to those of Udayasimha, 1 to that of Vikramārka, 1 to that of Ratanasī, 27 to those of Saṁgrāmasimha, 21 to those of Rāyamalla, 1 to that of Kumbhā, 19 to those of Mōkala, 5 to those of Hammīra, 7 to those of Lākhā, 1 to that of Khētā, 1 to that of Ajēsī, 1 to that of *Rāvala* Śālivāhana, 1 to that of Samarasī, and 1 to that of Rāvata Vāghā, brother of Mōkala.

In all 552 horses were bought at the cost of 1,22,268 rupees, and 13 elephants, including a cow-elephant, at the cost of 1,02,800 rupees, that were given away as gifts by Rājasimha.

#### Slab XXII ; Canto XXI

In the beginning of this canto are given the details of the expenditure on the lake itself. The construction started on Wednesday, the 7th day of the dark half of Māgha in the year 1718 (Wednesday, 4th January, 1662 A.D.) and was completed in the month of Āshāḍha in the year 1735. The money spent during this period on various works in connection with the lake amounted to 46,64,625½ rupees. Further details of this gross total are mentioned in the text and are noted in footnote 2 on p. 81. The total includes the sum of 7,00,001 rupees spent in connection with the inauguration ceremony. Of the remaining sum of 39,64,624½, 32,02,880½ were given in cash as wages, and 7,61,744 were adjusted against the revenue due from the Thākuras who had been appointed to the supervision of the construction work.



Apart from the above, enormous additional expenditure was incurred voluntarily by various feudatory chiefs and freeholders especially in the digging work.

According to another reckoning, the total expenditure by the king represents a larger figure of 1,05,07,608 rupees.

On the day of his birth-day anniversary in the year 1734, Rājāsīṃha performed two great gifts, Kalpadruma and Hiraṇyāśva,<sup>1</sup> comprising two hundred *tolas* and eighty *tolas* of gold respectively.

In the month of Śrāvaṇa in that year, Rājāsīṃha went up to Jilavāḍa, rescued Vairisāla, the Rāva of Sirōhī, who was harrassed by enemies, and reinstated him as the ruler of Sirōhī. From him Rājāsīṃha accepted one lakh of rupees and five villages, Kōraṭā and others. Besides, a gold pitcher belonging to the Rāṇā (Rājāsīṃha) had been stolen and found its way to Vairisāla's land, and as compensation for that Rājāsīṃha took from him (Vairisāla) a sum of fifty thousand rupees.<sup>2</sup>

Verses 33-41 contain a panegyric of Rājāsīṃha, verse 42 his lineage from Udayasīṃha down to Rājāsīṃha's son Jayasīṃha, as in some other cantos, and likewise the last two verses the genealogy of the poet.

### Slab XXIII ; Canto XXII

On the 11th day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra in the year 1735, Prince Jayasīṃha, at the instance of his father, Rājāsīṃha, started on tour. First he came to Ajamēru (Ajmer). Then he went to Dillī to see Aurangzeb, the lord of Dillī. He met him two *krōśas* this side of Dillī in a camp. The Emperor welcomed him and presented him with a pearl necklace, brocade, an elephant and horses. The Emperor also gave similar gifts to the prominent men who accompanied Jayasīṃha, namely the Jhālā Chandrasēna, the priest Garibadāsa and several Thakkuras.

From there Jayasīṃha went to the Ganges where he took bath, worshipped Śiva Gaṇayuktēśvara<sup>3</sup> and performed a silver *tulā*, and made gifts of an elephant and a horse.

In the month of Jyēṣṭha, Jayasīṃha performed pilgrimage of Vṛindāvana and Mathurā.<sup>4</sup>

On the 11th day of the dark fortnight of Pausa in the year 1736, the Emperor of Dillī came to Mēvāḍa. First, his son Akbar and Tahabara Khāna (Tahawar Khān) came with their armies to Rājanagara where their men committed atrocities. There Śakta of the Śaktāvata clan, son of the Pūrāvāt Sabalasīṃha and brother of Muhakamasīṃha, gave a terrific battle.<sup>5</sup> A certain Chōṃḍāvata warrior and twenty soldiers gave their lives in this clash. Thereupon the Rāṇā ordered the Kshatriya warriors of the great Dahavāri *ghaṭṭa* (Dēbāri pass) and other *ghaṭṭas* to join the struggle. They came with fire-arms. On the other side the Emperor of Dillī also came to the Dahavāri *ghaṭṭa* breaking open its portals, was there for twenty-one days and then secretly reached Udayapura.

Afterwards Akbar also came to Udayapura. Tahabara Khāna followed him while his work was done by his followers. Akbar saw there the god Ēkaliṅga. When he was near Ambēri and Chirava *ghaṭṭas*,<sup>6</sup> Jhālā Pratāpa of Karkēṭapura (Karget) seized two elephants from the Emperor's army and presented them to the Rāṇā.

<sup>1</sup> For these two *mahādānas*, see Hēmādri, *op. cit.*, Dānakhaṇḍa, pp. 245, 277.

<sup>2</sup> See Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 855.

<sup>3</sup> The reference is obviously to the Śiva at Gaḍhmuktēśvar on the Ganges about 45 miles from Delhi in the Meerut District.

<sup>4</sup> See Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 856. It may be interesting to note that on the southern side of Gōvindajī's temple at Brindāvan there is a pillared Chhatrī 'of very handsome and harmonious design' erected on the 5th day of the dark half of Kārttika, V.S. 1693 (1636 A.D., i.e., 40 years later than the temple itself), in the reign of Shāhjahān by Rāṇī Rambhāvatī, widow of Rājā Bhīmasīṃha, second son of Rāṇā Amarasīṃha of Udaipur and uncle of Rājāsīṃha.

<sup>5</sup> Ojha, (*op. cit.*, p. 876) gives the credit to Muhakamasīṃha.

<sup>6</sup> The villages of Ambēri and Chirwā.



When the Rāṇā was halting at Nainavārā, the Ballas of Bhadēsara presented him with a number of horses, elephants and camels (captured from the enemy).

The loss sustained in that battle included fifty thousand men dead.<sup>1</sup>

The Emperor of Dillī then came to Chitrakūṭa. Akbar also, setting afoot a false rumour, came there, and from Chhappanna, Hasana Allikhā, too, arrived there. The Rāṇā, filled with anger, soon came to Nāhī (the village of Nai) from the village of Kōṭaḍī (Kotḍa), followed by his army.

Prince Bhīmasimha, sent by the Rāṇā, effected the destruction of Idara (Idar in Gujarat) and Saidahasa<sup>2</sup> fled from there. Baḍanagara was plundered and a sum of 40,000 rupees was taken by Bhīmasimha as fine. Similarly, Bhīmasimha took 2,00,000 rupees as fine in Ahamadanagara in addition to causing plunder of the city. He also caused one big mosque and three hundred small mosques to be destroyed, and thereby vindicated his resentment at the destruction of Hindu temples by the Muslims.<sup>3</sup>

Prince Jayasimha, following the command of his father, took with him a number of chiefs such as Jhālā Chandrasēna (of Sādri), the Chōhāna Rāva Sabalasimha (of Bēdlā), his brother Rāva Kēsarisimha, Rāthōḍ Gōpīnātha son of Arisimha, Bhagavarāntasimha, and many other Kshatriyas, besides 13,000 strong cavalry and 20,000 strong infantry, and marched towards Chitrakūṭa in order to gain victory over his enemies. There those Thakkuras in a terrible fight at night killed a thousand men and three elephants of the Emperor of Dillī. In the end, Akbar retired (towards Ajmer) and the Rājputs captured fifty horses and presented them to Jayasimha. Prince Jayasimha, thus pleased with his triumph, went to see his father. Gaṅgakūvara (Gaṅgādās), son of Śaktāvata Rāvat Kēsarisimha (of Bānsī) seized eighteen elephants and a number of horses and camels from the Emperor's army, and presented them to the Rāṇā.<sup>4</sup>

Afterwards, the Rāṇā sent Prince Bhīmasimha with an army to fight with Akbar and Tahabara Khāna. Crossing the Dēvasūrī (Dēsūrī pass) he fought them at Ghānōrānagara (Ghānērā). The Sōlaṅkī hero Bīkā (of Rūpnagar) fought in defence of the *ghaṭṭa* (pass).<sup>5</sup>

Similarly, Prince Gajasimha, sent by the Rāṇā, destroyed Bēgamapura (Bēgūr).<sup>6</sup>

It is stated that Aurangzeb then showed his readiness to make peace with the Rāṇā, giving three provinces or 3,00,000 rupees.<sup>7</sup>

Like the foregoing canto, the present one also ends with the genealogies of the Rāṇā and of the poet.

#### Slab XXIV ; Canto XXIII

On the 10th day of the bright fortnight of Kārttika in the year 1737, Rāṇā Rājasimha died after making numerous gifts to Brāhmaṇas. The victorious Jayasimha was encamping at the city of Kaḍaija (Kuraj village). Fifteen days after his father's death, he ascended the throne. Residing at Kaḍamja (Kaḍaija and Kaḍamja are identical<sup>8</sup>) in the month of Mārgaśīrsha in the year 1737, Jayasimha heard that Tahabara Khāna had crossed Dēvasūrī (village Dēsūrī near the entrance to

<sup>1</sup> Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 876.

<sup>2</sup> Saidahasa (Sayyid Khān ?) (v. 26) probably refers to Sayad Kamal, son of Sayad Kamil, who was the commander of Sādra in Mahikantha, which was one of the military posts during the viceroyalty in Gujarāt of Muhammad Amin (1674-1683). See *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. i, pp. 85-86.

<sup>3</sup> Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 877.

<sup>4</sup> For the war in Mewār, see Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, pp. 339-347. See also *ibid.*, pp. 378-81, Appendix X.

<sup>5</sup> Ojha, *op. cit.*, pp. 878-79. See also next canto where the same incident is repeated in greater detail.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 879.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 878.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 879.



the pass).<sup>1</sup> Thereupon Jayasimha sent his brother Bhīmasimha and Bīkā Sōlaṅkī to stop Tahabara Khāna. They both destroyed many enemies and surrounded Tahabara who after eight days got away. Jayasimha had by this time come in the neighbourhood of Ghanōrā.<sup>2</sup> Hearing that from the other side Dalēlakhā (Dilābar Khān) had reached the hills of Chhappanna, Jayasimha sent Rāvata Ratnasī (Chūḍāvata) to protect the Gōgūndā *ghaṭṭa*. Then the Rāṇā's men surrounded the *ghaṭṭa*, with the result that Dalēlakhā could not escape.

Jayasimha sent Jhālā Varasā (Varasimha) to make peace with Dalēlakhā whom he said : "You are respected by the Emperor of Dillī and you have got 15,000 strong cavalry with you and you have been stopped here by one man (*viz.*, Ratnasī), so you can easily get away." Dalēlakhā tried all the three passes and found them all strongly guarded. The Nawāb Dalēlakhā, however, bribed a Brāhmaṇa by giving him 1,000 rupees and with his help escaped through another way under cover of night; but there, too, Rāvata Ratnasī blocked his way. Anyhow he managed to escape from there, and came to the Emperor of Dillī.<sup>3</sup> There asked by the latter as to why he returned without chasing the Rāṇā, he said that through want of foodstuff daily four hundred of his men were dying and he was thus compelled to return.<sup>4</sup>

Then Akbar came to make peace.<sup>5</sup> Śyāmasimha, son of Garibadāsa, the second son of Rāṇā Karṇasimha, participated in the peace negotiations, and so did, from the other side, Dalēlakhā and Hasana Allikhā. To ratify the treaty Jayasimha came to the bank of the Rājasamudra lake, followed by his retinue and 7,000 strong cavalry and 10,000 strong infantry. The retinue included the Chōhān Jhālā Chandrasēna, Rāval Sabalasimha of the Paramāra family, Mahārāva Vairisāla, the Rāthōr Thakkuras, and also the warriors of the Chaudāvata, Śaktāvata and Rāṇāvata clans.

The prominent of the opposite party were Emperor Aurangajēba's son, Suratrāṇa Ajama,<sup>6</sup> his faithful general Dalēlakhā, Hasana Allikhā, and also Rāthōḍa Rāmasimha of Ratlam and Hādā Kiśōrasimha,<sup>7</sup> the ruler of Gauḍa. Jayasimha flanked by his priest Garibadāsa and the chief minister Bhīkhū of the Vaiśya caste and followed by the aforementioned Thakkuras, advanced and saw the Suratrāṇa Ajama. The latter showed great respect to the former. Then there was exchange of gifts that comprised 11 elephants and 40 horses from the side of the Rāṇā and 1 elephant, 28 horses and three pieces of gold embroidered cloth from the side of Ajama.<sup>8</sup>

Afterwards, Dalēlakhā introduced to Ajama some of the outstanding warriors of the Rāṇā's side, namely Jhālā Chandrasēna, Rāva Sabalasimha, Rāvata Ratnasī, and so forth.

Thus the treaty was concluded.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rājasimha died suddenly after a meal in the village of Ōḍā in the Kumbhalgaḍh District, according to some, of poisoning.

<sup>2</sup> Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 89-92.

<sup>3</sup> Actually not the emperor of Delhi but prince Azam Khān with whose forces Dilabar was attached. See Ojha, *op. cit.*, pp. 892, n. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 892-93.

<sup>5</sup> The reference to Akbar here is wrong. It should be Azam. Śyāmasimha, who was the first to propose to Jayasimha peace with the Mughals offering his services as the mediator was employed in the Mughal army under Dilerkhan. Sarkar identifies him with Shyām Singh of Bikaner (*op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 370), but according to the *Rajaprasasti*, he was the son of Garibadāsa, second son of Mahārāṇa Karṇasimha. Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 896, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> This meeting of the Rāṇā and the Mughal prince Azam took place, according to Sarkar (*op. cit.*, p. 370), on the 14th June; but Ojha gives the date as 24th June (*op. cit.*, p. 897).

<sup>7</sup> Hādā Kiśōrasimha was the 5th son of Rāṇā Mādhavasimha of Kotah. See Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 897, n. 2.

<sup>8</sup> See also Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 897 and n. 3.

<sup>9</sup> For the terms of this treaty see, Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 370.



## Slab XXV ; Canto XXIV

This slab contains the last canto—Canto XXIV of the *Rājaprasasti Kāvya*. Its contents are miscellaneous, generally repetition of some of the events already described.

The first eleven verses describe the various *tōraṇas* erected in connection with the *tula* charities by Rājasimha, his grandson Amarasimha, Rājasimha's chief queen Sadākumvari, his mother Janādē, his priest Garibadāsa, the latter's son Raṇachhōḍa, and so forth.

The next four verses, vv. 12-15, are those that are found towards the end in several other cantos and give the Rāṇā's and the poet's genealogies as well as the date of completion of the Rājasamudra and the *Rājaprasasti*.

These verses are again repeated towards the end of this last canto., being vv. 33-36.

Verses 16-24 constitute what may be termed the *māhātmya* of the *Rājaprasasti Kāvya*.

Verses 25-27 inform us that this work describes the destruction of Khērāvād by Dayāla Sāhabu, seizure of his standard and war-drums, plundering of Vanahēḍā, destruction of Dhārāpurī, and of a number of mosques, plundering of Ahmadnagar and the destruction of the great mosque.<sup>1</sup>

Verse 28 speaks of the Mahāmiśra Māthura Hirāmaṇi, son of Jagadīśamiśra, as one who cast thread round the Rājasamudra lake at the time when Rājasimha performed its circumambulation.

Verses 29-32 recall how Rājasimha appointed one Miśra to distribute money and grain to the poor, placing at his disposal one heap of grain, weighing 1,200 maunds, at the chief dam, and a similar one at the Kāmīkarōlī dam, and 1,500 rupees worth of Dhabbukas (Ḍhēbuā coins). For six days the Miśra kept distributing these to the satisfaction of the king.

After verse 36, the composition is in the local dialect, covering about eight lines (ll. 36-43). It contains two *Dōhās* which have been explained above (p. 96, n. 1). For the rest it contains names, including those of certain Thakkuras and masons, and also the dates of the commencement and the completion of the Rājasamudra as follows : The *mukūrta* was on Wednesday (nīmshōḍavāra), the 7th day of the dark half of Māgha of (Vikrama) Saṁvat 1718. The Thākurs who were in charge of the work were :—Rāṇāvat Māhasimha, Rāmasimha (XXI, 4), Rāṇāvat Bhāu- (Bhāva)simha, Chumḍāvat Dalapat, Mōhaṇasimha, Rāvat Lūnakaran (Karṇa), Chumḍāvat Kēsārisimha, Chumḍāvat Mōkamasimha, Māmājāvat Narasimhadās, Māmājāvat Garivadās, Rāthōḍ Simha, Rāthōḍ Rāmachandra, Rāthōḍ Hēma, Rāthōr Mōkamasimha, Vitagarā<sup>2</sup>-Sāha Rāmachandra Chēchāṁnī, Sāha Kalu Paṁchōlī, Rāma Jagamālōt, Sāha Mukumdadās Paṁchōlī, Hararām Sidhavi, Lashu(khu) Paṁchōlī, Gajadhara<sup>3</sup> Bāghō, Gajadhara Mukumda, Jagannātha, son of Kilyāna (Kalyāṇa),<sup>4</sup> sons of Urajāṇa<sup>5</sup>, Lālō<sup>6</sup>, Lashō<sup>7</sup>, Jasōhara (canto VII), Mēghō and Manō, sons of Jaganātha (canto VII). The other masons mentioned in the text are : Sachadēva, Kēsō (Kēsava), Sudara (Sundara), Bhāṇa (canto V), Mōhaṇa (canto VIII) and Sūtradhāra Lādā (canto V). This list shows that in certain families (e.g., that of Kalyāṇa) the profession was handed down from father to son.

At the end it is stated that the consecration ceremony took place in Saṁvat 1732.

<sup>1</sup> See above, canto XXII.

<sup>2</sup> An officer dealing with the accounts of the royal family.

<sup>3</sup> Literally, 'the wielder of Gaz,' i.e., an architect or mason.

<sup>4</sup> Both Kalyāṇa and his son Jagannātha are mentioned in cantos VII and VIII.

<sup>5</sup> Another son of Kalyāṇa (cantos II, V, VII, VIII).

<sup>6</sup> S.a. Lāla (cantos II, V, VII, VIII).

<sup>7</sup> S.a. Lākhā (VII).



## Dated events mentioned in the Rājaprasasti

(The dates are given in Vikrama Samvat, the year being usually Śrāvaṇādi.)

- 1718 Māgha vadi 7, Wednesday (1st January, 1662 A.D.), commencement of the lake and the *prasasti* (II. 10, VIII *et passim*).
- 1732 Māghī-pūrṇimā, Thursday (20th January, 1676 A.D.), date of the consecration of Rājasamudra (III. 35-36, *et passim*).
- 1664 Bhādra sudi 2, birth of Jagatsimha (V, 15).
- 1685 Vaiśākha sudi 3, his coronation.
- 1686 Kārttika vadi 2, birth of Rājasimha.
- 1687 Birth of his brother Arisimha.
- 1698 Diwālī, king's mother Jāmbavatī went on pilgrimage to Dvārakā.
- 1698 Rājasimha at the age of 12 went to Jaisalmer for his marriage. Idea of excavating Rājasāgara conceived.
- 1704 Āshāḍha 8, solar eclipse, the king was at Amarkaṇṭak on pilgrimage.
- 1704 Kārttika, king's mother went on pilgrimage to Mathurā and Gōkula. Same year Vaiśākhi 15, he built the temple of Jagannātha Rāya. (Acc. to the J. R. Temple inscription the year of the installation of the image was 1709 (13th May, Thursday, 1652 A.D.); *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 62.
- 1709 Phālguna vadi 2, Rājasimha ascends the throne (VII).
- 1710 Pausa vadi 11, birth of Jayasimha from Sadākumbarī.
- 1711 Āsvina, Shāhjahān arrives at Ajmer and Sādullā Khān at Chitor.
- 1713 Kārttika Pūrṇimā, king performs *Brahmāṇḍa-dāna* at Ēkalinga.
- 1713 Pausa vadi 11, Manvādī day, he gave away a white horse in lieu of Āsvamēdha.
- 1714 Vaiśākha sudi 10, he sets out on *digvijaya*.
- 1714 Jyēsthā, the Rāṇā when in camp hears of Aurangzeb's becoming emperor and sends his brother Arisimha to Delhi.
- 1714 Rāṇā sends his son Sardārsimha in aid of Aurangzeb against Sujā.
- 1716 Rāṇā places Rāvala Giridhara in charge of Puṇḍarpur.
- 1716 Śrāvaṇa, Rāṇā marches against Vasāḍ (in Mandāsōr).
- 1715 Vaiśākha vadi 9, Tuesday, his minister Phatēchand marches against Bānswārā.
- 1716 Phālguna, Rāṇā constructs a gate at the Dēbārī pass.
- 1717 Rāṇā marches to Kishangarh and marries Rūpasimha's daughter (Chārumatī).
- 1719 Rāṇā subjugates the Minas of Mēvala.
- 1720 Rāṇāvata Rāmasimha goes to Sirōhī and restores the territory to Akhērāja put in captivity by his son.
- 1721 Mārgaśīrsha vadi 8, Rājasimha marries his daughter Ajavakumvarī to Bāghēlā Bhāvasimha, son of Anūpsimha of Rewā.
- 1721 Māgha, solar eclipse, king performs certain charities.
- 1721 Vaiśākha sudi 13, Monday (17th April, 1665 A.D., the year being Śrāvaṇādi), foundations of the dam laid.
- 1725 Māgha sudi 10, consecration of a tank at Baḍī and of another called Rangasaras at Udaipur.
- 1726 Paḍḍa daśamī in Mārga, palace on Suvarṇasaila opened.
- 1726 Kārttika vadi 2, Rājasimha makes two *mahādānas*.
- 1726 Vaiśākha vadi 13, *muhūrta* fixed for the inauguration of the Kāṁkrōlī dam.



- 1726 Jyēshṭha-Āshāḍha, rain water collects in the excavations.
- 1726 Āshāḍha vadi 5, Sunday, main dam completed (after 8 years 6 months and 6 days from the commencement of its construction)=12th June, 1670 A.D. (Śrāvaṇādi).
- 1727 his birthday anniversary, Rāṇā performs a *mahādāna*.
- 1727 Āshāḍha vadi 4, ceremony of launching boats takes place.
- 1728 Jyēshṭha pūrṇimā, the water supply main (*nala-vimudraṇa*) was stopped.
- 1729 Māgha, lunar eclipse (Monday, 12th June 1674 ?), king performs *mahādānas*.
- 1729 Phālguna vadi 11, king inaugurates *saṃgī-kārya* of the principal dam.
- 1729 Jyēshṭha sudi 7, Rāṇā repairs the dam at Indrasaras near Śkaliṅga and builds 4 *pratōḥa*.
- 1730 heavy floods in the river.
- 1730 Āśvina, the lake Rājasamudra had 8 cubits of water.
- 1730 Māghī pūrṇimā, king performs a *mahādāna*.
- 1731 Śrāvaṇa sudi 5, floating ceremony of the ship (Jahāja) takes place.
- 1731 birthday anniversary, king performs a *mahādāna*.
- 1732 Māgha sudi 2, queen Rāmarasade consecrates a step-well at Dēbārī pass.
- 1732 Māgha, Pāṇḍu daśamī, Saturday, *muhūrta* for the inauguration ceremony of the lake, the officiating priests being selected 5 days earlier=15th January 1676 A.D.
- 1732 Māgha sudi 7, Queen Chārumatī consecrates a step-well at Rājnagar.
- 1732 Māgha sudi 9, festivities in connection with the consecration of the lake.
- 1620 Vaiśākha sudi 3, consecration of Udayasāgara by Rāṇā Udayasimha recalled.
- 1732 Māgha sudi 13, an elephant falls in the lake but comes out again.
- 1732 Māgha sudi 14, Rāṇā performs a *mahādāna*.
- 1742 Māgha pūrṇimā, consecration of the lake performed and gifts, made (details given in cantos XVIII-XX).
- 1734 birthday anniversary, king performs *mahādānas*.
- 1734 Śrāvaṇa, Rāṇā goes to Jilwādā and reinstates Vairisāla of Sirōhī.
- 1735 Chaitra sudi 11, prince Jayasimha starts on his tour to Ajmer and Delhi.
- 1735 Jyēshṭha, he visits Mathurā and Vṇindāvana.
- 1736 Pausa vadi 11, Mughal expedition to Mēwār.
- 1737 Kārttika sudi 10, Rājasimha dies and Jayasimha ascends the throne 15 days later.
- 1737 Mārgaśīrsha, Jayasimha sends his brother Bhīmasimha to Dēsūri against Tahawar Khān.

#### Chronology of the rulers of the Guhila Dynasty

The genealogy of the early Guhila rulers as given by the author of the *Rājaprasasti* from Guhila to Hammīra is entirely drawn from the bardic chronicles and their chronology is hopelessly inaccurate and misleading. The author traces the origin of the Guhila dynasty to Manu and the solar dynasty and at the outset gives the names of 135 kings beginning with Manu, who had their seat in Ayōdhya. The last of these kings, Vijaya, is stated to have migrated to the south, carved out a kingdom for himself and took the title of Āditya for his family. A list of 14 Āditya rulers is given in the *prasasti*, of whom the last was Guhāditya whose descendants were known as Guhilauts (Guhilaputras<sup>1</sup>). In the Āṭpur inscription of Śaktikumāra,<sup>2</sup> V.S. 1034, he is called Guhadatta who is stated to have belonged to a Brāhmaṇa family and to have come from Ānandapurā (Baḍanagar) in Gujarāt. According to the *Rājaprasasti*, his son was Bāshpa (Bappa) whose original place was Nāgahrada (Nāgdā), but who, on the advice of the Pāśupata sage Hārītarāśi, went to Chitor,

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 3 and n.1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 191.







simha would be too late for one and too early for the other. There is an inscription of Samarasimha, son of Kituka, the founder of the Sōngirā branch of the Chāhamānas who ruled in Mārwar, which is dated in V.S. 1239<sup>1</sup>, long before the time of Bhuvanasimha. Alāuddīn attacked Chitor when Lakshmasimha, grandson of Bhuvanasimha, was the Sisōdā chief. In the Kumbhalgarh inscription, Jaitrasimha *alias* Rāvala Jayasimha is said to be ruling over the four countries of Chitor, Āghāta, Mēdapāṭa and Vāgaḍa with his seat at Nāgharāda which shows that the whole of the former possessions of the Guhilas came under their power once again.

Again, the twelve chiefs from Rāhapa onwards belonged to the Sisōdā branch and not to the Rāval branch of Mewār. These are, according to the *prāśasti*, Rāhapa, his son Narapati, Dinakara (omitted in the *prāśasti*), Jasakarṇa, his son Nāgapāla, his son Puṇya (Pūrṇa) pāla, his son Prithvimalla, his son Bhuvanasimha, his son Bhīmasimha,<sup>2</sup> Jayasimha, his son Lakshmasimha, mentioned in the *Rājaprasasti* as the ruler of Maṇḍalgarh, who died with his 12 brothers and 7 sons defending Chitor against Alāuddīn Khaljī, and Ajēśī (Ajayasimha), his only surviving son who succeeded his father.

It may be mentioned here that the Sadaḍī inscription of the time of the Mahārāṇā Kumbhakarṇa (V.S. 1496),<sup>3</sup> mentioned before, also gives the names of Bhuvanasimha, his son Jayasimha, Lakshmasimha, his son Ajayasimha, and his brother Arisimha after Samarasimha of the Rāval branch, but Ratnasimha's name is altogether omitted. The *Rājaprasasti*, however, mentions Ratnasī but puts him as the brother of Lakshmasimha. But we know from the Kumbhalgarh inscription of V.S. 1517 and the *Ekalinga Māhātmya* that Ratnasimha was the son and successor of Samarasimha of Mewār while Lakshmasimha belonged to Sisōdā.<sup>4</sup> At the time of the siege of Chitor, Lakshmasimha must have been in Chitor in command of the fort on behalf of Ratnasimha. The history of Mewār is a bit confused at this period and the statements given in the bardic and Muslim chronicles do not agree. There is no reference in the Rājput chronicles of the occupation of Chitor by Alāuddīn who left it in charge of his son Khizir Khān and then of Māladēva, the Sōngirā Chāhamāna ruler, as stated by the Muslim historians. Again, according to the *Rājaprasasti*, Arisimha died with his father Lakshmasimha in the battlefield and his brother Ajēśī (Ajayasimha) seems to have been the chief of Sisōdā.<sup>4</sup> It seems certain that the line of the Rāval branch of Mewār ended with Ratnasimha till Hammīra, son of Arisimha of the Sisōdā branch, reconquered Chitor and thus brought Mewār under the rule of the Sisōdās. From Hammīra onwards the information given by the author of the *Rājaprasasti*, though meagre, is more authentic. As is usual in such cases, the poet has scrupulously avoided any reverses that his patron and his ancestors may have suffered, exaggerated their achievements and mixed up legends with history following the tradition of the bards, but all the same he has given quite a lot of information which is interesting and can be verified from other sources. Many of these have been noticed in the footnotes to the abstract of contents.

Two chronological tables, one from Guhila to Hammīra, compiled from early inscriptions, and another from Hammīra to Jayasimha, the last ruler included in the *Rājaprasasti*, are appended here with known dates of the rulers mentioned. In the Kumbhalgarh inscription of Rāṇā Kumbhā (V.S. 1517), it is claimed that the genealogy of the early rulers as given there has been compiled with great care after studying many old *prāśastis*<sup>5</sup> and this claim seems to be justified.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XI, pp. 53 f.

<sup>2</sup> Tod wrongly mentions him as the husband of Padminī.

<sup>3</sup> *A.S.I. An. Rep.*, 1907-08, pp. 214 f.

<sup>4</sup> Phandarkar in his Genealogical List includes him in the Rāval branch.

<sup>5</sup> This is the relationship given in the Sadaḍī inscription also. But according to the *Cambridge History of India* (Vol. III, p. 525), Arsi was the eldest son of Ajai Sing who was appointed to the command of Chitor by Alāuddīn.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 324, v. 138.



Table I  
Kings of the Guhila Dynasty from Guhila to Hammira

(a) Ātputr inscr. V.S. 1034	(b) Chitor inscr. V.S. 1331	(c) Mount Abu inscr. V.S. 1342	(d) Sadadī inscr. V.S. 1496	(e) Kumbhalgarh inscr. V.S. 1517	Relationship	Known dates	Remarks
1	Bappa .	Bappaka .	Bappa .				
2	Guhadatta .	Guhila .	Guhila .	Guhila .			
3	Bhōja .	Bhōja .	Bhōja .	Bhōja .			
4	Mahendra .	..	..	Mahendra .			
5	Nāga .	..	..	Nāga .		V.S. 703	
6	Śīla .	Śīla .	Śīla .	Bappa .		V.S. 718	
9	Aparājita .	..	..	Aparājita .			
8	Mahendra II .	..	..	Mahendra II .			
7	Kālabhōja .	Kālabhōja .	Kālabhōja .	Kālabhōja .			
10	Khōmmāpa .	..	..	Khōmmāpa .			
11	Mattata .	Mattata .	..	Mattata .			
12	Bhartṛihata .	Bhartṛihata .	Bhartṛihata .	Bhartṛihata .			
13	Simha .	Simha .	Simha .	..	S. of 13		
14	Khōmmāpa II .	..	..	..	S. of 14		
15	Mahāyaka .	Mahāyaka .	Mahāyaka .	..	S. of 15		
16	Khōmmāpa III .	Khōmmāpa .	Khōmmāpa .	..	S. of 16	V.S. 999, 1000	m. Mahālakṣmi of the Rāshtrakūṭa family.
17	Bhartṛipatta II .	..	..	..			
18	Allata .	Allata .	Allata .	Allata .	S. of 17 .	V.S. 1008, 1010	m. Hariyādēvi, d. of a Hūna prince.



Table I—contd.

	(a) Aipur inscr. V.S. 1034	(b) Chitor inscr. V.S. 1331	(c) Mount Abu inscr. V.S. 1342	(d) Sadadi inscr. V.S. 1496	(e) Kumbhalgarh inscr. V.S. 1517	Relationship	Known dates	Remarks
19	Naravāhana	Naravāhana	Naravāhana	Naravāhana	Naravāhana	S. of 18	V.S. 1028	m. d. of Chāhamāna Jējaya.
20	Śalivāhana	..	..	..	Śalivāhana	S. of 19		
21	Śaktikumāra	Śaktikumāra	Śaktikumāra	Śaktikumāra	Śaktikumāra	S. of 20	V.S. 1034	
22	..	Amraprasāda	..	..	Amāprasāda	S. of 21		
23	..	Suchivarman	Suchivarman	Suchivarman	Anantavarman			(e) calls Anantavar- man b. of 22.
24	..	Naravarman	Naravarman	..	Naravarman	b. of 22		
25	..	Kirtivarman	Kirtivarman	Kirtivarman	Yasōvarman			b. of 22 according to (e).
26	..	..	..	Yōgarāja	Yōgarāja			Yōgarāja's line did not rule according to (e).
27	..	Vairata	Vairata	Vairata	Vairata			
28	..	..	..	Vainēpāla	Hansapāla			
29	..	Vairisinha	Vairisinha	Vairisinha	Vairisinha	S. of 28		(e) had 22 sons.
30	..	Vijayasingha	..	..	..	S. of 27	V.S. 1164, 1173.	m. Śyāmaladēvi, d. of Paramāra Uday- āditya. Kalachuri of Gayaikarna Tripuri m. their d. Alhapanadēvi. Seems identical with the nameless king of (e).
31	..	..	..	Viresinha	Vairisinha	s. of 30		
32	..	..	Arisinha	Arisinha	..	..		
33	..	..	Chōḍa	Chōḍesinha	Chōḍa	..		
	..	..	Vikramasingha	Vikramasingha	Vikramasingha	elder b. of 33 (e); s. of 33(e).		



		Rajasinha	Rajasinha	s. of 34	V.S. 1223.	s. a. Karjasinha of the Ekalinga-mahatmya.
35	..	..	..	..	..	..
36	Kahēmasinha .	Kahēmasinha .	Kahēmasinha .	s. of 35	V.S. 1228, 1236, 1256, 1258.	y.b. of Mahānasinha who apparently predeceased his father.
37	Sāmantasinha	Sāmantasinha	Sāmantasinha	s. of 36	..	..
38	Kumārasinha .	Kumārasinha .	Kumārasinha .	y.b. of 39	..	Turned out Kifa and got back Ahād through favour of the Gujardt ruler (e).
39	Mathanasinha	Mathanasinha	Mahanasinha .	s. of 38	..	..
40	Padmasinha .	Padmasinha .	Padmasinha .	b. of 37 (e)	..	..
41	Jaitrasinha .	Jaitrasinha .	Raula Jaysa- (Jaitra) sinha	s. of 40	V.S. 1270, 1279, 1284.	His second son Sihāda seems to have been the ruler of Vāgaḍa who was succeeded by his s. Jayasinha for whom we have the dates V.S. 1306-1309.
42	Tējasinha .	Tējasinha .	Rāvala Tējasinha	s. of 41	V.S. 1317, 1322, 1324.	m. Jayatalladēvt.
43	Samarasinha .	Samarasinha .	Samarasinha <sup>1</sup> .	s. of 42	V.S. 1330, 1331, 1335, 1342, 1344, 1345, 1356, 1358.	Mahārājakula.
44	..	Hammitra	Ratnasinha <sup>2</sup> .	s. of 43	V.S. 1359.	m. Padmini.
45	..	Hammitra	Hammitra	..	..	..

<sup>1</sup> After Samarasinha, the Sadsat inscription of the time of Kumbhakarṇa gives the names of the five rulers (found also in the *Ekalinga-mahatmya*), Bhuvanashinḥa, his s. Jayasinha, Lakshmasinha, his s. Ajaysinha and his b. Arisinha who really belonged to the Rāpā branch of Sisōdā. These are followed by Hammitra and his successors.

<sup>2</sup> After Ratnasinha, the Kumbhagarh inscription brings in Lakshmasi, but deliberately calls him Mahārājā in order to distinguish him from the Rāval branch. He is brought in to describe his valour in the defence of the Chitor fort at the time of the Muslim siege.



Table II

## Succession of the rulers of Mewār from Hammīra to Jayasimha

1. Mahārāṇā Hammīra, s. of Arasī (Arisimha) of Sisōdā who was the eldest son of Lakshmasimha.<sup>1</sup>
2. Mahārāṇā Kshētrasimha<sup>2</sup>, s. of 1. V.S. 1423.
3. Lakshya or Lakshasimha<sup>3</sup>, s. of 2. V.S. 1462, 1468, 1475.
4. Mōkala (*Mahārājādhirāja Mahārāja Mṛigāṅka*), s. of 3. m. Saubhāgyadēvī (mother of Kumbhā) and Gōrāmbikā of the Bāghelā family. Had seven sons<sup>4</sup>. V.S. 1478, 1485-86. The *Rājaprasasti* mentions Bāghā as one of his brothers.
5. Kumbhakarna (*Mahārājādhirāja Rāyarāya Rāne-rāya Mahārāṇā*). Had also the *birudas* Tōdaramalla, Abhinava-Bharatāchārya and Hindusuratrāṇa among others. Eldest s. of 4. m. Kumbhalladēvī and Apūrvadēvī.<sup>5</sup> Built the fort of Kumbhalgarh and other monuments and forts. V.S. 1488<sup>6</sup>, 1491, 1494-97, 1499, 1505, 1507, 1509-10, 1515-18.
6. Udayasimha (Udā). s. of 5. Became ruler after murdering his father in V.S. 1525. As a patricide his name is omitted in all the inscriptions of the dynasty.
7. Rājamalla (Rāymal). s. of 5. Became ruler in V.S. 1530 after ousting his brother Udā. m. Śrīngārādēvī, d. of Yōdhā, prince of Marusthalī (Mārwar).<sup>7</sup> V.S. 1537, 1543, 1545, 1556-57, 1561.
8. Saṅgrāmasimha (Sāṅgā), s. of 7.<sup>8</sup> V.S. 1574, 1584.
9. Ratnasimha II<sup>9</sup>, died childless.
10. Vikramāditya, b. of 9. V.S. 1589. He was murdered in V.S. 1596 by Vanavīra, a natural son of Prithvirāja, son of Mahārāṇā Rāymal, who for a time usurped the throne of Chitor.
11. Udayasimha II, s. of 10.<sup>10</sup> Built Udaipur and commenced the excavation of Udayasāgara in V.S. 1616 which was completed in V.S. 1621; d. V.S. 1628.
12. Pratāpasimha, s. of 11.<sup>11</sup> V.S. 1630, 1634, 1639. d. V.S. 1653.
13. Amarasimha, s. of 12. Born V.S. 1616, Chaitra sudi 7 (16th March 1559 A.D.). Coronation V.S. 1653, Māgha sudi 11 (19th January, 1597 A.D.), died V.S. 1678, Māgha sudi 2, Wednesday (26th January, 1620 A.D.).<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to Nainsi, he had three other sons, Lūṇā whose descendants were known as Lunāvat Sisodā, Khaṅgār and Vairasāla.

<sup>2</sup> He had six other sons. See Ojha, *Hist. of Rajputana*, p. 570.

<sup>3</sup> For the names of his six other sons, see Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 582.

<sup>4</sup> Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 590.

<sup>5</sup> According to the Kumbhalgarh inscription, he had 11 sons and many wives of whom only two names are known, one from the Chitor Kirtistambha inscr. and the other from his commentary on the *Gītāgōvinda*, *Rasikapriyā* (Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 664). His d. Ramābāi was married to Yādava Maṇḍalika of Surat (Junagarh) who later became a Muslim and his wife returned to Mewār.

<sup>6</sup> This is the reading of Bhandarkar. See his List, No. 769.

<sup>7</sup> According to bardic chronicles he had 11 wives, 13 sons and two daughters (Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 658).

<sup>8</sup> According to the chronicles he had 28 wives, 7 sons (4 of whom died during his life time) and 4 daughters (Ojha, *op. cit.*, pp. 686-87).

<sup>9</sup> No inscription of this ruler has come to light yet. But there is an undated stone inscription of his minister Karmasimha at Satruñjaya (near Pālitānā in Kāthiāwār) (Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 703).

<sup>10</sup> The story has it that Vanavīra wanted to kill the boy prince also. But his foster mother Pānnā placed her own son on the bed of the prince who was killed by the usurper. Pānnā then rescued the boy prince who ultimately with the help of the Sardāra recovered for himself his ancestral kingdom in about V.S. 1597. According to the chronicles, he had 20 wives and 25 sons (Ojha, *op. cit.*, pp. 733-34).

<sup>11</sup> He had 11 wives and 17 sons. Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 781.

<sup>12</sup> See Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 820.



14. Mahārāṇā Karnaśimha, s. of 13.<sup>1</sup> Birth V.S. 1640, Māgha sudi 4 (7th January, 1584 A.D.); coronation V.S. 1676, Māgha sudi 2 (26th January, 1620 A.D.); death V.S. 1684, Phālguna (March, 1628 A.D.). m. Jāmbavatī, d. of Mahēchā Jasavanta.
15. Mahārāṇā Jagatsimha, s. of 14. Birth V.S. 1664, Bhādrapada sudi 2 (Friday, 14th August, 1607 A.D.); coronation V.S. 1684, Phālguna (March, 1628 A.D.); death V.S. 1709, Kārttika vadi 4 (10th April 1652 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> V.S. 1685, 1686, 1704, 1709.
16. Mahārāṇā Rājasimha I, s. of 15 and Janādē, d. of Rāṭhōr Rājasimha of Meḍtā. Birth V.S. 1686, Kārttika vadi 2 (24th September, 1629 A.D.); coronation V.S. 1709, Kārttika vadi 4 (20th October, 1652 A.D.); death V.S. 1737, Kārttika sudi 10 (22nd October, 1680 A.D.).<sup>3</sup> m. Sadākumbarī, d. of Paramāra Indrabhāṇa of Bijōliā, Rāmarasadē, d. of Prithvisimha, grd. d. of Jujharasimha and grt. grd. d. of Paramāra Rāyasala of Ajmer, and Chārumatī, d. of Rupasimha of Rūpnagar (Kishangarh). V.S. 1713, 1716, 1717, 1721, 1725, 1731, 1732, 1733. The *Rājaprasastī* gives the date of his death and the coronation of Jayasimha.
17. Mahārāṇā Jayasimha, s. of 16 and Sadākumbarī. Birth V.S. 1710, Pausa vadi 11 (5th December, 1653 A.D.), coronation 15 days after the death of Rājasimha; death V.S. 1755, Āśvina vadi 14 (23rd December, 1698 A.D.).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Had 7 sons and 2 daughters; Ojha, *op. cit.*, pp. 829-30.

<sup>2</sup> Had 11 wives, 5 sons and 4 daughters; *ibid.*, p. 839.

<sup>3</sup> Had 18 wives, 9 sons and one daughter. See above and Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 855.

<sup>4</sup> Had 4 sons and 4 daughters; *ibid.*, p. 904.



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# INDEX

[The figures refer to pages, n after a figure to footnotes, and *add.* to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used :—*au.*=author, *ca.*=capital, *ch.*=chief, *Chron.*=Chronicle, *ci.*=city, *co.*=country, *com.*=composer, *de.*=deity, *di.*=district or division, *do.*=ditto, *dy.*=dynasty, *E.*=Eastern, *engr.*=engraver, *ep.*=epithet, *f.*=family, *fe.*=female, *feud.*=feudatory, *gen.*=general, *gr.*=grant, grants, *Hist.*=Historical, *ins.*=inscription, inscriptions, *k.*=king, *l.*=locality, *l.m.*=linear measure, land measure, *m.*=male, *min.*=minister, *mo.*=mountain, *myth.*=mythological, *n.*=name, *N.*=Northern, *off.*=office, officer, *pl.*=plate, plates, *pr.*=prince, princess, *prov.*=province, *q.*=queen, *rel.*=religious, *ri.*=river, *S.*=Southern, *s.a.*=same as, *sur.*=surname, *te.*=temple, *Tel.*=Telugu, *t.d.*=territorial division, *tit.*=title, *tn.*=town, *tk.*=taluk, *vi.*=village, *W.*=Western, *wk.*=work, *wt.*=weight.]

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